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Pilgrimage, Spatial Interaction, and Memory at Three Marian Sites

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the University of Denver

and the Iliff School of Theology Joint PhD Program

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

T.K. Rousseau

June 2016

Advisor: Scott Montgomery

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Abstract

Global mediation, communication, and technology facilitate pilgrimage places with porous boundaries, and the dynamics of porousness are complex and varied. Three Marian, Catholic pilgrimage places demonstrate the potential for variation in porous boundaries: Chartres cathedral; the Marian apparition location of Medjugorje; and the House of the Virgin Mary near Ephesus. These three places are porous in that they embrace the interactions of different groups, fostering the permeability of boundaries between categories of pilgrimage and tourism, commercial place and devotional place, and cultural and spiritual value. They also show varied degrees of spatial porousness, either topographically or in their connection to surrounding areas of cultural heritage. Porousness is interdependent with contestation as proliferating audiences—including stakeholders, caretakers, marketers, and devotional and cultural participants—invite an array of interactions. Principal sources of contestation are multiple memory narratives (where people install or enact different memories about a place or image), heterogeneous audiences (where a wide demographic coincides and interfaces), and intermingled devotional and commercial places (where the pilgrimage marketplace does not merely overlap with devotional place, but merges with it). These sources of contestation combine in different forms at all three case studies, pushing their boundaries in physical and conceptual ways and calling into question how we define pilgrimage place.

Table of Contents

Introduction—Porousness, Contestation, and Pilgrimage Place.....	1
Case Studies	5
Theory and Method.....	12
Rationale and Significance	20
Outline of Project.....	27
Chapter Two—The Global Dynamics of Place and Pilgrimage.....	30
Reframing Pilgrimage.....	32
Place and Motion: Emplaced Contestation.....	44
Art History, Place, and Memory: The Shrine is Never Finished.....	55
Pilgrimage Embedded in the World.....	60
Chapter Three—Integrating Heritage Place and Sacred Place: Pilgrimage and Chartres Cathedral	71
Chartres in Historical Context: Emplacing the Pilgrim in the Cult of Mary	78
Contemporary Pilgrimage and Contestation at Chartres	93
Conclusion	126
Chapter Four— The Fluid Pilgrimage Environment: Contestation and Memory at Medjugorje.....	134
Legitimacy at Medjugorje: Contestation from its Beginnings.....	139
Revelation and Topography: Emplacing Memory Narratives at Medjugorje	150
Contested Memory in the Former Yugoslavia and the Bosnian War	178
Conclusion	192
Chapter Five—Links to History: Pilgrimage and the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus	200
The House of the Virgin Mary: Asserting Historical Legitimacy	204
Memory Narrative of Dwelling in the Commercial Environment.....	213
Addressing Multiple Audiences: Quranic Display	227
Mary’s House as Global and Cultural Attraction	233
The House in the Ephesus Ensemble: Palimpsest and Hypertext.....	244
Conclusion	256
Conclusion—The Facts of Distance and the Joys of Proximity	265
Porousness and Contestation at the Three Case Studies.....	267
Areas for Future Research	284
Pilgrimage Place, Unfinished.....	285
Bibliography	287

List of Figures

Figure 3.1.	Sancta Camisia and reliquary, Chartres, France.....	130
Figure 3.2.	Notre-Dame du Pilier, Chartres	130
Figure 3.3.	South transept central portal, Chartres	131
Figure 3.4.	Exterior labyrinth, Chartres	131
Figure 3.5.	Shops facing south transept, Chartres	132
Figure 3.6.	Mile marker for Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage outside West Portal, Chartres	132
Figure 3.7.	UNESCO World Heritage plaque on east cathedral grounds, Chartres	133
Figure 4.1.	First Joyful Mystery, the Annunciation, on Apparition Hill, Medjugorje ..	196
Figure 4.2.	Queen of Peace statue in plaza of St. James church, Medjugorje	196
Figure 4.3.	Outdoor altar behind St. James church, Medjugorje	197
Figure 4.4.	Christ as Risen Savior statue by St. James church, Medjugorje	197
Figure 4.5.	First Station of the Cross, Jesus is condemned to death, on Cross Mountain, Medjugorje.....	198
Figure 4.6.	Cross at summit of Cross Mountain, Medjugorje	198
Figure 4.7.	Shops with Marian memorabilia, Medjugorje.....	199
Figure 4.8.	Blue Cross at base of Apparition Hill, Medjugorje	199
Figure 5.1.	Historical Notes, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey	259
Figure 5.2.	Statue of Mary, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey	260
Figure 5.3.	House exterior with lines, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey.....	261
Figure 5.4.	Prayer stand with statue of Mary, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey.....	261
Figure 5.5.	Wellspring, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey	262
Figure 5.6.	Wishing wall, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey.....	262
Figure 5.7.	Wishing wall close up, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey	263
Figure 5.8.	Display of Quranic verses, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey	264

Introduction
Porousness, Contestation, and Pilgrimage Place

[S]he came to Bethlehem and entered into the cave where the savior was born....When she looked upon these things, I say, she protested in my hearing that she could behold with the eyes of faith the infant Lord wrapped in swaddling clothes and crying in the manger, the wise men worshipping him, the star shining overhead, the virgin mother, the attentive foster-father, the shepherds coming by night...

–Saint Jerome on Paula’s fourth century pilgrimage to Holy Land sites¹

After breakfast, you will visit and celebrate Mass at the Shrine of Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal, where you will view the incorrupt body of St. Catherine Labouré. The Saint’s guardian angel led her to the chapel where the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared to her....Following your prayerful and reflective experience at this elegant chapel, you will begin your sightseeing tour of Paris.

–The Great Shrines of France tour, provided by 206 Tours²

Pilgrimage is an increasingly global phenomenon. It includes activity in explicitly religious and non-religious places, serving in various cases as an economic engine, a barometer of religious pluralism, and a test of accessibility and safe travel across borders during conflict. Headlines bear out the ongoing influence of pilgrimage on issues of religion, culture, politics, economics, environment, and management. In 2013, flooding in northern India along Hindu pilgrimage routes trapped 100,000 and caused extensive loss

¹ “Jerome on the Pilgrimage of Paula,” *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, ed. Brett Edward Whalen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 28.

² “The Great Shrines of France Pilgrimage,” *206 Tours*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.206tours.com/tour20>.

of life, prompting questions about ecologically sustainable expansion of pilgrimage infrastructure.³ The self-proclaimed Islamic State has targeted pilgrimage shrines and historic sites in Iraq and Syria as part of a general policy of cultural destruction—what the Italian minister of Foreign Affairs, as part of an initiative to protect cultural heritage, has called a “form of ethnic cleansing that violates human dignity and minority rights.”⁴ Pope Francis’ call for a Holy Year in 2015-2016, and the need for greater access to St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome, requires vast logistical support and security for a range of international travelers.⁵

Such issues become even more significant with growing pilgrimage activity around the world. Nolan and Nolan observe not only a rise in the number of visitors attending traditional events at European shrines—including substantial numbers from the Americas and beyond—but also new forms of religious travel, or “religious tourism.”⁶

³ Parth M.N., “After India’s 2013 Floods, Key Hindu Pilgrimage Towns Deserted,” *LA Times*, October 31, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-india-floods-tourism-20141101-story.html>; Shashank Chouhan, “More Pilgrims mean more Trouble for Shrines in North India,” *Reuters*, June 28, 2013, <http://blogs.reuters.com/india/2013/06/28/increasing-number-of-visitors-tempt-disaster-at-himalayan-shrines>; Sandeep Joshi, “Two Years after Uttarakhand Floods, Pilgrims Return—As Do People in Search of Missing Loved Ones,” *Scroll.in*, June 28, 2015, <http://scroll.in/article/735833/two-years-after-uttarakhand-floods-pilgrims-return-as-do-people-in-search-of-missing-loved-ones>.

⁴ Alessandra Baldini, “#ProtectHeritage: Italy and Jordan Launch a New Partnership to Contrast Attacks against Culture,” *ItalyUN.it*, September 27, 2015, <http://www.onuitalia.com/eng/2015/09/27/protectheritage-italy-and-jordan-launch-a-new-partnership-to-contrast-attacks-against-culture>; Kristin Romey, “ISIS Destruction of Ancient Sites Hits Mostly Muslim Targets,” *National Geographic*, July 2, 2015, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/07/150702-ISIS-Palmyra-destruction-salafism-sunni-shiite-sufi-Islamic-State>.

⁵ Philip Pullella, “Pope Francis’ Holy Year for Mercy Will Likely Draw Millions of Pilgrims to the Vatican,” *Huffington Post*, March 16, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/16/pope-francis-holy-year_n_6877526.html; Daniela Dean, “Pope’s Jubilee Plans raise Fears of Terror Threat,” *Washington Post*, March 16, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/is-vatican-attack-threat-looms-over-popes-holy-year-announcement/2015/03/16/18fb672c-cbb0-11e4-8c54-ffb5ba6f2f69_story.html.

⁶ Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 2-3, 64.

This is reflected, the authors state, in the increasing number of European Catholic shrines to the saints. Utilizing modern means of transportation such as mass rail, people arrive from distant places to shrines like Lisieux in northwestern France, a popular site of devotion to Sainte-Thérèse de Lisieux.⁷ Several scholars likewise point to the growth of popular pilgrimage in recent decades—indeed, Jansen and Kühl note that millions of pilgrims continue to visit traditionally Catholic shrines each year, despite falling attendance at Catholic churches in Europe.⁸ Margry argues that pilgrimage, shrines, and cults have increased in significance because of “deseccularization”: the growing importance of new pockets of religious activity worldwide, increasing the role of pilgrimage sites and practices.⁹

The global implications of pilgrimage draw these places into wide-ranging networks, technologies, and associations. Even as pilgrimage places are profoundly local, impacting their own communities, they are simultaneously mapped to a larger context. They accrue new audiences engaged with the historical and cultural value, inspire new

⁷ Nolan and Nolan, 66 and 103. On the increase in pilgrimage to European shrines, see also Philip Jenkins, *God’s Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe’s Religious Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 60-3.

⁸ Willy Jansen and Meike Kühl, “Shared Symbols: Muslims, Marian Pilgrimages and Gender,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 15.3 (2008): 295. Jansen and Kühl specifically mention Simon Coleman, John Eade, Michael Sallnow, and Ian Reader as scholars pointing to growth in popular pilgrimage—all these scholars will feature prominently in this project.

⁹ Peter Jan Margry, *Shrines and Pilgrimage in the Modern World: New Itineraries into the Sacred* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 14. Here, Margry draws upon the later work of Peter Berger on de-secularization and the “re-enchantment” of the world. The Alliance of Religions and Conservation (ARC)—a British organization partnered with the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program—notes the very practical challenges of classifying and therefore counting audiences at pilgrimage places worldwide. ARC gives a low estimate of 155 million global pilgrimages per year, but says notes that accurate figures are impossible and most records are not kept. Major sites may keep accurate records of annual visitors, but “many of these are tourist destinations as well as pilgrimage sites.” “Pilgrimage Statistics,” *Alliance of Religions and Conservation*, 15 September 2014, <http://www.arcworld.org/downloads/ARC%20pilgrimage%20statistics%2015m%2011-12-19.pdf>.

promotional materials and marketing strategies via internet and social media, undergo renovation and conservation under national and international protocols, develop accommodation infrastructure such as airports and hotels, and become damaged or destroyed in emerging international conflicts. Certainly, many of these factors—preservation, expansion, promotion—are longstanding and established ones at pilgrimage places. However, the significance for such places in the contemporary world is the proliferation, speed, and scale of many of these factors. Increasingly, stakeholders, varied audiences, and wider networks become involved in pilgrimage, with broad implications for the function and meaning of pilgrimage place. Throughout, pilgrimage places are not only shaped, but their physical and artistic configuration also impacts activity and experience for expanding audiences.

With reference to three case studies, I address how this global context fosters pilgrimage places with porous boundaries, and how the dynamics of porousness are complex and varied. By porous, I refer to something that may be readily crossed over or passed through. Pilgrimage places are porous in that they embrace the interactions of different groups—and the more international the fame of a place, the broader the demographics—facilitating the permeability of boundaries between categories of pilgrimage and tourism, commercial place and devotional place, and cultural and spiritual value. Two of my case studies, Medjugorje and the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus, also show varied degrees of spatial porousness, either in the topographic expanse of their claimed apparitions of Mary or their connection to surrounding areas of cultural heritage. The proliferating audiences in my case studies—including stakeholders, caretakers,

marketers, and devotional and cultural participants in their potentially overlapping roles—invite a wide range of interaction beyond a central shrine with a sacred character, as argued in the work of Victor and Edith Turner.¹⁰ That is, these places accommodate religious, cultural, and commercial activity in simultaneous and interrelated ways. There is a flow back and forth among these factors.

Porousness is interdependent with contestation in my case studies. The many actors engaged with pilgrimage places create a discursive polyphony, put forward as contestation in the work of John Eade and Michael Sallnow—and, I argue, a specifically emplaced contestation as various actors position images, share spaces, and encourage action in the pilgrimage environment. Principal sources of contestation at the three pilgrimage places I examine are multiple memory narratives (where people install or enact different memories about a place or image), heterogeneous audiences (where a wide demographic coincides and interfaces), and intermingled devotional and commercial places (where the pilgrimage marketplace does not merely overlap with devotional place, but merges with it). These sources of contestation combine in different forms at all three case studies, pushing their boundaries in physical and conceptual ways and calling into question how we define pilgrimage place.

Case Studies

In this dissertation, I examine three pilgrimage places, each of which exemplifies porous boundaries—not necessarily as part of a spectrum from most to least bounded, but

¹⁰ The Turners define pilgrimage in terms of travel routes—what they call overlapping ellipses—that come together in a central shrine. Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 22.

rather as instances where the nature of boundedness is different. My case studies are contemporary locations of Marian devotion: Chartres cathedral in the city of Chartres, France; Medjugorje in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Marian apparitions have been claimed since 1981; and the House of the Virgin Mary near Ephesus, Turkey. These three places have similar devotional foci and liturgical traditions, and are connected by their Roman Catholic affiliation and veneration of the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus. They are embedded in a global political economy of pilgrimage, and all three have been deeply affected by changes in communication, travel, and conservation. Furthermore, all three places feature the strong presence of images of Mary, including her face, body, and relics.

According to de Haardt, Marian pilgrimage is an important part of expanding global pilgrimage activity. This coincides with increased popular, ecclesiastical, and scholarly interest in Mary, rising in the 1960s following the papal dogma on Mary's Assumption in 1950 and continuing through the papacy of John Paul II.¹¹ Reports of Marian apparitions have only deepened interest in Mary, and sites such as Lourdes and Fatima also attract Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist visitors. De Haardt characterizes all these factors as part of a popular and transnational Marian devotion—sometimes at odds with established Roman Catholic church doctrine.¹²

Hermkens et al. characterize this phenomenon in even stronger terms, stressing the flexible and changing nature of pilgrimage sites dedicated to Mary. She is a modern “megastar,” despite increasing secularization:

¹¹ See Chapter Five, footnote 30.

¹² Maaïke de Haardt, “The Marian Paradox: Marian Practices as a Road to a New Mariology?” *Feminist Theology* 19.2 (2011): 170-1.

Both old and new sacred sites dedicated to the Virgin Mary are attracting growing numbers of pilgrims, both in Europe and the United States. Old shrines seem to attract new groups—devout elderly women and patients seeking spiritual or physical healing now mingle with tourists, hikers, migrants, anti-abortion activists, and soldiers—and become sites of new traditions that often eclectically borrow from the past in creating new sources of spiritual engagement.¹³

In contrast to de Haardt’s view on increasing scholarly focus on Mary, however, Hermkens et al. see a puzzling lack of scholarly attention to Marian pilgrimage sites, despite the growth in pilgrimage studies more generally. The authors suggest that scholars assume the secular nature of globalization must marginalize seemingly “anti-modern” Marian pilgrimage.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the local, regional, and international visitors at Marian pilgrimage places continue to speak to their contemporary relevance. Marian pilgrimage places, per Derks, continue to provide “space for public performances” that make visible the suffering and problems of those in distress.¹⁵

The first case study is the cathedral at Chartres, France—where contemporary pilgrimage is deeply connected to its medieval past as a pilgrimage place. As a Gothic cathedral, Chartres is the most clearly bounded of the three case studies in spatial terms, and its architectural and artistic presence in many ways emplaced the medieval pilgrim in a more physically defined cult of the saints. Today, however, the cathedral is part of local, national, and international networks of actors that promote and display the cathedral as a heritage concept to a wide range of visitors. Its artistic and historic

¹³ Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., “Introduction: The Power of Marian Pilgrimage,” *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 1.

¹⁴ Hermkens et al., 1-2.

¹⁵ Sanne Derks, *Power and Pilgrimage: Dealing With Class, Gender and Ethnic Inequality at a Bolivian Marian Shrine* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2009), 2.

significance has increased the number of stakeholders in its place dynamics, now including actors such as the French *Centre des Monuments Nationaux* and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The cathedral's stained glass, sculpture, and relics still serve religious purposes, but they are also repurposed by these various actors as artworks and artifacts with high cultural and historical value. While theological, political, and economic networks have long been relevant at Chartres, their proliferation and the marketing of the cathedral as a national and global monument expand the reach of the overall pilgrimage environment.

At Chartres, all the aforementioned sources of contestation are present through these networks: devotional artworks and cultural heritage signage co-exist and foster different memory narratives; heterogeneous audiences simultaneously deploy and interact with the space, from parish leaders to cultural visitors and international conservation non-profits; and commercial and traditionally devotional spaces intermingle in and around the cathedral. In many senses, this is contestation as polyphony. While the parish leadership, city officials, and commercial providers embrace this shared space, the very act of sharing contributes to the politics of place as images and objects may serve contradictory purposes. One of the cathedral's central artifacts, the *Sancta Camisia* or tunic said to be worn by Mary at the Nativity, is both a signifier of human cultural heritage for international organizations and a symbol of French religious history for conservative Catholic groups. Chartres has been extensively studied for its aesthetic, iconographic, and stylistic importance, especially during the medieval period, but this kind of contemporary dynamic is not widely considered.

The second case study is the Marian apparition site at Medjugorje in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In contrast to Chartres, Medjugorje has the most dramatically and spatially porous boundaries of the case studies, and it is best understood as a fluid pilgrimage environment. The claimed apparitions of the Virgin Mary since 1981 occur in multiple places—hillsides, private chapels, the local church, in other countries where the visionaries travel—marking an expansive range of locations as sacred to adherents. The apparitions are moreover an ongoing phenomenon, constantly occurring and creating a pilgrimage environment that lacks a finished set of boundaries. The fluidity of this place accommodated its deployment as a focal point of resistance and even violence under the Yugoslavian state and during the Bosnian War, making Medjugorje the most extreme case of contestation among my case studies—where contestation is not polyphonic, but rather discordant.

In terms of its sources of contestation, Medjugorje has the least heterogeneous audiences and is not widely recognized for cultural or artistic value. The entire town is deeply embedded in the pilgrimage marketplace—and indeed, the town has developed in tandem with the pilgrimage industry, and Medjugorje provides people with constant opportunities to interact with the commercial aspects of the area. Yet, it is memory that is a deep source of contestation at Medjugorje. The emplacement of memory through key images of the Virgin, promoted by Franciscan leadership as reminders of the places Mary first appeared, defies official Roman Catholic Church skepticism about the apparition phenomenon. Moreover, key relics such as the piece of the True Cross on Cross Mountain enshrine a past marked by resistance to Yugoslavian authoritarianism on the

part of the Croat Catholics. At the same time, the relic and other apparition locations provided a tangible rationale for Croat nationalist groups during the Bosnian War to marginalize Orthodox Serbs and Muslim Bosniaks, despite claims that the place manifested the healing and peaceful presence of Mary. In this case, the narrative of Mary as Queen of Peace, offering messages of hope and love to her faithful at Medjugorje in the revelatory landscape, is joined by a narrative with a more unsettling history. Thus, Medjugorje is important as the case study with the least structured physical space, the most conflict surrounding the legitimacy of its imagery of the Virgin, and the most fraught memorialization of political identity.

The third case study is the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus, Turkey—Mary's purported home after the death and resurrection of Jesus in Gospel events. If Chartres is drawn into a broader pilgrimage environment through its proliferating audiences, and Medjugorje is a fluid pilgrimage place still in progress, the porous boundaries of the House of the Virgin Mary can be understood in terms of its location in a web of places. The house is included as part of the ensemble of Ephesus ruins and more broadly, as part of a range of religiously and historically significant sites deployed by the Capuchin order, international cultural organizations, the Turkish government, and private tour operators. Within this web, the Capuchin caretakers of the House of the Virgin Mary leverage its relatively small size and modest status on a global scale. Visitors are offered a range of interactive possibilities that they can browse: walking through the house, drawing miraculous water from the wellspring, and attaching their prayers to Mary on the wishing wall. This engagement commemorates Mary and, for organizers and adherents,

strengthens its historical claims even as it supports the commercial character of the pilgrimage environment. Key multilingual, explanatory signs declare the historical veracity of the house as Mary's dwelling place.

The sources of contestation at the House of the Virgin Mary are multiple and comparable to Chartres, though without the scale and longstanding cultural value of the cathedral. Heterogeneous audiences are significant in bringing multiple memory narratives into play. There is a unique aspect of the House of the Virgin Mary in that caretakers address both Christian and Muslim audiences through the prominent display of Quranic verses about Mary. This display integrates diverse visitors into the pilgrimage environment, where Mary is a shared sacred figure in two traditions, welcoming all to her house—revealing contestation that is polyvalence rather than the contentiousness seen at Medjugorje. The designation of Ephesus as an overall tourism zone by Turkish officials and a World Heritage Site by UNESCO expands the web around the House of the Virgin Mary, mingling commercial, cultural, and religious zones. Memory narratives are likewise significant here, as the historic legitimacy of Mary at her house is tied to nearby sites in a hypertext-like arrangement: nearby places like the Basilica of St. John and the Church of the Virgin Mary become proof that St. John brought Mary to Ephesus to live, and the remains of pre-Christian places like the Temple of Artemis present Mary's ultimate re-inscription of Ephesus as Christian territory. In this way, Ephesus is important for its ambitious attention to global audiences through claims of the historical presence of Mary, conveyed through the physical “fact” of the house.

Theory and Method

My analytical approach draws upon the literature on pilgrimage and sacred space. Using concepts from this literature, I regard pilgrimage places as contested, interactive, and worldly. These three aspects, examined in greater depth in the following chapter, are central to my analytical lens for viewing the case studies. First, I see pilgrimage places as contested, though not necessarily in the sense of violence and antagonistic conflict. Rather, I use the definition of anthropologists John Eade and Michael Sallnow in their edited collection *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*: contestation denotes the array of competing discourses present at a pilgrimage site.¹⁶ Various actors involved in the pilgrimage place—stakeholders, visitors, caretakers and managers, members of religious orders, commercial or cultural groups—have various ideas and claims about the place. Eade and Sallnow describe this discursive array:

[I]t is necessary to develop a view of pilgrimage not merely as field of social relations but also as a realm of competing discourses....It is these varied discourses with their multiple meanings and understandings, brought to the shrine by different categories of pilgrims, by residents and by religious specialists, that are constitutive of the cult itself.¹⁷

My case studies produce and host a range of perspectives with respect to numerous actors, resulting in varying kinds of contestation.

As outlined above, I identify three main sources of contestation in my case studies: places and images that convey different memory narratives in different contexts; heterogeneous audiences that include cultural, religious, or leisure visitors and

¹⁶ John Eade and Michael Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

¹⁷ Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, 5.

stakeholders, with possible overlap among those groups; and intermingled commercial and devotional places. These sources of contestation cultivate the polyphony shaping and changing the pilgrimage environment. Furthermore, I stress the physically located aspects of contestation in addition to the discursive—what I call emplaced contestation. I do not regard emplaced contestation as merely reflecting larger ideas about place. Rather, I view it as constitutive of, and interdependent with, pilgrimage place and experience.

Second, as a way of examining how emplaced contestation works at the three sites, I draw upon art historians who provide a useful language to describe how people interact with images, elucidating the connections among place, image, and memory. Specifically, my approach is informed by the work of art historians in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*.¹⁸ As detailed in the following chapter, *Push Me, Pull You* contributors explore how medieval and Renaissance Christian devotees interacted with sacred places, objects, and images, and how ecclesiastic and political authorities attempted to arrange devotional places to encourage particular movements and responses.

Art historians also provide an understanding of *audience* at all three case studies. Assorted planners, officials, pilgrims, and participants form the viewing audiences in *Push Me, Pull You*, demonstrating that religious and cultural elites are not separate from the influence of images, even as they may position them to elicit responses from others. Editors Blick and Gelfand employ reception theory to explain the relationship between

¹⁸ Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand, eds., *Push Me, Pull You: Physical and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

viewers and images, one of profound engagement. For Blick and Gelfand, the viewer is a composite of imagined, ideal, intended, and actual viewers—or, a multivalent audience that designs, implements, and receives images.¹⁹ This concept of a multivalent audience is helpful for my case studies, where a wide range of actors engage with the pilgrimage environment and where people may bring both religious understandings and cultural curiosity to the images displayed. Art historians further explain how audiences can appropriate and interpret a physical object differently in various contexts. In her study of pilgrimage practices at Santiago de Compostela, Kathleen Ashley calls this “material plasticity”: there is a sense of improvisation and agency when viewing images or performing rituals related to them, depending on the context and the user.²⁰

Throughout the case studies, I regard audiences as multivalent and heterogeneous, encompassing stakeholders, caretakers, devotional participants, and cultural and leisure visitors. The interplay among audiences—an ongoing dynamic—is an essential part of a pilgrimage place’s functionality and viability.²¹ This very interplay means that pilgrimage sites have no static equilibrium point in their practices, design, or popularity—and thus, change over time. In particular, heterogeneous audiences are an important feature of the

¹⁹ Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 1,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 1, xxxviii. Reception theory will be further detailed in Chapter Two.

²⁰ Kathleen Ashley, “Hugging the Saint: Improvising Ritual on the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 4-5. Ashley contrasts material plasticity with other theoretical approaches—notably Marxist and later post-structuralist ones—that emphasize how repetitive actions instill dominant ideologies and reinforce existing power.

²¹ Reader makes a similar point using Lochtefeld’s work on Hindu pilgrimage traditions at Hardwar, India. Reader states that we must be attentive to both pilgrims and providers who “live at, administer, and promote religious centers”: “...one needs to take account of pilgrims and providers and of their constant interactions to see how pilgrimage places function; it is through such interactions that pilgrimage place such as Hardwar (and by implication other pilgrimage sites) retain their continuing viability.” Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 17; James G. Lochtefeld, *God’s Gateway: Identity and Meaning in a Hindu Pilgrimage Place* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9.

global pilgrimage marketplace. There is constant adjustment and re-adjustment of the site and its images for audiences through changing implementation of technology, communication and transportation, marketing, and tourism infrastructure.

Finally, I approach my case studies as worldly and not best understood through divisions between sacred and profane space. As Jonathan Smith argues, there is nothing inherently sacred or profane, and these are relational categories.²² Tuan likewise states that sacred space has no fixed patterns of inherent human meaning; rather, it is a blank page upon which meaning may be imposed.²³ In keeping with this approach, I treat sacred places as historically contingent and constructed through cultural labor, as well as embedded in culture, politics, and economics. Sacredness is a designation assigned by particular actors or communities, and such designations are subject to change and challenge over time. In this, I am further influenced by the work of Friedland and Hecht, who argue in their study of place and politics in Jerusalem that the organization of sacred space and the material, cultural organization of power are intimately connected.²⁴ As Friedland and Hecht state, sacred space socially constructed, and the process of its meaning making affects those who claim it.²⁵ This connection between place and power

²² Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 291.

²³ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 54. Cf. Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 105.

²⁴ Friedland and Hecht, 55.

²⁵ Roger Friedland and Richard D. Hecht, "The Politics of Sacred Place: Jerusalem's Temple Mount/al-haram al-Sharif," *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 55. See also Kinnard: "[M]arking a place as sacred in this way is seldom a unilateral move—and also seldom a neutral one." Jacob N. Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims* (New York: Oxford, 2014), 170.

is present at Chartres in its conservation and cultural heritage designation, at Medjugorje in its role as justifying Franciscan claims for spiritual leadership, and at the House of the Virgin Mary in its deployment as part of a national heritage industry.

For the worldly aspect of pilgrimage, the work of Ian Reader is likewise significant for my project. Reader argues that pilgrimage dynamics, both throughout history and present day, cannot be attributed solely to miracles, legends, and visual drama. These things alone are not sufficient for sites to flourish or gain a lasting reputation. Rather, these aspects are located in a marketplace, which allows for constructs of the sacred to materialize and for successful pilgrimage sites to emerge.²⁶ Reader makes the crucial observation that the location of pilgrimage in mundane places it precisely what produces our ideas of the sacred:

One cannot separate out these aspects into artificially divided camps in which pilgrimage is presented in an ideal form as devoid of commerce and market forces in which any manifestation of the latter—whether in the shape of a souvenir, a package holiday or priestly promotions—is represented as ‘inauthentic’ and as a scar on the face of sanctity. The sacred, insofar as it is a viable category, is not separate from but grounded in the realms of the mundane, profane and mercantile, which are themselves integral elements in the construction and shaping of pilgrimage and thereby the sacred.²⁷

Reader’s contention that the location of pilgrimage places in the “mundane, profane and mercantile” is central to their success applies to all three case studies. Accordingly, I examine pilgrimage environments as connected to the world and its continuing commercial activities.

²⁶ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 195.

²⁷ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 195.

Connected to this worldly aspect of pilgrimage sites is their complex interaction with tourism industries and their marketing to heterogeneous audiences—devotional, cultural, or various combinations. As my case studies show, *tourism* and *pilgrimage* are not distinct or bounded categories, though various actors do promote the three pilgrimage places explicitly using a framework of tourism. In Chapter Two, I examine tourism as a historical form of leisure travel, but one that intersects with pilgrimage. Tourism to European pilgrimage sites rose with the advent of steam travel in the nineteenth century, complementing a rise in European elites touring the continent and its cultural attractions.²⁸ Over the past several decades, globalization has produced increasing integration in terms of international travel and communication, relevant for Chartres, Medjugorje, and the House of the Virgin Mary. Globalization, as defined by Robert Shuey, refers to forms of economic, social, and political integration, allowing people to communicate, travel, invest, and use technology internationally—resulting in benefit for some and harm for others.²⁹ Integration is an important point here: the pilgrimage places I examine are not detached from the territories or circumstances around them. Rather, there is an extension of ties to other places, organizations, and activities. Social scientist Anthony Giddens refers to globalization as a “stretching” of our modern life and our experience of space and time through information and communication technology, global

²⁸ Jean Rémy, “Pilgrimage and Modernity.” *Social Compass* 36.2 (1989): 145–261.

²⁹ Robert Shuey, “Globalization: Implications of U.S. National Security,” *Globalization*, ed. Gary J. Wells, Robert Shuey, and Ray Kiely (Huntington, N.Y.: Novinka Books, 2001), 37.

media, and migration.³⁰ In this context of globalization, the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism has grown ever more intricate. Scholars continue to explore the complex and reciprocal impacts of religion, civil religion, tourism, and pilgrimage—which Weidenfeld and Ron refer to as one of “competition, mutual influence, being complementary, and eventual co-habitualness.”³¹

Because of these dynamics, I use the term ‘pilgrimage environment’ to refer to a pilgrimage site with its associated architecture, artworks, and relics, and also with its related touristic, commercial, culturally commemorative, and administrative places. This environment includes the flow of visitors and pilgrimage groups, caretakers and managers, religious orders, conservation organizations, and local parish members. A pilgrimage environment, then, encompasses the religious and ritual nature of a shrine and the cult around it, but it also encompasses the pilgrimage industry and management structure that sustains it and the political discourse that animates it. In this way, a pilgrimage environment is characterized by more diffuse yet interdependent zones of interaction, distinct from the Eliadian notion of a sacred center or fixed *axis mundi* that connects the higher and earthly realms.³² The concept of the pilgrimage environment is

³⁰ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); see also Andrew Jones, “Introduction: Thinking about Globalization,” *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, ed. Jones (Malden, MA: Polity, 2010), 5-6.

³¹ Adi Weidenfeld and Amos Ron, “Religious Needs in the Tourism Industry,” *Anatolia* 19.2 (2008): 358. See also Ian Reader and Tony Walter, eds., *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1993); William H. Swatos, ed., *On the Road to Being There: Studies in Pilgrimage and Tourism in Late Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Alex Norman and Carole M. Cusack, eds., *Religion, Pilgrimage, and Tourism* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

³² Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 53. See Hassner, who draws upon Mircea Eliade in his analysis of pilgrimage as travel towards a center, with pilgrims entering sacred space that is set apart from the profane. Ron E. Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 22, 46. Victor and Edith Turner

important for the porous boundaries of the three places I examine, accommodating a constellation of spaces and activities with varying purposes.

Methodologically, I do not locate myself as an art historian; rather, while my analysis draws upon art historical literature and analysis, my approach is interdisciplinary. As Hans Belting states, observing the appeal of images for art historians, theologians, and historians alike, “[i]mages belong to all of them, and to none exclusively.”³³ My sources include anthropology, art history, history, human geography, religious studies, and tourism and leisure studies. I focus on material culture connected to my three case studies: their topographical and architectural design, including infrastructure to accommodate large-scale visits; the images and devotional objects presented to visitors, including statues, reliefs, relics, and stained glass; and the mediating or explanatory materials at the site, such as signs and maps. My analysis also includes website images and text that different stakeholders use to promote and memorialize the sites. These visual and explanatory materials present historical and theological arguments about the significance of these places. My principal focus, then, is not the attitudes or expressed purpose of visitors at the site. Rather, it is their arrangements and the images people encounter there, and how the places accommodate audiences and authorize

separate the pilgrimage “environment” from what they call the “organism” or sacred aspects of pilgrimage: its “religious goals, personnel, relationships, rituals, values and value-orientations, rules and customs.” For the Turners, the pilgrimage “environment” is separate and mundane, including “markets, hospices, hospitals, military supports, legal devices (such as passports), systems of communication and transportation, and so on—as well as antagonistic agencies, such as official or unofficial representatives of hostile faiths, bandits, thieves, confidence men, and even backsliders within the pilgrim ranks.” Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 22. When I use the term pilgrimage environment, however, I do not separate the Turners’ sacred and mundane aspects; rather, I see them as interrelated.

³³ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 3.

particular forms of memory.³⁴ I also include photographs and observations from visits to the three sites (Chartres in 2011 and 2015, Ephesus in 2013, and Medjugorje in 2015).

Rationale and Significance

Collins-Kreiner traces scholarly interest in pilgrimage through the work of Mircea Eliade and his emphasis on the locative sacrality of the axis mundi, the seminal work of Victor Turner in the 1960s and 1970s, and a subsequent focus on tourism and leisure studies. Throughout the 1990s, she states, the pilgrimage research field opened to include political and cultural issues, interdisciplinary approaches in areas like human geography, and blended religious and secular forms of travel and tourism.³⁵ Even in the midst of this opening, however, the work of the late British anthropologist Victor Turner still influences scholarship, and his writings of the 1960s and 1970s remain a touchstone in the study of pilgrimage.

Two key works are Turner's 1969 book, *The Ritual Process*, and his 1978 collaboration with his wife, Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*.³⁶ *Image and Pilgrimage* is shaped by Victor Turner's interest in folk traditions as a means of transmission of social meaning, as well as the

³⁴ For examples of studies that reflect a concern with the attitudes and purposes of visitors to a pilgrimage place or journey, see Keith Egan, "Walking Back to Happiness? Modern Pilgrimage and the Expression of Suffering on Spain's Camino de Santiago," *Journeys* 11.1 (2010): 107–132; Noga Collins-Kreiner and N. Kliot, "Pilgrimage Tourism in the Holy Land: The Behavioural Characteristics of Christian Pilgrims," *GeoJournal* 50.1 (2000): 55–67.

³⁵ Noga Collins-Kreiner, "Geographers and Pilgrimages: Changing Concepts In Pilgrimage Tourism Research," *Journal of Economic & Social Geography* 101.4 (2010): 437–448.

³⁶ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969).

importance of symbolic systems and images in ritual practice. Accordingly, the Turners use the work of French ethnographer Arnold van Gennep to explore pilgrimage as ritual. In his 1909 monograph, *The Rites of Passage*, van Gennep divided rites of passage from childbirth to marriage into three phases: pre-liminal (the departure from society), liminal (the in-between period apart from society, in which ritual actions take place), and post-liminal (the return to society after the ritual has been completed).³⁷ The Turners engage with the middle stage, liminality, and designate pilgrimage as a liminoid phenomenon—liminoid to distinguish the idea from van Gennep's liminality, thus emphasizing the voluntary nature of pilgrimage. According to the Turners, pilgrims experience this liminoid phase during their journey, an in-between state where normal social rules are suspended and subversive reactions to existing social power are possible.³⁸ The liminoid quality of pilgrimage spontaneously releases *communitas*, or feelings of fellowship and human bonding, characterized by a suspension of usual codes of social hierarchy.³⁹ In their emphasis on ritual and symbolic activity, the Turners highlight the transformational and subversive capacity of the pilgrimage experience, occurring outside place, time, and social structure. A unifying principle for *Image and Pilgrimage*, then, is the potential for pilgrimage to challenge existing structures.

Image and Pilgrimage mines the earlier work of Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process*, where he distinguishes spontaneous existential *communitas*, voluntary and joyful, from normative *communitas* (which captures existential *communitas* and encodes

³⁷ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

³⁸ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 231-2.

³⁹ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 139, 191, 250.

it for legal, ethical, and institutional practices) and ideological *communitas* (which is utopian in nature, and may result in reformist or revolutionary movements).⁴⁰ However, the Turners make the argument that normative and ideological *communitas* rob existential *communitas* of its potency and purity.⁴¹ Thus, they suggest that the best form of pilgrimage is the purest form: the pre-institutionalized kind, prior to formal religious structures and free from profane commodification. Consequently, *Image and Pilgrimage* argues that pilgrimage becomes more controlled and structured as one moves closer towards the physical center and as pilgrimage practices develop over time. What was at first “fresh and spontaneous” devotion becomes subject to the “routinization and institutionalization” of more institutionalized and commodified management, including special masses and prayers, guides and missals, statues and rosaries, organized groups, marketing, fairs, permits, and licenses.⁴² For the Turners, this is both a move towards regulation and towards a physical epicenter. Thus, pilgrimage shifts in space and time from “vision to routinization, from antistructure through counterstructure to structure.”⁴³ The Turners argue for the ability of authentic pilgrimage to shine through the inauthenticity of institutional and commodified structures, stating that “even amidst the

⁴⁰ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 37, 134, and 251; Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 132. See also John Eade, “Introduction to the Illinois Paperback,” *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Eade and Sallnow, reprint edition (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013), x-xi.

⁴¹ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 136-7.

⁴² Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 25-26.

⁴³ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 26.

materialism of declining pilgrimage systems...something of the original ardor and *communitas* persists, a thin trickle of popular devotion.”⁴⁴

This framework of subversion and authenticity does not account for the varied potential for porous boundaries at pilgrimage places, where heterogeneous audiences engage with the pilgrimage environment and its interpenetrating devotional, cultural, and commercial aspects. Notably, the range of actors in my case studies demonstrates the unstable dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism. The Turners famously state that “a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist,” suggesting that the dividing line between these categories is unclear.⁴⁵ However, the Turners also emphasize the authentic and transformational power of the journey, in effect reinforcing this divide. They continue: “Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of *communitas*,” which are “generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, or the mine.”⁴⁶ Here, people leave the structured, mundane world to seek out the sacred. The Turners even assign pilgrim and tourist identities based on the journey towards the pilgrimage center versus the journey home from it. The way *to* a shrine is longer and more detailed as the “pilgrim advances toward his ultimate sacred goal,” stopping at every way station to perform devotions and penance, and gradually advancing towards the pilgrimage center.⁴⁷ The way *from* a shrine, they state, is different. A pilgrim aims to return home as

⁴⁴ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 26.

⁴⁵ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 20.

⁴⁶ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 20.

⁴⁷ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 22.

quickly and enjoyably as possible, and having secured blessings through the journey, “his attitude is now that of a tourist rather than a devotee.”⁴⁸ These boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism place, and sacred and mundane place, are called into question at my case studies.

Many studies of pilgrimage continue to use the Turners as interlocutors. John Eade and Michael Sallnow recognize their debt to Victor Turner, characterizing his work as a necessary response to previous scholarship that emphasized pilgrimage as reflecting or reinforcing existing social structures—and according to some, functioning to maintain oppressive ideologies of the ruling classes.⁴⁹ At the same time, Simon Coleman calls the Turners’ vision of pilgrimage idealistic, even as they “put the study of pilgrimage back on the scholarly map.”⁵⁰ Elsewhere, Coleman quotes C. Bawa Yamba, who examines “permanent pilgrims” to Mecca, settling for generations in Sudan: Yamba regards the Turnerian view as producing a kind of “theoretical strait jacket, restricting further development and making work in other areas of anthropology seem more dynamic.”⁵¹ Coleman and Eade moreover refer to the Turner paradigm as a “theoretical cul-de-sac” for its all-encompassing character.⁵² Thus, scholars have increasingly recognized the

⁴⁸ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 22.

⁴⁹ Eade and Sallnow 2000, 3-4.

⁵⁰ Simon Coleman, “Pilgrimage as Trope for an Anthropology of Christianity,” *Current Anthropology* 55.10 (2014): 283.

⁵¹ Simon Coleman, “Do You Believe in Pilgrimage?: Communitas, Contestation And Beyond,” *Anthropological Theory* 2.3 (2002): 356. Coleman refers to C. Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

⁵² Simon Coleman and John Eade, eds., *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

limitations of this framework for its universalizing and idealizing approach, and for its disconnection from political context.⁵³ At the same time, however, studies continue to use Turner's concepts, notably *communitas* and liminality, even as authors acknowledge their shortcomings.⁵⁴

The continued use of concepts like *communitas* and liminality, even with qualifications, suggests a continuing preoccupation with the authenticity and anti-establishment nature of the pilgrimage experience. Likewise, definitions of pilgrimage like that of Alan Morinis—a quest for the sacred⁵⁵—suggest a sustained interest in locating spiritually authentic pilgrimage places, which does not help us fully understand the potential porousness of sites with global audiences and vigorous marketing industries. In contrast, I take seriously Kaufman's critique of the scholarly bias that dichotomizes spiritual and worldly concerns vis-à-vis pilgrimage place. In the case of the Marian apparition site at Lourdes, she argues that commercialization has allowed the shrine to

⁵³ Eade and Sallow, 1991; Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims*; Coleman, "Do You Believe in Pilgrimage?"; Bonnie Wheeler, "Models of Pilgrimage: From *Communitas* to Confluence," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 13.2 (1999): 26–41.

⁵⁴ See Sanne Derks, *Power and Pilgrimage: Dealing With Class, Gender and Ethnic Inequality at a Bolivian Marian Shrine* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2009); Eduardo Chemin, "Producers of Meaning and the Ethics of Movement: Religion, Consumerism and Gender on the Road to Compostela," *Gender, Nation and Religion in European Pilgrimage*, ed. Willy Jansen and Catrien Notermans (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 137; Hermkens et al., "Introduction: The Power of Marian Pilgrimage," *Moved by Mary*, 3-4 and 9; Michael Stausberg, *Religion and Tourism: Crossroads, Destinations and Encounters* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 21-22; Wheeler, "Models of Pilgrimage"; Zachary Beckstead, "Crossing Thresholds: Movement as a Means of Transformation," *Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 710-729; Madeleine Gray, "Sacred Space and the Natural World: The Holy Well and Shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys," *European Review of History* 18.2 (2011): 245; Lynn Ross-Bryant, *Pilgrimage to the National Parks: Religion and Nature in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 9; Selva J. Raj and Corinne C. Dempsey, eds., *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 106.

⁵⁵ Alan Morinis, ed., *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992), 2.

remain vibrant and viable, stating: “The notion that real spirituality resides beyond the dross of the marketplace needs to be challenged.”⁵⁶ This echoes Simon Coleman’s argument, examined in the following chapter: pilgrimage does not stand apart from other forms of human activity.⁵⁷

In short, when it comes to pilgrimage, commodification isn’t a bug, but a feature. In Reader’s words, pilgrimage sites operate not only in the marketplace but also through it, as commercial activity helps sustain them.⁵⁸ The framework of a pilgrimage environment, with its constellation of interrelated locations, accommodates commodification as well as change—in addition to devotional images and a central shrine, people interact with promotional signage, gift shops, ticket stands, and cafés in a broader area. Throughout this area, key images are frequently repeated through mementos and promotional literature, acting as reminders of the place’s significance: the stained glass *Notre Dame de La Belle Verrière* window at Chartres; the statue of the Virgin Mary on the Medjugorje hillside marking the spot of the first claimed apparition; the bronze statue of Mary on the main walkway at the House of the Virgin Mary, hands outstretched in welcome and mercy.

⁵⁶ Suzanne K. Kaufman, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 7.

⁵⁷ Simon Coleman, “From England’s Nazareth to Sweden’s Jerusalem: Movement, (Virtual) Landscapes, and Pilgrimages,” *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 53.

⁵⁸ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 8.

Outline of Project

In Chapter Two (“The Global Dynamics of Place and Pilgrimage”), I consider the scholarly literature that informs an understanding of pilgrimage places as dynamic and contested environments, fostering different forms of porousness. Simon Coleman and John Eade’s *Reframing Pilgrimage*, as part of a larger genealogy of pilgrimage studies, provides a useful emphasis on global movement. However, this emphasis must be combined with an understanding of pilgrimage places themselves as dynamic, contested environments. Art historians provide a helpful language to explain how contestation and memory are grounded, and how visual culture shapes the pilgrimage environment. The work of Reader and others locates pilgrimage places in the profane and commercial world, an important aspect of their global context.

In Chapter Three (“Integrating Heritage Place and Sacred Place: Pilgrimage and Chartres Cathedral”), I argue that while the cathedral at Chartres is the most physically and historically bounded of the case studies, its porous boundaries today arise from its expansive pilgrimage environment and proliferating audiences. That is, porousness arises at Chartres as boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism, devotional and commercial place, and spiritual and cultural value are continuously crossed and renegotiated. Contestation is interdependent with this porousness. As a wide demographic shares the cathedral, the city, cathedral caretakers, the French state, and UNESCO deploy images and highlight different memory narratives concerning Marian devotion, Gothic style, national identity, and global cultural heritage. In particular, the cathedral’s valuation as a heritage monument, nationally and globally, means that images are both spiritual

reminders and artistic artifacts. Ultimately, Chartres exemplifies how our ideas of sacredness are rooted in the mundane, profane and mercantile.

In Chapter Four (“The Fluid Pilgrimage Environment: Contestation and Memory at Medjugorje”), I argue that porousness at Medjugorje arises not only from the intermingling of commercial and devotional place, but also from its physical and conceptual expanse. Its relatively recent and ongoing apparition phenomenon shapes a fluid pilgrimage environment, still in progress. This very newness has made Medjugorje available for a range of competing interpretations and memory narratives. Contested from its inception and denied recognition by church hierarchy, various actors mark the landscape and attempt to tether and define the apparition phenomenon. This contestation of memory is local, regional, and national: Franciscan leadership, visitors and devotees, and visionaries all install and enact memory narratives on the hillsides and in the church, even as the Franciscans widen their claim to the Herzegovinian territory. Contestation of memory took extreme form during the Bosnian War, when Mary of Medjugorje symbolized both international peace and longstanding grievances of Croat Catholics groups. The dispersed space and divergent memory narratives at Medjugorje challenge notions of a pilgrimage center that is increasingly controlled by religious authorities.

In Chapter Five (“Links to History: Pilgrimage and the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus”), I show that the House of the Virgin Mary shares some forms of porousness with Chartres in its array of audiences and interconnected commercial aspects. Capuchin caretakers repeat key images of Mary and convey the historical legitimacy of the house through explanatory signs, carefully grounding the memory narrative of Mary’s dwelling

in the pilgrimage environment. At the same time, the place invites ritual browsing of devotional and commercial offerings by a varied demographic of visitor. Yet, there are additional sources of porousness at the house. Capuchin caretakers situate Mary's house as both a Muslim and a Christian shrine, and the display of Quranic verses on the grounds speaks to the commemoration of Mary in distinct and multiple faith traditions.

Additionally, the boundaries of the house as a spiritual, cultural, and commercial place become porous as the Turkish government and UNESCO leverage the pilgrimage environment. The house is grouped together as one part of a larger historical ensemble and cultural palimpsest in the area, both supporting and challenging the narrative of dwelling.

In the Conclusion ("The Facts of Distance and the Joys of Proximity"), I assess what the three case studies say as individual places and as a group. Each place has its own variation and complexity of porousness: Chartres integrates expanding audiences and interests, Medjugorje spills over physical and conceptual bounds, and the House of the Virgin Mary links different faith traditions and historic monuments in the area. In addition to what each individual case study shows us about the varied forms of porous boundaries, they also demonstrate a number of themes as a set: the importance of place to contestation; the shared polyvalence of Marian imagery; the role of emplaced memory; and the complex tension between pilgrimage and tourism. Overall, the different forms of porousness shape pilgrimage places that are dynamic and ongoing.

Chapter Two
The Global Dynamics of Place and Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage has been defined by scholars in various ways: “a journey resulting from religious causes, externally to a holy site, and internally for spiritual purposes and internal understanding”¹; a magnet for those in search of spiritual goals²; and a religious journey, especially to a shrine or a sacred place.³ Alan Morinis defines pilgrimage as a quest for the sacred that includes both a journey and a goal,⁴ while Dubisch defines a pilgrimage place as one where a religious tradition links an event or sacred figure with a particular field of space.⁵ Margry states that pilgrimage is “a complex of behaviors and rituals in the domain of the sacred and the transcendent.”⁶ McKevitt adds that it is “axiomatic that a pilgrimage is a journey to a sacred place which lies beyond the mundane world of the pilgrim’s existence,” and agrees with the Turners that there is a private, mystical aspect to the journey.⁷ These scholarly definitions propose something

¹ Richard W. Barber, *Pilgrimages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1991), 1.

² Justine Digance, “Pilgrimage at Contested Sites,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 301 (2003): 143.

³ V. L. Smith, “Introduction: The Quest in Guest,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 1–17.

⁴ Alan Morinis, ed., “Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage,” *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 2.

⁵ Jill Dubisch, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 38.

⁶ Peter Jan Margry, ed., “Secular Pilgrimage: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Shrines and Pilgrimage in the Modern World: New Itineraries into the Sacred* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 14.

⁷ Christopher McKevitt, “San Giovanni Rotondo and the Shrine of Padre Pio,” *Contesting the Sacred*, 78.

about pilgrimage places: they are locations of the sacred or spiritual, where one journeys to seek a goal, figure, or tradition that underscores that sacredness.

Steller notes the difficulty in reconciling such various definitions of pilgrimage. He quotes Colin Morris that “it is notoriously difficult to define a pilgrim.”⁸ In navigating this complexity, my project is informed by Simon Coleman’s position: Coleman states that the focus should be on understanding aspects of human behavior through pilgrimage, not on the academic exercise of defining pilgrimage as a firmly bounded category of action.⁹ Accordingly, my emphasis is how these places work in a global and contested context—where our very ideas about pilgrimage and sacred places are mediated through global travel, technology and media, cultural heritage, and international commercial concerns. Varied forms of porous boundaries ensue from these dynamics as a range of actors and memories coincide in an overall pilgrimage environment.

In this chapter, I consider the scholarly literature that supports an understanding of pilgrimage places as dynamic and contested environments, fostering different forms of porousness. First, I use Simon Coleman and John Eade’s *Reframing Pilgrimage* as a lens for examining recent developments in the pilgrimage literature. Coleman and Eade’s stress on global movement, and Coleman’s inclusion of pilgrimage in a range of activities that cultivates ideas about sacredness, provide important context for all three case studies.

⁸ J. Steller, “The Creationist Tales: Understanding a Postmodern Museum Pilgrimage,” *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*, ed. Stanley D. Brunn (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 2542-3. Steller refers to Colin Morris’ introduction to *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1. Cf. Margry, 13.

⁹ Simon Coleman, “Do You Believe in Pilgrimage?: Communitas, Contestation and Beyond,” *Anthropological Theory* 2.3 (2002): 363.

However, as a complement to global movement, I also stress the dynamics of pilgrimage places themselves through emplaced contestation, or the ever-changing material array of physical place, images, and interaction that accompanies proliferating audiences. Second, I examine how art historians provide a language to explain emplaced contestation. Art historical accounts describe how images engage audiences and ground memory, and clarify the active role of visual culture in creating and guiding pilgrimage places. In examining the visual rhetoric of pilgrimage sites, art historians moreover elucidate the role of images in memory narratives—important for signifying, persuading, and commemorating at all three case studies. Finally, I consider the work of Reader and others in order to locate pilgrimage places in the profane and commercial world, an important aspect of their global context.

Reframing Pilgrimage

In the 2004 collection, *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, editors Simon Coleman and John Eade point to a lack of scholarly attention towards the inherent mobility of pilgrimage. They argue that Victor and Edith Turner, foundational in the field, de-emphasize the physical motion of pilgrimage by not capturing the journey made to reach shrines.¹⁰ Even Edith Turner's reference to pilgrimage as a "kinetic ritual" in the introduction to the Turners' classic text, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, does

¹⁰ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 1. On the Turners' influence, John Eade states in the 2013 introduction to *Contesting the Sacred*: "The fact that the Turners' book is still discussed and used is a major achievement in a world of short-lived academic enthusiasms and the even shorter lives of many anthropological monographs." John Eade, "Introduction," *Contesting the Sacred: An Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013), xi.

not adequately recognize the importance of mobility.¹¹ Coleman and Eade acknowledge the Turners' concern with images of pilgrimage as a way of exploring symbols and meanings, but they also note that the illustrations in *Image and Pilgrimage* are static depictions of sacred sites in Mexico, France, Italy, Ireland, and England. Coleman and Eade allow that these static illustrations suggest the range of activity involved in the pilgrimage process, including standing, walking, and kneeling.¹² However, their focus remains on broader forms of movement. As they argue elsewhere, the experience of pilgrimage is not a static object or a representation; rather, it is both a movement in space and an active process of response.¹³

I would argue that in some regards, the Turners do discuss pilgrimage movement—they do so, however, by stressing the aura of sacredness that ultimately lies at the shrine. They state that traveling pilgrims are exposed to “powerful religious sacra” at the end of their journey, including shrines, images, liturgies, curative waters, and ritual circumambulations.¹⁴ This particular view of movement is embedded in the Turners' view of pilgrimage as subversive and liminoid—outlined in *Image and Pilgrimage* as offering anarchic social potential through *communitas*, and described elsewhere by Victor Turner as the creative and rebellious energy at the edges of society.¹⁵

¹¹ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, xiii.

¹² Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 2.

¹³ Coleman and Eade, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*, 206.

¹⁴ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 8 and 10.

¹⁵ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 32; Victor Turner, “Liminality and *Communitas*,” *The Ritual Process*, 94-113.

The Turners' framework fits uncomfortably with the globalized forms of pilgrimage and religious movement highlighted by Coleman and Eade—forms characterized by proliferating modes and methods of audience interaction, all contributing to the porous boundaries of pilgrimage places. In reaction to the Turners, Coleman and Eade aim for a dynamic understanding of pilgrimage in *Reframing Pilgrimage*. It is important to situate this volume as part of a longer conversation in the study of pilgrimage. John Eade, along with the late Michael Sallnow, previously replied to the Turners' work in their 1991 collection, *Contesting the Sacred*. As outlined in the Introduction, Eade and Sallnow view pilgrimage practices through the lens of contestation—and, their version of contestation operates in the “realm of competing discourses.”¹⁶ Glenn Bowman describes these competing discourses well in his contribution to *Contesting the Sacred*. He calls the shared religious space of Jerusalem an “antagonistic engagement”: key sacred sites for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam cluster within the walls of the Old City, with particular tensions over control of the *Haram al-Sharif* or Temple Mount. For Bowman, this state of affairs is a “continuous crossing and diverging—often marked by clashes—of bodies, voices, and religious artifacts,” creating not so much a holy city but rather a multitude of Jerusalems. Religious groups may worship in nearby buildings and in the same moment, with all voices contending for hegemony. “The various Jerusalems,” says Bowman, “function as signs in the diverse discourses on religion, power, and identity.”¹⁷

¹⁶ Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, 5.

¹⁷ Glenn Bowman, “Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities,” *Contesting the Sacred*, 98.

Contesting the Sacred is significant as a watershed in its reaction to the Turnerian paradigm.¹⁸ Later scholars have seen *Image and Pilgrimage* and *Contesting the Sacred* as important guideposts in the genealogy of pilgrimage studies. Coleman calls *Contesting the Sacred* the most sustained response in the field so far to *Image and Pilgrimage*.¹⁹ Bonnie Wheeler juxtaposes Eade and Sallnow's idea of contestation with the Turners' work on *communitas* as two principal nodes in pilgrimage scholarship, and she seeks a confluence of both influential approaches.²⁰ Badone and Roseman offer a similar juxtaposition, observing the analytical move in the field from *communitas* to contestation.²¹ Subsequent work in the field, they note, attempts to draw upon both *communitas* and contestation as flexible tools, such as Dubisch's study of the Greek Orthodox shrine on the Aegean island of Tinos.²²

However, for all its contributions to the field, *Contesting the Sacred* is not necessarily focused on issues of movement. Though the specific treatment of pilgrimage sites, their architecture, and their imagery is sometimes cursory throughout the volume, Eade's chapter on Lourdes is perhaps the most engaged with the physical aspects of the

¹⁸ According to one reviewer writing shortly after its publication, *Contesting the Sacred* redrew the methodological lines in the study of pilgrimage, with implications for the work of Victor Turner and Mircea Eliade. Karen Pechilis, "Rev. of *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*," *Journal of Religion* 72.4 (1992): 633-635. Cf. Collins-Kreiner, "Researching Pilgrimage," 449, who calls *Contesting the Sacred* a "direct challenge" to the Turners' work.

¹⁹ Coleman, "Do You Believe in Pilgrimage," 357.

²⁰ Bonnie Wheeler, "Models of Pilgrimage: From *Communitas* to Confluence," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 13.2 (1999): 26-41.

²¹ Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, eds., *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 3-5.

²² Badone and Roseman, 5. Badone and Roseman refer to Jill Dubisch's previous cited book, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine*.

pilgrimage place: he is attentive to the role of the physical body in pilgrimage through practices such as ritual baths and processions.²³ In terms of pilgrimage movement on a large scale, Eade's later introduction to the 2013 edition of *Contesting the Sacred* is more engaged with global movements of people through pilgrimage.²⁴

Nonetheless, it is *Reframing Pilgrimage*, co-edited by Eade with fellow anthropologist Simon Coleman, which firmly emphasizes the idea of global pilgrimage movement. Coleman and Eade do express agreement with Edith Turner that pilgrimage is kinetic ritual, but their agenda is broader still: *Reframing Pilgrimage* examines various forms of motion as constitutive of many pilgrimages. Their collection is concerned with movement to and at pilgrimage sites, and how “mobile performances can help to construct—however temporarily—apparently sacredly charged place.”²⁵ This approach complements the work of other scholars. Geographer Surinder Bhardwaj, for example, analyzes existing “religious circulation systems” in his study of non-Hajj Islamic pilgrimage—a framework, he argues, that need not rely on ideas about what pilgrimage ought to be.²⁶ Likewise, fellow geographer Noga Collins-Kreiner calls for greater attention to various forms of “circulation” and “religious circulation,” whereby pilgrimage creates population mobility. This mobility affects trade, cultural exchange,

²³ John Eade, “Order and Power at Lourdes: Lay Helpers and the Organization of a Pilgrimage Shrine,” *Contesting the Sacred*, 51-76.

²⁴ Eade, “Introduction,” xvi–xxiii.

²⁵ Coleman and Eade, 3.

²⁶ S.M. Bhardwaj, “Non-Hajj Pilgrimage in Islam: A Neglected Dimension of Religious Circulation,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 17.2 (1998): 78.

political integration, and global health concerns.²⁷ Such emphasis on circulation is echoed by Marccoci et al., who point to a general “spatial turn” across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, where world events have increased our awareness of simultaneity, connection, circularity, and border crossing.²⁸ Kim Knott argues that this general spatial turn in the humanities and social sciences has shaped our understanding of religion in its “material, social, and cultural location,” offering new approaches for issues of place, body, territory, and boundaries.²⁹

In this analytical context, the contributors to *Reframing Pilgrimage*—primarily anthropologists—address various modes and meanings of pilgrimage movement. Eva Evers Rosander examines how pilgrimage travel among Senegalese Sufi women living in Spain increases their political and economic networking, and how poorer migrant women workers may contribute to “pilgrimage by proxy” through donations.³⁰ Other chapters explore “heritage tourism” or a quest for roots—to Ghana for African-Americans, to Scotland for those of Scottish descent, and to Salt Lake City, Utah for British Mormons. These forms of pilgrimage, as explored by authors Katharina Schramm, Paul Basu, and Hildi Mitchell, merge movement across the world with concepts of memory, exile,

²⁷ Collins-Kreiner, “Researching Pilgrimage,” 441.

²⁸ Guiseppe Marccoci et al., eds., “Introduction: Space, Conversion, and Global History,” *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1.

²⁹ Kim Knott, “Spatial Theory and the Study of Religion,” *Religion Compass* 2.6 (2008): 1113. See also Knott, “Religion, Space, and Place: The Spatial Turn in Research on Religion,” *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 1.1 (2010): 29–43.

³⁰ Eva Evers Rosander, “Going and Not Going to Porokhane: Mourid Women and Pilgrimage to Senegal and Spain,” *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 69–90.

diaspora, and return.³¹ In his chapter on “roots tourism” to the Scottish Highland, for example, Basu highlights movement as “a journey to the source, the cradle of belonging.”³²

Simon Coleman’s own contribution to *Reframing Pilgrimage* compares two Christian pilgrimages in order to examine different attitudes towards movement and time: first, Anglican and Roman Catholic pilgrimage to the shrine of Walsingham, England and second, evangelical Protestant pilgrimage from Sweden to the Holy Land. Pilgrimage to Walsingham, observes Coleman, values deliberate ritual movement, while the Swedish groups value the speed and efficiency of hyper-modern travel to Jerusalem in a “global landscape of missionization.”³³ Coleman also compares movement at his case studies to the complex tension between “perceived authenticity of purpose and mode of transport” along the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage.³⁴ Coleman grapples with pilgrimage movement along the Camino that petitions the idea of an authentic journey, yet is still embedded in modern and post-modern forms of transportation. Travelling by foot along the Camino has the highest status and by car, the lowest.

Coleman and Eade thus seek to move the study of pilgrimage beyond a focus on the sacred shrine and towards a wider range of sacred motion and travel. In the process,

³¹ Katharina Schramm, “Coming Home to the Motherland: Pilgrimage Tourism in Ghana,” *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 133-49; Paul Basu, “Route Metaphors of ‘Roots Tourism’ in the Scottish Highland Diaspora,” *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 150-74; Hilde Mitchell, “‘Being There’: British Mormons on the History Trail,” *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 26-44.

³² Basu, 173.

³³ Coleman, “From England’s Nazareth to Sweden’s Jerusalem,” 63, 65.

³⁴ Coleman, “From England’s Nazareth to Sweden’s Jerusalem,” 66.

they locate the meaning-making of pilgrimage in movement itself. Coleman notes in his own contribution to the volume:

If we are to regard some of what these Christians do as pilgrimage, we must first understand that pilgrimage is not an activity that stands apart from all others. It belongs to a range of activities that cultivate the sacralized movement of people, objects, and images, and that see such people and objects as gaining in sacred power precisely because they travel across great distances.³⁵

The second sentence is especially important for the volume's overall emphasis:

sacredness is constructed, in this view, due to the very fact that people and objects move across significant distances. In this way, *Reframing Pilgrimage* attempts to engage with an increasingly globalized world of migration, diaspora, and movement across national borders. As Coleman observes, this in turn connects pilgrimage to a globalized world instead of proposing pilgrimage as a special kind of human activity apart from it—and one that subverts existing social structures. Consequently, while *Reframing Pilgrimage* develops previous challenges to aspects of the Turners' work, it does so by specifically locating pilgrimage in a context of globalization. *Reframing Pilgrimage* thus adds to an increased interest in what Steller calls postmodern pilgrimage. Globalization, Steller argues, has not only compressed our understanding of time and place, but has shifted our understanding of pilgrimage as an exclusively local phenomenon.³⁶

This is crucial for an understanding of the varied forms of porous boundaries at contemporary pilgrimage places. Global mobility facilitates the proliferating actors and wide demographic engaging with my three case studies, and the interface of these groups

³⁵ Coleman, "From England's Nazareth to Sweden's Jerusalem," 53.

³⁶ Steller, 2543. Cf. Fife on the spiritual journey of pilgrimage created through the geographic journey. Wayne Fife, "Extending the Metaphor: British Missionaries as Pilgrims in Papua New Guinea," *Intersecting Journeys*, 142.

contributes to porousness among religious, commercial, and cultural place. Moreover, for Coleman, mobility involves people in the ongoing construction of the sacred. That is, pilgrimage is part of a range of activities—including migration, diaspora, and heritage tourism—that cultivate our understanding of sacredness. Steller's idea of postmodern pilgrimage, and our changing perception of pilgrimage as not exclusively local, furthers the idea of porousness: at my three case studies, pilgrimage place becomes even more drawn into global movements, protocols, networks, and associations beyond their local communities.

However, while *Reframing Pilgrimage* provides useful insights into the global dynamics of pilgrimage, it also presents us with another problem. By trying to counterbalance past emphasis on pilgrimage shrines, Coleman and Eade privilege pilgrimage travel over place—and consequently, the rich dynamics at pilgrimage places themselves, with all their changing imagery and audiences, are overlooked. Certainly, the introduction of *Reframing Pilgrimage* mentions *motion at* as well as *motion to* pilgrimage sites.³⁷ Furthermore, Coleman and Eade's attention to performative action as a dimension of mobility accommodates a range of actors and activities at pilgrimage places.³⁸ Nonetheless, *motion at* is not as strongly emphasized or examined in the subsequent chapters of *Reframing Pilgrimage*.

This is more of a concern because *Reframing Pilgrimage* suggests an opposition between pilgrimage movement and what Coleman and Eade argue as the more

³⁷ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 3.

³⁸ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 16-17.

conservative and limited category of pilgrimage place. While they acknowledge *Contesting the Sacred* as a key contribution in the literature, they also indict both *Contesting the Sacred* and the Turners' *Image and Pilgrimage* for a more narrow attention to pilgrimage place. *Image and Pilgrimage*, they argue, focused too exclusively on major pilgrimage shrines and their potential for engendering *communitas*, as well as pilgrimage centers that valorize "a place-centered approach to the culture of sacred travel."³⁹ For Coleman and Eade, this focus is problematic—and perhaps reflects the influence (especially on the Turners) of Eliade's idea that "every pilgrimage shrine is an archetype of a sacred centre, marked off from the profane space surrounding it," and where "heaven and earth intersect and time stands still, where there exists the possibility of breaking through to the realm of the transcendent."⁴⁰

Even *Contesting the Sacred*, Coleman and Eade continue, relied on an analysis of bounded, bordered pilgrimage sites divided from the outside world, and concentrated on major shrines as points of arrival and dwelling. For Coleman and Eade, this analysis retains a lingering association between place and culture, influential in the field of anthropology but reflecting a more unitary version of place in ethnographic studies.⁴¹

³⁹ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 2.

⁴⁰ Eade and Sallnow, 6. Eade and Sallnow refer to Mircea Eliade, "Sacred Places: Temple, Palace, 'Centre of the World'," *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: World Publishing, 1963).

⁴¹ Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 4. Reflecting specific concerns within the discipline of anthropology, Coleman and Eade refer to the problem as "place as a trope of scholarly authority" and "a part through which cultural wholes can be presented." *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 24, n. 8. This argument fits with Coleman's reflections on the limitations of past studies of pilgrimage within the discipline of anthropology. See Coleman, "Do You Believe in Pilgrimage," 355; Coleman, "Pilgrimage as Trope for an Anthropology of Christianity," 281-291. For a critique of place as a unitary and encompassing trope, Coleman and Eade draw upon the work of Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson, eds., *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* (Oxford, Berg, 1998). See also Fife, 142-3, on the

Their stated project, in contrast, is to shift the study of pilgrimage from past conventions, especially certain aspects of anthropological discourse.⁴² This approach includes broadening the scholarly gaze beyond the central shrine. Coleman and Eade are not alone in this analysis of place as a limited category. I extensively use Ian Reader's work on pilgrimage places as embedded in the profane and commercial world. However, Reader also argues that "placemaking" in the study of pilgrimage brings with it a traditional analysis focusing on continuing categories of place and sacred.⁴³

While *Reframing Pilgrimage* makes important contributions to the study of pilgrimage, I seek an analytical framework that also emphasizes the dynamics of places themselves. That is, I regard movement and change, as described by the contributors to *Reframing Pilgrimage*, to be intrinsic characteristics at each of my case studies, cultivating the wide range of actors there and fostering porous boundaries. Indeed, even though Coleman and Eade de-emphasize the dynamics of place, their volume nonetheless invites further analysis of how pilgrimage places are themselves dynamic environments, connected to broader fields of global pilgrimage movement.

Put another way, I would argue that place is not a static or even necessarily bounded resting point in a pilgrimage journey. Rather, pilgrimage places derive meaning from their changing organization and proliferating audiences who share the place for different purposes. My argument is informed by scholars who emphasize the

prevalence among anthropologists of studying pilgrimage as a relatively short-term activity outside the context of ordinary social life.

⁴² Coleman and Eade, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 3.

⁴³ Reader, 14.

complexities and dynamics of place. Jacob Kinnard draws upon the work of Edward Soja and others to examine how places are constantly in motion, subject to competing claims and shifting identities. Kinnard highlights Soja's idea of Thirdspace, which provides a framework for critically understanding place as vital to complex human activity and potentially, to social change. Thirdspace, says Soja, is a way of "understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life," an approach which aims to connect spatiality with historicity and sociality.⁴⁴ As Kinnard notes, Thirdspace is a complex and even slippery concept. Such places, for Kinnard, are necessarily "messy, conflicted, and inconsistent," and are "constantly changing in relation to the complex agents who make and use and transform them."⁴⁵ Accordingly, I read Thirdspace as social and lived place, with all its related contradictions and tensions—and certainly as dynamic place, where the physical ensemble and its images change and respond to new audiences. If pilgrimage places are subject to such intricate and constant motion, then we must re-reframe the study of pilgrimage to acknowledge these complexities.

⁴⁴ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places*. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 10. Here, Soja draws on Henri Lefebvre's trialectics of space. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre proposes three interconnected aspects of space that resonate with Soja's analysis: *espace perçu* (perceived space or spatial practice, similar to Soja's Firstspace), or material and physical place; *espace conçu* (conceived space or representations of space, similar to Soja's Secondspace), or the codes and discourse we have about space and the dominant forms of space in our lives; and *espace vécu* (lived space or spaces of representation). This third aspect is the social space of daily life, rich and contradictory, where people interact with their conceived and physical world. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 38-40. Lefebvre acknowledges the spatial relationship between power and capitalism—he says that space is a means of domination, even as it eludes efforts by social and political actors to control it—and notes that class struggle is inscribed in space (Lefebvre, 26, 37, 55). A key additional contribution of Soja's trialectic, however, is his connection of space to an agenda of emancipation and political action. Soja draws extensively upon postcolonial theory, using the work of Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Gloria Anzaldúa and others to formulate Thirdspace as a zone of critical exchange, even from the social and spatial margins.

⁴⁵ Kinnard, vxii.

Place and Motion: Emplaced Contestation

In my introduction, I proposed that pilgrimage places are contested, interactive, and worldly. I used the term emplaced contestation—that is, there is a material array at pilgrimage places beyond and beneath the discursive array proposed by Eade and Sallnow. Contestation is grounded, shaped, and conveyed through the architecture, artworks, devotional objects, mass-produced images, and explanatory signs at pilgrimage environment, and is thus profoundly emplaced. At the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus, for example, a range of national and international visitors are offered ample browsing choices. As part of the circuit around, through, and past the house, they are greeted by multilingual signs, digital images reproducing the interior altar of the house, a display of image and text with Quranic verses honoring Mary, repeated and identifiable images of Mary in her home, and souvenir stands of mass produced images reiterating the veracity of the house as Mary's dwelling place. Different audiences and memories are addressed through these images and objects—Mary is the honored mother of a prophet in Islam, historical figure within the early Christian community, enduring spiritual presence for her faithful, and trademarked image for postcards. The simultaneous devotional and commercial character of the place is similarly grounded in these images and objects.

Art historians provide a language to explain this grounding, and how images engage audiences and incite memories. Art historical approaches closely examine the role of images in the definition and presentation of a place, and how a changing ensemble of images shapes an overall environment. Such approaches likewise study how the form and placement of images create a visual rhetoric, articulated in space and time, as one moves through the pilgrimage environment. Artworks may be positioned, for example, to

reinforce certain ideas. The shifting artistic ensemble that addresses audiences and petitions memory includes architectural elements, relics and reliquaries, paintings, statues and relief sculpture, stained glass, votives, graffiti, explanatory signage, and souvenirs. This ensemble is crucial for both emplacing and directing memory, as well as integrating different kinds of visitors at pilgrimage places. Devotional images promote different memory narratives about sanctity, identity, politics, and society; at the same time, public signage about the historical function and cultural significance of objects may be in close proximity. At Chartres, for example, the chapel holding the *Sancta Camisia*, the famed medieval relic of Mary's tunic worn during the birth of Jesus, features signs about the cultural significance of medieval pilgrimage. In this sense, pilgrimage places are not a theatrical stage upon which events unfold. That is, places do not accrue "sacredness," as Lochtefeld suggests, as the result of competing ideas stamped on a neutral landscape.⁴⁶ Rather, places and images build pilgrimage meaning—they are active, making arguments through visual rhetoric.

Specifically, the art historians contributing to *Push Me, Pull You* offer a useful language to describe and explain these dynamics. Various essays engage with medieval and Renaissance audiences at churches, shrines, cathedrals, and pilgrimage routes. In these places, audiences encountered artworks and devotional objects that both amplified and focused their actions—walking, kneeling, praying, saying the rosary—as part of a broader memory journey through religious, cultural, and political life. There is thus a dynamic, interactive quality in these places, where artworks go “beyond basic seeing”

⁴⁶ Lochtefeld, 4.

and incite “intense emotional and physical responses...engaging the spectator in a profound way.”⁴⁷ The editors of *Push Me, Pull You*, Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand, acknowledge reception theory (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*) as important for such a spatial interaction approach. Reception theory holds that that a viewer was meant to “interact viscerally” with devotional artworks.⁴⁸ For reception theory, Blick and Gelfand draw upon scholars such as David Freedberg, who refers to *response* as “the symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder,” consisting of “the active, outwardly markable responses of beholders, as well as the beliefs...that motivate them to specific actions and behavior.”⁴⁹ In keeping with this approach, Blick and Gelfand characterize audiences as a composite of “imagined, intended, explicit, implicit, ideal, actual, and archerecipient viewers.”⁵⁰ Such a multivalent audience, note Blick and Gelfand, affects how artworks are designed, implemented, and received.

In *Push Me, Pull You*, various contributors consider this kind of multivalent audience interaction with chapels, artworks, and devotional objects, exploring how the implementation and reception of art and architecture animate places as dynamic environments. Gelfand addresses audience demand for interactive and mnemonic

⁴⁷ Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 2,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, xxxix.

⁴⁸ Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 1,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 1, xxxviii.

⁴⁹ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), xxii. For reception theory, Blick and Gelfand also draw upon Madeline Caviness, “Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers,” *Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (London: Blackwell, 2006), 65-85; and John Shearman, *Only Connect...Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Washington, D.C.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

⁵⁰ Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 1,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 1, xxxviii.

pilgrimage places in fifteenth century devotional art.⁵¹ Vibeke Olsen adds her analysis of portal sculpture at pilgrimage churches, examining how the approaching pilgrim interacted with the artistic elements presented at the threshold. Pilgrims passed through the doorway, where they were presented with sacred history through sculpture of the gospel events, Christ's ascension, and the Second Coming—all contextualizing and elevating their physical movements.⁵² Elina Gertsman examines the statue of the *Vierge Ouvrante* at Notre Dame de Quelven, which prompted a “visual mnemonic pilgrimage.”⁵³ The statue displays the body of the Virgin Mary, opening door-like to reveal painted images of the Passion, Resurrection, and Last Judgment. This statue was a key goal for pilgrims, encouraging them to remember, re-experience, and re-place sacred history.

While I primarily use *Push Me, Pull You* to provide a language for emplaced contestation, other art history volumes take a similar approach. In *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, editors Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe argue that pilgrimage art served to “enhance, transmit, or direct a pilgrim’s experience at a particular sacred site.”⁵⁴ Pilgrimage was a compelling sensory experience—with music, colorful stained glass, paintings and sculptures, and the smells of incense and candles burning all combining and “mediated by the visual.”⁵⁵ Anne

⁵¹ Gelfand, “Illusion and Interactivity,” 88.

⁵² Vibeke Olson, “Movement, Metaphor, and Memory: The Interactions Between Pilgrims and Portal Programs,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 519.

⁵³ Elina Gertsman, “The Pilgrim’s Progress: Devotional Journey through the Holy Womb,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 234.

⁵⁴ Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., “Introduction,” *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden: Brill Press, 2004), xiv.

⁵⁵ Blick and Tekippe, xvi-xvii.

Harris details such an experience at the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral, where stained glass was instrumental in creating a new popular cult around the saint. The windows presented vivid images of miracles instigated by the relics, allowing pilgrims to imagine and reenact the scenes around them, inserting themselves into the narrative of Becket's life and death. This performance—with devotees viewing the stained glass images, kneeling at the tomb, praying to the saint, and generally getting as close as possible to Becket's presence—was a commemorative and physical act intertwined with the shrine, the relics, and the stained glass.⁵⁶

Clearly, contemporary pilgrimage places are not the same as medieval and Renaissance ones. Christian cosmology no longer has overwhelming influence in Western societies, and present day mass transportation and communication shape the way visitors travel to and learn about a site. And yet, art historical approaches shed light upon audience interaction with place, artworks, and devotional objects, and clarify the active role of visual culture at pilgrimage places. Art historians engage with images, including their placement and interaction with audiences. This emphasis on the dynamics of interface helps explain the complexities of the case studies, providing tangible evidence of how stakeholders and caretakers attempt to direct movement and understanding.

Kathleen Ashley's essay in *Push Me, Pull You*, for example, shows the importance of visual culture at Santiago de Compostela, in historical and contemporary contexts.⁵⁷ Since the Middle Ages, people have travelled the Camino, or Way of St.

⁵⁶ Harris, 254, 261-2.

⁵⁷ Ashley, 3-20.

James, across a network of European routes to the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain.⁵⁸ The relics in the cathedral have had a wide range of personal and collective meaning throughout its history. Historically, the pilgrim's goal was to secure blessings or cures.⁵⁹ To achieve these goals at Santiago, as Ashley demonstrates, there was an intense desire for *proximity* on the part of the pilgrim. This impulse for proximity is crucial for understanding both the cult of the saints and the architectural configuration of pilgrimage churches, such as the cathedral at Chartres: their crypts, radiating chapels, and relics provided a continuous set of opportunities to connect with the saint. Pilgrims wished to be close to the relics of St. James—to view and touch the stone shrine in the cathedral, and to be as near as possible to the bodily presence of the saint.

This very drive for proximity is what generated new roles and memories for images at Santiago de Compostela, relevant up to the present day.⁶⁰ Ashley recounts how

⁵⁸ François Cazaux, "To Be a Pilgrim: A Contested Identity on Saint James' Way," *Tourism* 59.3 (2011): 353-367. A church was first built in the ninth century on the spot where the bones of St. James, apostle of Jesus, were said to be buried—according to legend, the relics floating ashore in a stone boat to the lands where James had served as a missionary

⁵⁹ On the importance of securing blessings and cures through the cult of the saints in medieval Christianity, further covered in the following chapter on Chartres cathedral, see: Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Robert Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1990), especially Cynthia Hahn's "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," 85-96; Sarah Blick, "Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral," *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 21-58; Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, NJ: Hidden Spring, 2003); Clive Foss, "Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 140.

⁶⁰ Santiago de Compostela certainly demonstrates that the meaning of their images can change over time. Notably, the tomb of St. James became a physical symbol of resistance for Spanish Christians against the Moors, who had destroyed an early version of the church. The cathedral's eighteenth century statue by Jose Gambino depicting St. James as the Moor-Slayer (*Santiago Matamoros*), mounted on a white horse and trampling the heads of Moors, is a dramatic example. This statue proved controversial in recent years and in the context of an increasingly multicultural Europe: after the 2004 Madrid train bombings by Al-Qaeda, cathedral officials planned to remove the interior sculpture so as not to hurt relations with local Muslim communities. Public outcry made church authorities overturn the decision. See Daniela Flesler, *The Return*

the tradition of hugging the life-size statue of the saint above the main altar arose from the lack of access to the remains of St. James between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, when cathedral officials hid the relics from view. Pilgrims could not be close to the relics of the saint in the cathedral, so they adopted new ways to access his body in the form of the statue. She expresses this in terms of the specific intimacy that arises between the pilgrim and relics in the saint's 'home'—there is a personal relationship, and a sense that the saint dwells in the shrine through his or her bodily remains. When this intimacy is interrupted, what I would term a crisis of proximity can result. In reaction, a lattice of popular practices emerges, aimed at restoring proximity: if you can't kiss the tomb of St. James, then you can put your arms around a statue of him. Ashley's work thus details the ways that images shift in meaning, and the changing ways that audiences receive them.⁶¹

Ashley traces the interaction of twenty-first century visitors with such artworks. They approach the marble pillar in the twelfth century doorway, the *Pórtico de la Gloria*, and place their fingers in indentations worn by centuries of pilgrims; they bump heads with the carved figure inside the door, sometimes taken as Master Mateo, the sculptor who completed the cathedral; and they climb the stairs behind the altar and embrace the

of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2008), 113.

⁶¹ Houlihan also takes up this question with specific reference to Santiago de Compostela. For more on this performative interface, see Scott B. Montgomery, "Mittite Capud Meum... Ad Matrem Meam ut Osculetur Eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 48-64; Olson, 512; John Williams, "The Tomb of St. James: The View from the Other Side," *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, ed. Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 175-191.

statue of St. James, wrapping their arms around him in a hug.⁶² From there, they descend to the crypt to see the relics of the saint. All these actions, says Ashley, are codified in contemporary pilgrimage literature and tourist guides. “Be sure to hug St. James,” advises a review of the cathedral at Santiago de Compostela on TripAdvisor, one of the many ways that people can share pilgrimage experiences via internet.⁶³

The work of Ashley and other art historians describes how audiences encounter images at pilgrimage places, and how those images change in meaning over time. The active and changing role of visual culture is important for my three case studies: at all three places, images can take on different meanings and roles, depending on the context. To return to the Sancta Camisia at Chartres as an example, the famed relic is now a cultural exhibit, yet also resides in a radiating chapel where people can light candles and kneel on prayer benches. Here, the Sancta Camisia as both artifact and relic contributes to the porous dynamics at Chartres, demonstrating different memory narratives that intertwine devotional and cultural value.

Memory, Image, and Place

Memories, like places themselves, are constantly in motion. They are not singular, as my three case studies demonstrate, and multiple memory systems may become rooted in one place, image, or object. They transform with the presentation of particular images, and they shift with political circumstances. Scholars have investigated the active link

⁶² Ashley, 3.

⁶³ “Be Sure to Hug St. James,” *TripAdvisor*, November 15, 2013, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g187508-d553841-r184787288-Cathedral_of_Santiago_de_Compostela-Santiago_de_Compostela_A_Coruna_Province_Gali.html.

between place and memory, including Osborne's study of collective memory as a means to create national place identity and "a-where-ness"⁶⁴; Stier and Landres' examination of religious memorialization and violence at places ranging from Rwanda to Ground Zero in New York, where sacred space is highly volatile and memory itself is contested⁶⁵; and Merback's analysis of late medieval Christian pilgrimage shrines that memorialized anti-Semitic myths in their statues and altarpieces.⁶⁶

Coleman has written on the specific importance of memory to pilgrimage place. He examines the shrine to Our Lady of Walsingham in England, where Mary is believed to have appeared in the eleventh century. Today, a house built to commemorate the event remains a popular Catholic pilgrimage destination. Coleman argues that past trauma is important for contemporary memory construction at the shrine: the site was violently suppressed and broken up during the Reformation, but its past destruction and religious fragmentation have become integral to its present meaning as a place of pilgrimage.⁶⁷ In this case, new layers of significance emerge in relation to the community's understanding of historical loss and destruction.

In order to explain the function of memory at Walsingham, Coleman examines why memory is so important for place generally, citing the work of French sociologist

⁶⁴ Brian S. Osborne, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33.3 (2001): 39-77.

⁶⁵ Oren Baruch Stier and J. Shawn Landres, eds., *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

⁶⁶ Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

⁶⁷ Simon Coleman, "Memory as Absence and Presence: Pilgrimage, 'Archeo-Theology,' and the Creativity of Destruction," *Journeys* 13.1 (2012): 1-20.

Maurice Halbwachs on reconstructions of the past through present-day mental images.⁶⁸

Halbwachs proposes that social memory is constructed through class, religion, and kinship, all of which create a collective set of memories that extend beyond the recall of a single individual. Such memories are connected to material spaces occupied by particular groups, and thus help create individual and collective identity in places.⁶⁹ For example, Halbwachs examines the construction of the early Christian Holy Land, where sanctification of territory was connected both to religious dogma and to the collective memory of early Christian narratives.⁷⁰ As Jerusalem was destroyed, conquered, and rebuilt many times, the sacred landscape of the Holy Land was created through social memory, generated by the Christian Gospels and other sacred texts.⁷¹ Landres and Stier

⁶⁸ Coleman cites Maurice Halbwachs' book, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁶⁹ Coleman, 3. Halbwachs' idea of social memory relates to Alison Landsberg's work on prosthetic memory. For Landsberg, technologies of mass culture mean that people can form memories around historical events they did not actually experience. Landsberg proposes that these memories are like artificial limbs, integrated into the experience of living yet often marking trauma. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 20. Particular examples are prosthetic or "flashbulb" memories of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Dramatic images of the attacks and their aftermath were shared widely via television and internet, and the event became public and emotional, even for those not present to witness it first-hand. William Hirst et al., "Long-Term Memory for the Terrorist Attack of September 11: Flashbulb Memories, Event Memories, and the Factors that Influence their Retention," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 138.2 (2009): 161–176. Cf. James E. Young, "The Stages of Memory at Ground Zero," *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, 214-34. This powerful prosthetic memory is in tension with what Strozier has called the "zones of suffering" in New York City after the attacks, where increased psychological trauma could be mapped to urban topography and locations closest to the World Trade Center towers. Charles B. Strozier, "The World Trade Center Disaster and the Apocalyptic," *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 12:3 (2002): 367-71.

⁷⁰ Halbwachs, 235.

⁷¹ Halbwachs, 231.

characterize this phenomenon as “the inscription of those doing the remembering in the present on the landscape of the past.”⁷²

To further explain the relationship among memory, trauma, and place at Walsingham, Coleman also draws upon the work of Pierre Nora on the loss of environments that generate social memory. In such cases of loss, we construct places of memory—*lieux de mémoire*—through mourning, even when the physical place and its practices may no longer exist. Here, the maintenance of memory through commemorations, museums, archives, and festivals becomes socially important.⁷³ Given such memory maintenance, Coleman argues that Walsingham is created “as a complex theater of ‘memories’ ...housing disparate views of the past” and this theater is exactly what attracts pilgrims and tourists today.⁷⁴ Coleman concludes that at Walsingham, “archeology gains power because it allows ruins to remain, and thus to act as witnesses to the presence of a violent past.”⁷⁵

Coleman’s work highlights how the fabric of memory is both constructed and ruptured, as well as the importance of memory in establishing a narrative of significant past events at pilgrimage places. However, as with *Reframing Pilgrimage*, Coleman’s analysis does not specifically address images or devotional objects. Rather, Coleman is concerned with the narrative function of archeology at Walsingham and less with the

⁷² J. Shawn Landres and Oren Baruch Stier, “Introduction,” *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, 5. Landres and Stier are citing Halbwachs chapter from *On Collective Memory*, “The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land,” 191-235.

⁷³ Coleman, “Memory as Absence and Presence,” 3. Coleman cites Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Memoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984).

⁷⁴ Coleman, “Memory as Absence and Presence,” 5.

⁷⁵ Coleman, “Memory as Absence and Presence,” 17.

particulars of the site itself. I would like to extend this focus on memory by emphasizing how artworks, devotional objects, and other images are positioned and used to emplace memory narratives. This is an important contribution of art historians: they elucidate the relationship among memory, image, and place.

Art History, Place, and Memory: The Shrine is Never Finished

Memory functions have long been linked with the specifics of place. Classical and medieval memory techniques encouraged the recollection of objects and ideas by imagining them situated in physical spaces like rooms, houses or churches. Places of the mind could become vast memory structures—even palaces or cathedrals for storing things—through the art of mnemotechnic, which used architecture as a means to classify and arrange memories.⁷⁶ Recollection thus became the recovery of knowledge “by a deliberate hunt through the corridors of memory according the principles of association and order.”⁷⁷ Thought objects were arranged sequentially in rooms, even entrusted to furniture or statues, to be recalled at will. The Roman rhetorician Quintilian tells of the long journey as a mnemonic device similar to the fixed physical place, where memory objects are left along the path to be recalled as needed.⁷⁸ We see further and more literal instances of memory journeys in the development of early Christian pilgrimage narratives.

⁷⁶ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 16. Architectural memory was a widespread Hellenistic idiom; Carruthers, 30, points to the first century Jewish philosopher Philo as an example of a Hellenized thinker who employed it. Cicero also described the art of memory based on the construction of a house where reminder images are placed. Carruthers, 7-9.

⁷⁷ Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, *Loyola’s Acts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 8.

⁷⁸ Boyle, 8.

As Leyerle notes, such pilgrimage narratives increasingly detailed not only significant landmarks, but also descriptions of the travel route itself, including flora, fauna and ethnography, as a way of capturing and remembering the journey.⁷⁹ Place was thus vital to the workings of memory.

The art historians I cite further link memory with physical places and images. In this literature, memory is central to audience reception, and images convey memory narratives with religious, political, and cultural impact. Additionally, memory is presented as an essential strategy for both signification and persuasion, serving as a kind of visual rhetoric that is integral to the configuration of pilgrimage places. These elements come together at the shrine: physical place, the audiences viewing, and the memorial function of images there. Historically, the relationship between memory and images was seen as “essential and indissoluble,” and religious imagery was an opportunity to reflect and reminisce.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Blake Leyerle, “Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrimages,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64.1 (1996): 135. Leyerle refers to the lack of detail concerning ecological, animal, or human life on early journeys, including the earliest pilgrimage routes from the fourth century, as “silence”—and indeed, an ideological silence. The author suggests that geographic specifics might have been regarded as a distraction from the devotee’s interaction with architectural shrines. However, by the late fourth century, pilgrimage narratives developed into more detailed and visceral accounts, including emotional reactions and explicit discussion of the countryside. By the time we reach the sixth century Piacenza pilgrim account to the Holy Land, we have lively description that ranges from regional produce to local customs, rendering the terrain “holy and potentially powerful” in all its variety. Leyerle, 138. See also Boyle, 10 and 178, for the example of St. Jerome’s description of Paula’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the fourth century. As noted in the quote at the beginning of my introduction, this description vividly recounts the various sights and sounds of her journey. At the stable of the Nativity, for example, Paula meditated and recalled vivid details of the infant wailing, the star shining, Mary nursing, and the shepherd arriving—and with this recollection, says Jerome, she kissed the manger. See St. Jerome, “Letter 108 (To Eustochium),” *New Advent*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001108.htm>.

⁸⁰ Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 1,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol . 1, xlv; Peter Parshall, “The Art of Memory and the Passion,” *Art Bulletin* 81.3 (1999): 466.

Harris' previously cited work on the Thomas Becket shrine at Canterbury Cathedral is a helpful example. The layout of the Thomas Becket shrine and the stained glass windows around the crypt shifted pilgrimage practices towards popular forms of devotion in the twelfth century. As increasing numbers of pilgrims knelt and prayed at the crypt in Canterbury, they associated the stained glass images of Becket's relics curing the sick with the saint's vivid presence there, fostering the growth of further pilgrimage. Furthermore, unlike hagiographic texts with a primarily monastic audience, the windows allowed a wide range of pilgrims to envision the saint as present in the physical space at the tomb.⁸¹ As Harris describes it, pilgrim and saint share the space, and that sharing is connected to the visual imagery that commemorates Becket. Harris uses a description similar to Coleman's for present-day Walsingham—a complex theater of memories—calling Canterbury “arguably...the first theater of memory.”⁸²

Sarah Blick adds to the analysis of place and memory at the Canterbury shrine, with the particular focus on votives left for St. Thomas Becket. Visitors from all different classes left votives at the shrine to memorialize the miraculous power and martyrdom of Becket as they asked him for blessings, requested cures, or gave thanks for favors. In keeping with Coleman's emphasis on social memory, leaving votives at the shrine was a form of devotional interaction that transformed the collective experience of pilgrimage. Devotees approaching the tomb could see the exhibition of votives, and they were thus drawn into an emotional and physical commemoration of the saint's miraculous power. If

⁸¹ Harris, 255.

⁸² Harris, 245.

the shrine to Thomas Becket was a theater of memory, as Harris suggests, then the offering of votives was a performance of gift exchange. Someone in need of a cure for an injury might leave a wax model of a leg, while an aristocratic petitioner might leave a valuable gem like a ruby to display and solidify his status.

Blick makes a crucial point here, and one that is relevant to my three case studies, especially the outdoor offerings at Medjugorje and the wishing wall at the House of the Virgin Mary. Pilgrims' interaction with the shrine—and specifically leaving offerings—created place dynamics that drove the popularity of the shrine. The votives were tangible evidence, showing proof that the relationship with the saint was well-founded and reciprocal. Seeing so many votives was a visual reminder of the miracles performed there. Moreover, the display at the shrine attested to its significance for a range of social classes. For the donor who placed a gift or watched another do so, the display was evidence of communication of divinity.⁸³ Significantly, Blick's description of this performance of gift exchange underscores the dynamic nature of the shrine. The shrine was never *finished*—another important point that bears on all three of my case studies—but rather, served as an open and changing environment as new objects were added and older ones taken away. As long as the pilgrimage place exists and attracts visitors, there is no closure on the activity or configuration there.

Central to the memory function of pilgrimage places is the ability of devotional artworks and objects to evoke sacred times and places. Laura Gelfand provides an example: the Jerusalem chapel at Bruges, a fifteenth century structure that memorialized

⁸³ Sarah Blick, "Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral," *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 25.

aspects of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in its design and architecture. For Gelfand, the chapel was a “multivalent memory device.”⁸⁴ As devotees moved through it, artworks like the sculpted mountain of Golgotha behind the altar prompted recollection of sacred locations from the Christian gospels. There was an immersive quality at the Jerusalem chapel, as it both generated and memorialized significant places of the Holy Land, connecting Bruges to Jerusalem for devotees approaching the altar. This evocation of the Holy Land through the tangible presence of devotional objects and architecture is present in all three case studies that follow: the chief relic of Chartres, the Sancta Camisia, and the design of the cathedral itself; the bronze reliefs of the Stations of the Cross and Mysteries of the Rosaries on the hillsides of Medjugorje; and the small stone house at Ephesus narrating the historical presence of Mary after the events of the Gospels. Images at the three case studies convey these memory narratives, even as the images also function as signifiers of cultural or commercial place.

To these art historical approaches, I would add that memory is contested in the sense that multiple memory narratives may be grounded in an image or place. This contestation is shown in Jonathan Webber’s work on memorialization at Auschwitz.⁸⁵ Former concentration camps have become important places of memory, locating trauma and loss for European Jews during the Second World War. Webber highlights the various memory systems emplaced at Auschwitz. There, the commemoration of Christian victims

⁸⁴ Laura D. Gelfand, “Illusionism and Interactivity: Medieval Installation Art, Architecture and Devotional Response,” *Push Me, Pull You*, 109.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Webber, “Memory, Religion, and Conflict at Auschwitz: A Manifesto,” *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, 51-74. See also Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (University of Alabama Press, 2010).

through crosses and Christian religious architecture is controversial, given strong feelings about Christian complicity during the Holocaust. Jewish pilgrimages to Auschwitz have also established the camp's role in the broader memory landscape of Jewish history. In this, Webber agrees with Blick: Auschwitz is an evolving place, never completed or frozen, where multiple memory and symbol systems may co-exist, even in tension.

Pilgrimage Embedded in the World

My case studies are deeply linked with the global pilgrimage marketplace. Medjugorje, for example, enplaces the apparitions of the Virgin Mary even as the entire town is mobilized in service of an international pilgrimage industry. I wish to stress the location of pilgrimage places in the “realms of the mundane, profane and mercantile.”⁸⁶ As my case studies demonstrate, the commercial aspects of pilgrimage are intertwined with devotional space—including souvenir kiosks, guided tours, mass-produced images, gift shops, promotional materials, and signage. Visitors can “ritually browse” the various options, sampling the leisure, commercial, or spiritual possibilities that the pilgrimage environment has to offer.⁸⁷ Certainly, the worldly, commercial aspects of pilgrimage are not new. Chapter Three on Chartres discusses medieval feast day fairs and the sale of pilgrimage souvenirs outside the cathedral doors—though within a relatively bounded pilgrimage experience. Sumption likewise examines travel to the Holy Land via sea, initiated by enterprising Venetians in the thirteenth century to avoid the robbers, taxes,

⁸⁶ Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 195.

⁸⁷ Simon Coleman and John Elsner, “Performance Pilgrimage: Walsingham and the Ritual Construction of Irony,” *Ritual, Performance, Media*, ed. Felicia Hughes-Freeland (London: Routledge, 1998), 45–65.

and wild animals of the land route. Sumption calls these journeys “the earliest all-inclusive package tours,” covering food, tolls and taxes, donkey rentals, guided tours of Jerusalem, and special expeditions to sacred sites in Jordan.⁸⁸

Wharton goes even further, arguing that pilgrimage to Jerusalem was (and remains) part of a wide-ranging attempt by the West to procure Jerusalem through its representations: relics dispersing and re-placing the city in a new Christian geography; *Sacri Monti* reconstructions in northern Italy of the Holy Land; architectural replicas of the Church of Holy Sepulchre in the European capitals of London and Paris; and mass-produced images such as nineteenth century lithographic prints of the Temple and Mount Moriah. The pilgrimage trade, observes Wharton, has long been a part of this procurement project.⁸⁹ Likewise, Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval remark that pilgrimage and tourism are interconnected phenomena at Jerusalem, and pivotal as “agents of the city’s development.”⁹⁰ These studies demonstrate the persistence and influence of the pilgrimage marketplace: while today’s globalized economy provides a very different context, there is no pristine past, where pilgrimage was an authentic activity untainted by commercial concerns. In particular, Welch’s study on the stained glass windows of Chartres shows how religious officials made the town’s artisans part of

⁸⁸ Sumption, 266.

⁸⁹ Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Replicas, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁹⁰ Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage in Jerusalem* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

their religious and political sphere, including images of tanners, vintners, shoemakers, and bakers in the lowest registers of the windows.⁹¹

In light of the commercial aspects of pilgrimage, past and present, scholars have grappled with the complex relationship between pilgrimage and tourism. Like the Turners, Erik Cohen initially tries to make the distinction between a ‘pilgrim’ who travels towards a sociocultural center and a ‘tourist’ who travels away from one. Cohen addresses two influential theoretical positions: divergence, which holds tourism and pilgrimage as fundamentally dissimilar, with tourism being shallow traveling for pleasure; and convergence, which holds that tourism is essentially the pilgrimage of modern times and there are crucial similarities between the two.⁹² Finding neither position satisfactory, Cohen proposes pilgrimage as travel to a center, holding additional cultural meaning and prestige, and tourism as an escape from the centers of the modern world.⁹³ The definitions of pilgrimage at the beginning of this chapter, with their emphasis on a journey to a sacred place, suggest a similar dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism. However, this boundary is problematic.

First, like pilgrimage, tourism is not a category with firm boundaries to begin with, and the term has its own intellectual history and genealogy. Hazbun traces the rise of modern tourism to the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Grand Tour, long

⁹¹ Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). See also William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi, eds., *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

⁹² Erik Cohen, “Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence,” *Sacred Journeys*, 49-50.

⁹³ Eade and Coleman, *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 9. Cf. V.L. Smith in Collins-Kreiner, “Researching Pilgrimage,” 442; Smith states that the “pilgrim” as a religious traveler and the “tourist” as a vacationer are constructed polarities.

associated with experiences of learning and discovery for European social elites, was increasingly eclipsed by popular leisure travel. Hazbun's example is travel to Egypt—the first region outside of Europe to see the transition from a “distant, exotic territory” to one made more accessible, convenient, and affordable to wider range of social classes through Thomas Cook & Son package tours.⁹⁴ He suggests two mutually reinforcing dynamics central to this transition: technological improvements in transportation and communication that facilitated travel across greater distances, and the creation of what Edward Said called “imaginative geographies” of the Middle East. The latter, as constructed spatializations of the East in the Western imagination, helped shape tourism development in Egypt.⁹⁵

Baranowski and Furlough concur, noting that while the immense economic impact of tourism is well known, the history of tourism is little understood—including its complex intersections with commerce, culture, and politics. Even the word tourism, they argue, becomes a way for commenters to express the cultural superiority of the alternative word *travel*. This separation was intended to distinguish elite travel from the stereotype that emerged in the post-Napoleonic years: tourists as mobs and crowds of

⁹⁴ Waleed Hazbun, “The East as an Exhibit: Thomas Cook & Son and the Origins of the International Tourism Industry in Egypt,” *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith, and History*, ed. Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 3. Mitchell points to a related but important phenomenon, the representation of territories accessible to Europeans through new modalities of tourism. This includes the “recreation” of places like the streets of Egypt during the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1889. Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 455-472.

⁹⁵ Hazbun, 4. In his section of *Orientalism* on imaginative geographies, Said states that “space acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, where the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here.” Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 55.

“herdlike, superficial gazers doggedly seeking amusement.”⁹⁶ Baranowski and Furlough, however, see tourism as part of an important class shift in nineteenth century Europe. Such movement and engagement were no longer exclusive to social elites as “vacations and tourism became an integral part of the rhythm of modern life,” shaping and signifying the cultural expectations and leisure ethic of a new middle class.⁹⁷ Lloyd remarks that in its early stages during the nineteenth century, mass travel was the subject of competing attitudes: local travel to sea-side resorts was associated with leisure, while foreign travel, especially for the middle classes, “often stressed the moral or higher purpose of the journey.”⁹⁸

Savvy entrepreneurs took note, expanding the availability and possibilities for package tours. In the twentieth century, an onset of mass tourism made visitors more present and visible in places around the world—lamented by some, such as historian Daniel Boorstin, as marking a decline by the mid-twentieth century of active and literate travel engaged in “high culture.”⁹⁹ Subsequent scholars such as Rudy Koshar have challenged this view, rejecting the idea of tourism as a passive gaze.¹⁰⁰ Likewise,

⁹⁶ Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, “Introduction,” *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Baranowski and Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 1.

⁹⁷ Baranowski and Furlough, 11.

⁹⁸ David Wharton Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 17.

⁹⁹ Baranowski and Furlough, 2. Here, Baranowski and Furlough refer to Daniel J. Boorstin’s chapter “From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel,” in *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Knopf, 2012), 90. Cohen, 49-50, cites Boorstin as a key proponent of the divergence approach.

¹⁰⁰ Baranowski and Furlough, 4. Baranowski and Furlough refer to Rudy Koshar, “‘What Ought to Be Seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33.3 (1998): 323-340. Koshar, 325, considered scholarship on tourism in Germany, the United States, and England, aiming to rethink an “older scholarship’s tendency to see consumption as

Baranowski and Furlough interpret tourism and leisure travel as “laboratories of modern life in the industrialized world,” participating in grand historical narratives of social class, nation building, economic development, and consumer culture.¹⁰¹

In her study of Lourdes and mass culture, Kaufman connects such emerging forms of leisure travel in the nineteenth century with Marian pilgrimage. Lourdes—where a peasant girl, Bernadette Soubirous, claimed to see apparitions of the Virgin Mary in 1858—became accessible, interactive, and relevant due to a new economy of the sacred. People purchased special excursion train tickets to Lourdes that included nearby sacred sites, drank from the grotto’s healing waters, marched in procession, and shopped for souvenirs in bustling religious emporiums. They even visited entertainment shows where Bernadette’s visions were dramatically brought to life.¹⁰² Thus, the technology of travel and the consumer options of industrialized Europe provided the framework for pilgrimage practices to develop at Lourdes. The reenactment of the visions, the acquisition of mass-produced images of the Virgin, the bathing in and drinking of the quickly-famous waters—all these actions were woven into the fabric of modern,

passive and superficial.” He instead points to scholars such as Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu—who, while critical of consumer society, also see some forms of consumerism as positive or subversive agents of identity construction.

¹⁰¹ Baranowski and Furlough, 21. And, along more pragmatic lines, Amin notes in his study of shrines in Kashmir that pilgrimage is itself an important leisure and entertainment activity in the community. Pirzada M.Amin, “The Psycho-Social Understanding of Shrine Visiting Practice in Conflict Times: A Case Study of Hazratbal Shrine in Indian Kashmir,” *Tibet Journal* 38.1/2 (2013): 55-67.

¹⁰² Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 3.

devotional tourism. Kaufman calls them “integral, compelling characteristics of an emerging mass devotional culture.”¹⁰³

Certainly, tourism is an unavoidable term for my case studies insofar as stakeholders use it regularly. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey, for example, is a key stakeholder involved in the historical sites at Ephesus—and as Chapter Five details, the Turkish government has published a broad strategy for increased tourism at religious and cultural sites, complementing its proposal of Ephesus as a World Heritage Site. The concept of tourism thus has relevance for real-world entities that leverage the three pilgrimage places to varied audiences in the global pilgrimage marketplace. Moreover, if my case studies demonstrate that things we call ‘tourism’ bleed into things we call ‘pilgrimage’, in different capacities and to varying extents, then scholarship is also coming to acknowledge this state of affairs. Collins-Kreiner notes that tourism studies are engaged with similar issues as pilgrimage studies, citing the emergence of a “new mobility paradigm” for understanding movement, travel, and tourism.¹⁰⁴ Badone and Roseman appeal to anthropologist Nelson Graburn, who argues that modern tourism fulfills similar purposes as earlier forms of pilgrimage travel. Though reminiscent of the Turners’ work on pilgrimage, Graburn characterizes such tourism as “structurally necessary ritualized breaks in routine that define and relieve the

¹⁰³ Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 13.

¹⁰⁴ Collins-Kreiner, “Researching Pilgrimage,” 441. See also Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt, Michael Haldrup, Jonas Larsen, and John Urry, *Performing Tourist Places* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 146; Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

ordinary.”¹⁰⁵ Gouthro and Palmer likewise stress the close relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, including secular sites with their own sets of practices—from Elvis Presley’s Graceland to motorcycle processions by Vietnam veterans to the war memorial in Washington, D.C.¹⁰⁶ In his study of pilgrimage to both the *Santuario de Chimayó* and the UFO museum in Roswell, New Mexico, Ricketts punctuates these ideas by referring to the “pilgrim-tourist.”¹⁰⁷ Ricketts applies this term to both Catholic devotees and UFO researchers, examining the actions of pilgrim-tourists as they “straddle a space between the sacred and the profane, and between the commercial and the spiritual.”¹⁰⁸ Other recent studies have grappled with ‘dark tourism’ and its possible relationship with pilgrimage. These are sites of suffering, violence, and disaster, from the separation wall between the West Bank and Israel to the World Trade Center memorial in New York and sites of the Holocaust.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Graburn in Badone and Roseman, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Mary Beth Gouthro and Catherine Palmer, “Pilgrimage in Heritage Tourism,” *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis*, ed. Michael V. Conlin and Lee Jolliffe (New York: Routledge, 2011), 35. To this, Margry’s collection, *Shrines and Pilgrimage in the Modern World*, adds journeys to Jim Morrison’s grave, the roadside shrine to runner Steve Prefontaine, and Glastonbury. Jill Dubisch’s chapter, “Sites of Memory, Sites of Sorrow,” takes up the topic of Vietnam veterans traveling by motorcycle to the D.C. memorial. On popular and non-religious pilgrimages, see also Ian Reader and Tony Walter, eds., *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1993).

¹⁰⁷ Jeremy R. Ricketts, “Land of (Re)Enchantment: Tourism and Sacred Space at Roswell and Chimayó, New Mexico,” *Journal of the Southwest* 53.2 (2011): 240. 239-261.

¹⁰⁸ Ricketts, 240.

¹⁰⁹ Noga Collins-Kreiner, “Dark Tourism as/is Pilgrimage,” *Current Issues in Tourism* (2015): 3; Rami K. Isaac and Gregory J. Ashworth, “Moving from Pilgrimage to “Dark” Tourism: Leveraging Tourism in Palestine,” *Tourism, Culture & Communication* 11 (2012): 149; Leanne White and Elspeth Frew, *Dark Tourism and Place Identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013); Rudi Hartmann, “Dark Tourism, Thanatourism, and Dissonance in Heritage Tourism Management: New Directions in Contemporary Tourism Research,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 9.2 (2014): 166-182; J. E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester, NY: J. Wiley, 1996); P. E. Tarlow, “Dark Tourism: The Appealing ‘Dark’ Side of Tourism and More,” *Niche Tourism*, ed. M. Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005), 47-58.

The interrelationship of pilgrimage and commercial spheres is precisely what Ian Reader examines in *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*. Reader sets out to challenge the Turners' notion of unprompted expressions of authentic faith through pilgrimage, set apart from mundane world.¹¹⁰ To that end, Reader recounts examples such as a 2008 exhibition promoting the Shikoku pilgrimage in Japan, presenting a miniature version of the series of temples and shrines along the Shikoku route. This exhibition—supported by temple associations, local merchants, and priests—was held in a consumerist, and secular location, a shopping mall in Centrair Airport outside Nagoya, Japan.¹¹¹ Such examples, says Reader, draw attention to how pilgrimages are entrenched in markets, consumer activity, and promotion—and “how they operate not just in the marketplace but through it.”¹¹² He questions the Turners' idea that pilgrims are drawn to a site because it somehow possesses a special quality of sacredness or a “spiritual magnetism.”¹¹³

By using the term “spiritual magnetism,” Reader refers to the work of sociologist James Preston.¹¹⁴ Seeking to explain why certain places become pilgrimage sites in the first place, Preston identifies four main contributors to a site's magnetism: miraculous cures, apparitions of sacred figures, sacred geography, and difficulty of access (thereby setting off the place from the ordinary world). The fourth contributor is striking: important here is the Preston's contention that a pilgrimage center in a precarious place

¹¹⁰ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 8-9.

¹¹¹ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 6-7.

¹¹² Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 8.

¹¹³ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 8-9.

¹¹⁴ James J. Preston, “Spiritual Magnetism: An Organizing Principle for the Study of Pilgrimage,” *Sacred Journeys*, 31-46.

gains spiritual magnetism from the intrinsic dangers of the journey.¹¹⁵ However, Reader notes Preston's disregard for pragmatic or promotional actions by religious and local authorities in the creation and maintenance of such pilgrimage sites—an analysis that is at times, as Kinnard states, “peculiarly agentless.”¹¹⁶

For Reader, the notion of spiritual magnetism is part of the problem: it serves to separate a powerful, remote sacred world from a profane one—much like the definitions of pilgrimage that highlight the sacred character of the shrine. In contrast, Reader firmly locates pilgrimage in the profane realm, and he argues that approaches like Preston's incline towards “an idealised notion of what ‘authentic’ pilgrimage is, while portraying the mundane world as something that mars its sacred aura.”¹¹⁷ Chidester and Linenthal make a similar point as they describe pilgrimage sites in Hawaii: Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, Christian churches, and the national monument to the USS Arizona at Pearl Harbor. All these places are tangled with profane enterprises such as tourism, development, and contending nationalisms.¹¹⁸ As such, Chidester and Linenthal wish to lay to rest the Eliadian idea that the sacred opposes, or is separate from, the profane.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ James J. Preston, “Spiritual Magnetism: An Organizing Principle for the Study of Pilgrimage,” *Sacred Journeys*, 35. For Preston, these contributors are all human concepts, historically and socially formed, and magnetism is not inherent in any particular place without people making it so. Therefore, Reader does distinguish Preston's approach from Mircea Eliade's idea of hierophany, or the consecration of a sacred space through the manifestation of a higher being in profane, homogenous space. Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane*, 21-2, 28.

¹¹⁶ Kinnard, 194, n.5.

¹¹⁷ Reader, 30.

¹¹⁸ David Chidester and Edward Tabor Linenthal, eds., *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1.

¹¹⁹ Chidester and Linenthal, 17.

The literature clearly suggests that categories of pilgrimage and tourism are tangled—and my case studies further suggest that even the idea of pilgrimage and tourism as two distinct categories that happen to overlap is difficult to maintain. In particular, I wish to emphasize how devotional and commercial place merges in the case studies—and moreover, how images play a pivotal role in this merging. When people walk into Chartres cathedral, for example, they are interacting with images and devotional objects that were critical to historical practices of pilgrimage there; at the same time, people also encounter signs, logos, and flags that mark the cathedral as a cultural heritage project of the French nation-state and key historical attraction in the region. The importance of images to the interrelationship of pilgrimage and tourism, however, has not been widely examined in the literature.

Instead of locations of the sacred, apart from the daily realm, pilgrimage places are profoundly connected to the world. These connections force us to look at the dynamics of pilgrimage places and the complexities of audience, memory, and meaning. Such places change, grow, gain popularity, and in some cases, fall out of favor when new places attract attention. Indeed, it is these very connections with the world that allow different groups to construct notions of sacredness within and around these places—in part through promotional brochures, cultural heritage signs, and postcards with the Virgin Mary's face. Kaufman argues that the emerging options of mass, industrialized culture helped build Lourdes as a sacred place in the nineteenth century. Today, the options of an increasingly globalized world help build and disseminate new pilgrimage places, such as Medjugorje, and reframe established ones, such as Chartres and Ephesus.

Chapter 3
Integrating Heritage Place and Sacred Place: Pilgrimage and Chartres Cathedral

The Sancta Camisia was the most renowned of all the medieval sacred objects at the cathedral in Chartres, France. This relic, held to be the tunic worn by the Virgin Mary at the birth of Jesus, has inspired pilgrimages for centuries. The piece of cloth reportedly came from Jerusalem, as one of the many sacred exports from the Holy Land during the Middle Ages, and was donated to the cathedral by Charles the Bald in 876. The acquisition of relics was a crucial way for medieval Christian pilgrimage sites to demonstrate religious and political authority. Relics conveyed wealth, venerability, and healing power—they were highly charged objects whose meaning could shift and adapt to changing contexts.¹ As Wharton states, a relic is a sign of real or imaged power, and “it promises to put that power back to work.”² Relics at Chartres included the remains of local martyrs and even the head of Saint Anne, the Virgin’s mother, acquired in 1204 by Louis, Count of Chartres, from the crusader loot of Constantinople.³ To reach and venerate these relics, the pilgrim walked among various altars and chapels; the pilgrim

¹ See Kinnard, 146.

² Wharton, 9.

³ William Sauerländer, “Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres, and Naumburg,” *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 161-2; see also James Bugslag, “Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence,” *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, 141-2 and 168; Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 112.

likewise knelt in front of images, and kissed them or made the sign of the cross in front of them. Interacting with relics and artworks in this way was a performance intimately connected to Our Lady of Chartres.

Theologically speaking, Mary left no bones behind. Doctrine held that her body was assumed to heaven, so the cult of Mary featured secondary relics like clothing in the form of her tunic or her belt, and some additional and organic relics of her hair, breast milk, and nail parings.⁴ Elliot notes the creativity of the miracle stories around these relics: one of the earliest accounts of Marian miracles has Mary's breast milk healing the ulcers of monks.⁵ In another story of her Assumption, Mary reached down and handed her girdle to the apostle Thomas, ever the doubting character in need of material proof, and the purported girdle still resides as a relic at Prato Cathedral in Tuscany.⁶ These objects originated from or touched Mary's body, and so became focal points of reverence and miracle-working.⁷ Thus, we have the tunic at Chartres. It is a simple two-meter piece

⁴ See Stephen J. Shoemaker, "The Cult Of Fashion: The Earliest Life Of The Virgin And Constantinople's Marian Relics," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008): 53-74; John Wortley, "The Marian Relics At Constantinople," *Greek, Roman & Byzantine Studies* 45.2 (2005): 171-187; Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History Through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Ruben Espinosa, *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 138. Relics of breast milk were venerated for milk's perceived closeness to human blood—thus imparting to Christ's own blood a physical remnant of his mother—as well as for the theological metaphor of Mary as nurturing mother of the faithful. However, such relics were not necessarily accepted without question. In 1427, Bernard of Siena observed that "unless Mary was milked like a cow all over the place, he believed she had just enough milk for the benefit of Jesus." Yael Manes, *Motherhood and Patriarchal Masculinities in Sixteenth-Century Italian Comedy* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 30.

⁵ Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 115.

⁶ See Jean K. Cadogan, "The Chapel of the Holy Belt in Prato: Piety and Politics in Fourteenth-Century Tuscany," *Artibus et Historiae* 30.60 (2009): 107-137.

⁷ For more on secondary or contact relics, objects that accrue sacred or healing qualities through proximity to primary relics, see Scott B. Montgomery, "Relics and Pilgrimage in the Xylographic Book of St.

of cream-colored silk cloth, showing some wear and lining, now folded and displayed in an ornamented reliquary (Figure 3.1).⁸

While it once had a place on the altar, the Sancta Camisia is now located in the northeast radiating chapel in the ambulatory. When I visited the cathedral in 2011 and 2015, I found the chapel barred by a gate, protecting the relic but also limiting access to it. Relatively few people gathered around this chapel. However, more activity was taking place in the cathedral's north aisle, around a polychrome wooden statue of the Virgin and Child. This statue is a replica echoing through time: a sixteenth century piece that likely copied a thirteenth century silver artwork that once stood on the altar.⁹ This is *Notre-Dame du Pilier*, Our Lady of the Pillar. Prior its restoration in 2013 as part of the larger 2009-2017 renovation project at the cathedral, Notre-Dame du Pilier wore golden robes embroidered with roses. Crowned and carrying a scepter, she rests Christ on her left knee, as he holds a globe of the world in his left hand and offers a blessing with his right.

Servatius of Maastricht," *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, 670, 677, and 680; Sarah Blick and Rita Tepikke "Introduction," *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, xxviii; Megan H. Foster Campbell, "Pilgrims' Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts," *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 1, 231 and 248; Kathleen Ashley, "Hugging the Saint: Improvising Ritual on the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 15 n.34. As a contemporary example, one website offers a piece of cloth touched to the Sancta Camisia for ten dollars. The site explains that "third class relics," those having touched a secondary relic, are encouraged as devotional aids. "Sancta Camisia," *Cukierski Family*, October 10, 2015, <http://cukierski.myshopify.com/products/sancta-camisia>.

⁸ The present reliquary dates from 1876. The previous reliquary from the tenth century is only known from an engraving of 1697 by Nicolas de Larmessin at the *Archives Diocésaines de Chartres*. "Chartres: Cathedral of Notre-Dame," *Digital Research Library, University of Pittsburgh*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://images.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/i/image/image-idx?view=entry;cc=chartres;entryid=x-fcwor0010010>. Burns cites the dimensions of the cloth as two meters by 12 centimeters, measured along with a smaller accompanying piece of silk when the reliquary was last opened in 1927. E. Jane Burns, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 227 n. 20.

⁹ See Bugslag, 148 and 172.

During the restoration, she was cleaned and re-painted, prompting some criticism¹⁰ (Figure 3.2). Even exchanging her sumptuous robes for a new coat of paint, this statue remains an image of imperial divinity. Through her elevated placement and dramatic presentation, Notre-Dame du Pilier attracts the eye and invites viewers to approach.

During my visits, people knelt on prayer benches in front of the statue and stepped forward to reverently touch the column with outstretched hands. In May 2015—during the annual pilgrimage to Chartres of the local Tamil community—I saw one man reach out his hands to touch the column supporting the statue, and then lay his hands on the heads of his younger companions (presumably his children or family members) in blessing. Simultaneously, others hung back in the aisle, reading the bilingual placard explaining the history of the statue or lighting votive candles. Some took pictures with camera phones—perhaps to appear on Facebook as a memento of the journey to France, a modern spin on the medieval pilgrimage tokens sold outside the south cathedral doors.¹¹ Some combined all these actions, praying with hands outstretched, palms to heaven, and then posing for pictures with Notre-Dame du Pilier as a backdrop.

¹⁰ Martin Filler, “A Scandalous Makeover at Chartres,” *New York Times Review of Books*, December 14, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/dec/14/scandalous-makeover-chartres>.

¹¹ On medieval pilgrimage tokens sold outside Chartres, see Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, 118-19; Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 159. On the function and types of pilgrimage tokens, see also A.M. Koldewiej, “Lifting the Veil on Pilgrimage Badges,” *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1999), 161-188; Cynthia Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs”; Gary Vikan, “Pilgrims in Magi’s Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis Early Byzantine Pilgrim Art,” *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, 97-107, Maggie Ducan-Flowers, “A Pilgrim’s Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus,” *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, 125-39; Gary Vikan, “‘Guided by Land and Sea’: Pilgrim Art and Pilgrim Travel in Early Byzantium,” *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991): 74-92; Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Oxford: Boydell, 2004); Michael Lewis, *Saints and their Badges: Saints’ Lives and Medieval Pilgrims Badges* (Essex: Green Light Publishing, 2014).

No one directs all this activity. There are no signs telling people where they can walk and where they cannot. Apart from observable displays of devotion—kneeling in prayer, touching the column beneath the statue with evident emotion—there is no way to know which people consider themselves tourists, or cultural visitors, or pilgrims, or devotees, or some combination of all these things. Everyone moves and interacts simultaneously, choosing one spot over another—even overlooking the most renowned relic in the cathedral’s history. This can occur because Chartres as an overall pilgrimage environment has expanded in its contemporary setting, where different networks of stakeholders and visitors reorient the cathedral and its images in a global pilgrimage marketplace. The pilgrimage environment, as explained in the Introduction, is a pilgrimage site with its associated architecture, artworks, and relics—but it also encompasses related places of tourism, commerce, cultural commemoration, and administration. The aisles and chapels of Chartres memorialize pilgrimage traditions and the centuries-old cult of the Virgin, even as the place functions as a bustling international monument dedicated to French Gothic style. Its thirteenth century sculpture and stained glass are religious in intent, but they are also encountered as aesthetic, global, and digital.

Among my case studies, the cathedral at Chartres has the most defined physical space. It is also the most bounded in history of my case studies. As an established pilgrimage place for centuries before the modern era, Chartres has an extensive and intricate history now mined as evidence of its cultural worth. Its porous boundaries today arise from its expansive pilgrimage environment, with its proliferating networks of stakeholders, managers, and marketers throughout the city, France, Europe, and

worldwide. This array of networks at the cathedral and beyond fosters the kind of polyphony that Eade and Sallnow describe, and that I would argue is tied to place as well as discourse. Certainly, Chartres has long been connected to political and commercial networks, from the royals of France who assured succession by journeying to the Sancta Camisia to the medieval pilgrimage tokens sold outside the south portal. However, the global pilgrimage marketplace and cultural heritage management converge at Chartres such that religious pilgrimage groups share the space with the French Ministry of Culture, the American Friends of Chartres, and UNESCO. Thus, at Chartres, there is permeability between categories of pilgrimage and tourism, commercial place and devotional place, national secular and religious place, and cultural value and spiritual value. It is a prime example of Simon Coleman's understanding of pilgrimage—it is not an activity that stands apart from all others, but rather, is one in a range of activities that cultivates our ideas of sacredness.¹²

All the sources of contestation I identified in the Introduction are present at Chartres, and deeply interrelated with its porousness. Various stakeholders and visitors install or enact different memories about images—theological, artistic, national, and cultural. Heterogeneous audiences simultaneously deploy and interact with the place, from conservation organizations restoring stained glass to religious groups on the annual pilgrimage from Paris to Chartres. Devotional and commercial place interpenetrates as the cathedral houses its own shop and the city leverages the place as part of an overall urban development strategy. These forms of contestation, and the expansive pilgrimage

¹² Coleman, "From England's Nazareth to Sweden's Jerusalem," 53.

environment to which they contribute, shed light on questions from the scholarly literature. In reference to the work of the Turners outlined in the Introduction, the various stakeholders and visitors to Chartres problematize categories of, and borders between, pilgrimage place and tourism place. This is key for the sense in which Chartres has porous boundaries: the intermingling of religious, cultural, and commercial aspects cannot be explained by the Turners' framework of people as pilgrims on the way there and tourists on the way back. Rather, Chartres exemplifies how, in Reader's terms, constructs of sacredness materialize through the "mundane, profane and mercantile."¹³ Accordingly, that Chartres is connected to networks that promote, manage, and market the cathedral—as a cultural heritage attraction as well as an enduring pilgrimage destination—helps the site remain active and relevant into the twenty-first century.

This chapter is divided into two sections. First, I will show how the cathedral enlaced the medieval pilgrim in a more coherent and spatially bounded cult of the saints, realized through artworks at the cathedral, the building's tangible and metaphorical orientations, and the cult's emphasis on proximity. Second, I will show how today's proliferating stakeholders and visitors create a more porous and contested environment that integrates different memories and audiences, as well as substantial commercial ties in the area. Now, reminders of the history of art, national identity, and urban tourism coincide with continuing religious pilgrimage at the site. This is shown through city-wide connections to the images and cultural prestige of Chartres; efforts by cathedral caretakers to combine the artistic value of the site with an emphasis on the

¹³ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 195.

spirituality of pilgrimage; the French government's management and commemoration of Chartres as a national monument; and the global deployment of Chartres as a place of human cultural heritage by organizations such as UNESCO.

Chartres in Historical Context: Emplacing the Pilgrim in the Cult of Mary

A Gothic cathedral such as Chartres is meant to impress. Its location on a hill, visible for miles around; its immense size (130 meters long and almost 40 meters high); its intricate sculpture; the overwhelming sensory experience of light and height in the nave; the deep colors of the stained glass on a sunny day, especially the famous Chartres blue: these elements are elaborate visual rhetoric, persuading onlookers of the place's preeminence. Michael Camille even describes the European cathedrals constructed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as structures of power, or "vast mass machines...not unlike the shimmering postmodern towers of today's corporate headquarters."¹⁴

Evidence of the cult of Mary at the site date to the early medieval period—eighth and ninth century documents that detail a destructive fire at the church also mention the dedication to Mary.¹⁵ In the ninth century, Bishop Giselbert constructed the version of the cathedral that endured until the mid-tenth century, and Bishop Fulbert rebuilt the structure yet again in the eleventh century after the fire of 1020, creating a pilgrimage church with a crypt and celebrating the Virgin through its images and liturgy.¹⁶ Most of

¹⁴ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 77.

¹⁵ Fassler, 4. Fassler characterizes earlier pagan archetypes for the cult of the Virgin at Chartres as a later invention of the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries.

¹⁶ Fassler, 7; Bugslag, 138-9.

the current cathedral was constructed after the catastrophic fire of 1194. Frequently considered a quintessential exemplar of French Gothic style, it is the object of conservation efforts, nationally and internationally.

In order to understand the dynamics of porousness at today's pilgrimage environment, we must understand its historical role. The cathedral is a place of pilgrimage today precisely because of its history. Its past, and the material evidence of its past, are the object of the contemporary gaze and a principal source of its current significance for a wide range of audiences. The images and practices related to the medieval cult of Mary are the raw material of the memory narratives that contribute to contestation today: people are prompted (quite literally, by educational signs) to recall the images' religious meaning, historical purpose, and artistic merit.

Artworks and emplacement at the cathedral

Medieval Chartres was grounded by its holy relics, the principal draw for pilgrims. Pilgrims moved through specific locations where they were provided the opportunity for visual or physical interface with objects of devotion. The strategic placement of images, the building's tangible and metaphorical orientations, and the central emphasis on proximity within the cult of relics all helped situate the medieval pilgrim within a relatively well-defined place. The overwhelming majority of visitors to Chartres in the Middle Ages were drawn together by a shared Marian veneration: the motivation for an often difficult and dangerous pilgrimage journey was the chance to be in a place where Mary was held as more present, evidenced by the presentation of key

relics and images. Chartres may have attracted a broad range of devotees relative to the geographic purview of medieval Europe, but historical pilgrimage was doubtless more homogenous in terms of religious tradition and motivation for travel than can be found in the heterogeneous realm of contemporary Chartres.

The very architectural blueprint of Chartres, as rebuilt after the fire of 1194, ensured the medieval pilgrim contact with the cult of Mary: it was a pilgrimage church, constructed to accommodate crowds and allow access to relics.¹⁷ The basilican floor plan, wide ambulatory, radiating chapels, and underground crypt allowed for pilgrimage devotions, even on a large scale, to occur separately from liturgical worship at the altar. The monumental design moreover served to increase the political and religious legitimacy of the cathedral's bishops, providing a financial engine for the region through the large-scale building project.¹⁸

Artistic images further established the relationship between devotee and place. Jeanne Halgren Kilde details the artistic and architectural experience for the medieval pilgrim at Chartres—while moving through spaces like the ambulatory or chapels, she argues, pilgrims were able to insert themselves as participants in the narrative space of

¹⁷ Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 83; Paula Gerson, "Art and Pilgrimage: Mapping the Way," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 539.

¹⁸ See O. K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27.1/2 (1988): 103-112. See also Eric Fernie, "Romansque Architecture," *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 305. Sumption, 400, discusses "building crusades," which saw thousands of regional pilgrims flock to Chartres to build the cathedral, supported by offerings of food from communities in the Loire Valley. Cf. Fassler, 168, on the cult of carts, where people volunteered to cart stones and building materials to Chartres.

the sculpture and stained glass.¹⁹ Pilgrims passed over the threshold and through the cathedral doors, past the portal statues of the saints and depictions of Mary and Christ (Figure 3.3). This was a movement towards salvation, as well as a performance of the allegorical pilgrimage through life.²⁰ Visiting pilgrims raised their eyes upwards to view these artworks, an additional reminder of the spatial hierarchy of heaven and earth. This hierarchy was reinforced inside, where light poured down through the windows above, combining with images to emphasize the vertical arrangement of space. The depiction of saints encouraged devotional practices: lighting candles, carrying talismans, and making processions for the saints demonstrated the depth of the pilgrim's faith.²¹ Indeed, the images in glass and stone prompted spiritual awe by deploying the full force of the Gothic aesthetic.²² Beyond the obvious visual splendor, this included the economic status of the artworks, drawing viewers into a commercial as well as cosmic order. The artworks not only served as visual devices to mentally revisit or reenact sacred events, but they were also made of rare and luxury materials, decorated with valuable pigments and gilding, and crafted from stone and glass requiring advanced techniques to shape. Outside, the exterior displayed narratives in stone on a scale previously unseen, with approximately 2000 pieces of sculpture.²³

¹⁹ Kilde, 539.

²⁰ Olson, "Movement, Metaphor, and Memory."

²¹ Kilde, 84.

²² Coleman and Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*, 112; Sauerländer, 159, on architecture and stained glass creating an orchestrated program enhancing sacredness.

²³ Martin Büchsel, "Gothic Sculpture from 1150 to 1250," *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 403.

These artworks were not isolated, but were interrelated in their arrangement, creating an overall message about the cathedral's role in the pilgrim's salvation. Mann argues that relics and nearby images communicate meaning interdependently.²⁴ Accordingly, Pastan argues that because the cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Marian subjects were given prominence in the brighter southern windows. The Charlemagne window in particular showed the king handing the relic to the church, and served as a "genealogy of the chief relic of the Sancta Camisia."²⁵ Likewise, the image of the Enthroned Virgin on the right tympanum of the western façade was accompanied on the lower lintel by the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity—all further underscoring the significance of the Sancta Camisia at the birth of Christ, and even acting as a kind of advertisement for the relic.

Constant references to the cosmic plan supported the pilgrimage endeavor.²⁶ Across the choir screen were deeply cut relief images of the Christmas and Easter stories; the stained glass windows included the lives and miracles of Mary, Christian saints and biblical characters such as Abraham and Moses; and parables featured stories such as the

²⁴ C. Griffith Mann, "Relics, Reliquaries, and the Limitations Of Trecento Painting: Naddo Ceccarelli's Reliquary Tabernacle In The Walters Art Museum," *Word & Image* 22.3 (2006): 251-259. See also Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," on the relationship between the stained glass windows and the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury cathedral; and Scott B. Montgomery, "Sacra Conversazione: Dialogues between Reliquaries and Windows," *Journal of Glass Studies* 56 (2014): 253-270.

²⁵ Elizabeth Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral," *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 102, 121. See also Michèle Baussant, "Sainte, Synecdoque, Relique ou Trace: La statue de la Vierge de Santa Cruz d'Oran," *Archives De Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 58.161 (2013): 235-250.

²⁶ Keith D. Lilley, "Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and Their Christian Symbolism," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29.3 (2004): 296-313.

Good Samaritan saving a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem.²⁷ These religious themes, however, were joined by (and to) political figures like Charlemagne. More general social categories were also featured: as shown in the south portal sculpture, demons gleefully oversee the journey to hell for a nun, an aristocratic woman, and a wealthy man clutching a moneybag. Here, social and theological classes were suggested through images, prompting viewers to recall Chartres' importance to their own ultimate fate—and suggesting that no one was above or exempt from divine judgment.²⁸ The windows included similar worldly motifs: the signs of the Zodiac, the Labors of the Month, and local craftsmen and artisans at work, from winemakers to tanners and shoemakers. The shoemakers are even shown on the lowest register of the Good Samaritan window, offering their own lancet window to the cathedral. The windows and sculpture were a visual encyclopedia for the pilgrim, collecting, organizing, and displaying not only sacred history and geography, but also politics, economics, and sociology.²⁹ All these images were an important source of information, as most people during the Middle Ages learned by seeing, hearing, and reenacting, not by reading.³⁰ From the angels in heaven to the

²⁷ Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *The Art Bulletin* 82.4 (2000), 634. Fragments of the original screen survive, though a new screen was constructed over the course of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries—including Mary's birth, the Annunciation, and the Nativity.

²⁸ Laura Hollengreen, "From Medieval Sacred Place to Modern Secular Space: Changing Perspectives on the Cathedral and Town of Chartres," *Architecture as Experience: Radical Change in Spatial Practice*, ed. Dana Arnold and Andrew Ballantyne (New York: Routledge, 2004), 91.

²⁹ According to Camille, thirteenth and fourteenth century European Christian art was a form of *vision*. That is, in its intricate architecture, painting, and sculpture, the visual arts were a comprehensive expression of religious and political power, wealth, science, and learning. Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996).

³⁰ See Fassler, viii. Artworks were meant to incite emotion and to instruct audiences in sacred narratives and theological lessons, using memory as a creative device. Carruthers and Ziolkowski, "Introduction," 3.

daily spaces of labor for the shoemaker, all aspects of life were catalogued and connected—and in some regards controlled through the visual rhetoric of images—in the spatial order of the cathedral.³¹

As part of its defined space, the building as a whole had a tangible and metaphorical set of orientations for pilgrims. The cathedral was a focal point of the city itself, the city being an important spatial and theological unit in the medieval world.³² The medieval Christian church was also connected to Jerusalem, both as an abstract ideal—the heavenly city or the New Jerusalem, the ultimate model of space and heavenly affairs³³—and as a geographic territory in the world and preeminent pilgrimage destination. As is common, the apse was positioned to the east towards Jerusalem, as well as the rising sun as the second coming of Christ, welcoming worshippers who came to venerate its relics in remembrance of the Holy Land and past sacred events. The Camino to Santiago de Compostela lay to the west, and so the structure served as a premonition of

Cf. Fassler, 61 on reenactment through liturgy and music at Chartres, also presenting the span of daily life and biblical events—and heard by the faithful as they were surrounded by the artworks of the cathedral.

³¹ See Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, on the connection between guild windows and local, daily life. Williams, 10 and 36, argues that the tradesmen were not so much pious and autonomous donors—rather, self-interested clergy constructed the windows as a means to represent classes they desired to control. Hollengreen, 91, offers a similar analysis of the south façade sculpture. On the general question of the presentation of medieval sociology through iconography, see Coleman and Elsner, *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*, 116.

³² Susan Bratton, *Environmental Values in Christian Art* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008), 118.

³³ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 167; Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 61; Daniel K. Connolly, “At the Center of the World: The Labyrinth Pavement of Chartres Cathedral,” *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, 285-314.

Santiago.³⁴ Burns connects such orientations to the cathedral's chief relic. The Sancta Camisia was the most highly prized of the Virgin's relics in medieval France, worthy of veneration because the garment had been so physically close to Mary's skin.³⁵ Charles the Bald is credited with transporting the garment from Constantinople, a place associated in the Middle Ages with wealth, relics, and costly silk fabrics. The eastern origins of the garment were juxtaposed with local legends of Mary's patronage of cloth production at Chartres, especially the weaving of linen.³⁶ The very fabric of the relic oriented pilgrims not only within the cult of Mary at Chartres, but within a sacred map that included the eastern Mediterranean.³⁷ All these various places—Jerusalem, Santiago, Constantinople—were somehow available for the pilgrim at Mary's home in Chartres.

In these ways, pilgrims were reminded of events from creation to final judgment in a relatively bounded and defined place. These artistic and architectural elements were profoundly relevant to the pilgrim's own world: the pilgrim traveled around the ambulatory where the story of Jesus' life unfolded—with that movement signifying a

³⁴ Nora Laos, "The Architecture and Iconographical Sources of the Church Of Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre," *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, 316; A.C. Sparavigna, "Ad Orientem: The Orientation of Gothic Cathedrals of France," September 11, 2012, <http://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1209/1209.2338.pdf>. See Williams, 70, on how this was reflected in the stained glass lancet windows to the south and east, which depicted St. James with pilgrim's staff and scallop shell garment.

³⁵ Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 2. See also Burns, "Saracen Silk and the Virgin's Chemise: Cultural Crossings in Cloth," *Speculum* 81.02 (2006): 365–397.

³⁶ Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 171-2. She notes that the north porch façade, dedicated to the Virgin, shows figures of women engaged in different phases of working linen, including washing, carding, combing, and spinning.

³⁷ Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 161.

personal role as she remembered and participated in the Christian narrative.³⁸ This building was an immense, complex and splendid memory system that dominated the landscape—and, it was intended to have this very impact.

The cult of the saints and Mary: Proximity and piety

The cult of the saints played a significant part in establishing Chartres as relatively bounded and spatially defined. As Bugslag notes, pilgrimage practices and the cult of Mary at Chartres changed over time, operating within a “fluctuating devotional ecosystem of Marian shrines.”³⁹ Chartres was not necessarily as renowned as other pilgrimage sites in Europe.⁴⁰ However, while it did have the massive appeal of Santiago or Rome, it had a diverse pilgrimage that attracted popular and noble audiences, serving as a significant presence in France as a local and national symbol.⁴¹ Queens journeyed to Chartres to touch the Sancta Camisia for the promise of healthy pregnancy and childbirth, ensuring the continuation of the French line of succession, and knights came to touch their own tunics to the *Sainte-Châsse* that held the relic, hoping to secure the Virgin

³⁸ Kilde, 83. See also Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., “Introduction,” *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 3; Olson, 519.

³⁹ Bugslag, 136.

⁴⁰ Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwartz, *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, Peter Draper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 141-2; Andre Chédeville, *Chartres et ses Campagnes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973).

⁴¹ Bugslag, 136.

Mary's support in battle. At the same time, popular and spontaneous crowds travelled to seek Our Lady of Chartres' help during outbreaks of disease such as ergotism.⁴²

Relics like the Sancta Camisia established and memorialized the sacred geography of early Christianity, defined and outlined by the bones of martyrs exported from Rome, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land.⁴³ Smith argues that the sacred time of gospel events was eventually emplaced through this network of relics across Europe.⁴⁴ By journeying to Chartres, the medieval pilgrim established a personal relationship with Mary within the cathedral's bounds. Chartres, then, manifested the sacred geography of relics, allowing access to Mary and the saints through the local cult in the cathedral precinct. The cathedral was a tangible link between the devotee and the sacred figure—and as Robert Orsi describes, such deep ties mean that people live in the constant company of Mary and the saints.⁴⁵ At medieval Chartres, these ties were direct and physical. Devotional practices meant that people filled the cathedral in a bodily sense,

⁴² Bugslag, 157-160. Cf. Fassler, 193, on the practices among nobility at Chartres—they affixed rings, jewels, and other valuables to the reliquary of the Sancta Camisia, “enhancing its worth as a local treasure, an object the entire community could take delight in viewing.”

⁴³ On the establishment of sacred geography through relics, see Robert Markus, “How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 257–71; Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Kinnard, 156-60.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 94.

⁴⁵ Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 2. Orsi emphasizes the devotee's personal connection to Mary and the saints, comparing these ties with the deep and sometimes troubled relationships with one's own family. Espinosa touches on a similar theme, examining iconoclastic periods that saw the ritual destruction of statues of Mary. In 1538, a statue of Mary believed to work miracles was publicly burned, as well as the entire pilgrimage site of Our Lady of Walsingham in England that housed it. This is Coleman's trauma of place and memory at Walsingham, described in the previous chapter. Yet, Mary remained a loved one. Espinosa states, 138: “This kind of iconoclasm was meant to illustrate the absence of power that the icons or relics held, but it hardly arrested the human tendency to recollect a loved one—or the Virgin Mary or saint for that matter—through material artifacts.”

from travelers and penitents to children playing and lovers attempting to conceive a child, creating a human sacred space.⁴⁶

The cult of Mary was deepened by the power of physical images and relics within the bounds of the cathedral to impart blessings. Touching relics and artworks was contact with miraculous and divine power in palpable form. Early relics of the saints could consist of bodily remains, whether large portions or mere fragments of bone, or items that touched the saint or holy site—even chips of stone and handfuls of dust, wrapped in scraps of linen or brightly colored silk.⁴⁷ The effectiveness of visual elements in asserting the relics' veracity can be seen in the elaborate reliquaries that characterized “exuberant material piety” in the late Middle Ages.⁴⁸ The thaumaturgical properties of relics—both the primary relics of the saints' bones or secondary relics like the Sancta Camisia—to work miracles or cure illness were crucial to this dynamic, and ornate reliquaries further narrated and emphasized the power of the relics.⁴⁹ Interaction was tactile, sensory, and even intimate. Pilgrims implored and cajoled the saint, kneeling and kissing the tomb, sleeping near the relic through the night, and getting as close as possible to light beeswax candles or leave gifts for the saints.⁵⁰ This emphasis on touching, sensing, and getting as

⁴⁶ Hayes, 93.

⁴⁷ Julie M.H. Smith, “Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012): 146.

⁴⁸ Smith, “Portable Christianity,” 146.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Scott B. Montgomery, “Mittite Capud Meum... Ad Matrem Meam ut Osculetur Eum: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just,” *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 48-64.

⁵⁰ Patrick J. Geary, “The Saint and the Shrine: The Pilgrim's Goal in the Middle Ages,” *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 163-76. The petitions for miracles were wide ranging, and a kind of religious economy of transaction: the saint could offer protection, give

physically close as possible to the saint could even lead to a crisis of proximity—an example of which, as outlined in the previous chapter, was hugging the statue of St. James at Santiago de Compostela when access to the saint’s relics was withheld by church authorities. If a relic became inaccessible for pilgrims, the crisis would force the emergence of new practices that allowed for closer contact—or the rise in popularity of alternative shrines.⁵¹

Within this context, miracle accounts were a key publicity tool in the establishment of the shrine, legitimizing the efficacy of touching relics, including secondary relics and physical images of Mary.⁵² The folklore of miracle narratives associated with the Virgin of Chartres—recorded in the 1262 collection by Jean le Marchant, *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*—helped develop the cult.⁵³ Such a collection of miracles ‘proved’ the worth of the relics and therefore, Mary’s presence within the cathedral.

assistance during times of financial need, chasten enemies, and help with practical tasks such as finding lost livestock. As Geary states, 171, this relationship created a sense of identity: a devotee became part of the wide and often powerful family of the saint.

⁵¹ As Kathleen Ashley states, 4-5, the practice of hugging the statue of St. James at Santiago de Compostela was a popular and sometimes playful ritual practice later adopted by cathedral authorities and even included in the liturgy. Likewise, the thirteenth century saw the rise of ostensory reliquaries and monstrances—vessels that allowed relics to be publicly seen in glass chambers. These vessels allowed visual access while controlling physical access, thus balancing the growing desire of devotees to have proximity to the remains of the saints with emerging church practices that prevented relics from being displayed outside their containers. See Scott B. Montgomery, “Relics and Reliquaries,” *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 704-5.

⁵² Robert Maniura, “Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion,” *Critical Inquiry* 35.3 (2009): 654.

⁵³ Laura Spitzer, “The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture: Evaluating Opposition in the Chartres West Facade Capital Frieze,” *Gesta* 33.2 (1994): 141. Spitzer calls Marchant’s work, based on an earlier thirteenth-century Latin text, the richest of the miracle traditions of Chartres. However, other main sources included the thirteenth century *Chartres Ordinary* and the fourteenth century *Vieille Chronique*.

Cults for particular saints gave way to more universal and theological forms of devotion, focused increasingly on Christ and Mary by the thirteenth century.⁵⁴ Within this larger theological shift, however, Mary was still situated as ‘Our Lady’ in individual places. At Chartres, the Virgin was a local resident, having chosen Chartres “to be her special dwelling place on earth.”⁵⁵ Spitzer likewise argues for a “locally specific” version of Mary at Chartres.⁵⁶ At Chartres as in other places, Mary was believed to interact with and aid the living, offering blessings to those who came to her church.

The defined physical space of the cathedral and the tangible presence of its relics were powerful politically and economically, as well as religiously. The cult of Mary at Chartres not only helped fund the massive building project for the cathedral, but also sanctioned ecclesiastic authorities during times of competition between church and aristocracy.⁵⁷ The very fact that queens visited the cathedral to touch the *Sancta Camisia* and ensure the succession of the French royal line demonstrates the public and political power of the cathedral’s key relic. Likewise, mementoes such as pilgrimage badges and replica *chemisettes* were sold outside the cathedral, integrating devotion to Mary into the local economy. The surviving badges—spread over a relatively wide geographic area, demonstrating the regional reach of medieval pilgrimage to Our Lady of Chartres—speak to devotion among the lower classes (even though nobles would sew the badges into

⁵⁴ Geary, “The Saint and the Shrine,” 175.

⁵⁵ Bugslag, 136. Here, Bugslag quotes Marchant’s early thirteenth-century miracle collection (Vatican MS Regina 339), written in connection with the rebuilding of the cathedral after the 1194 fire.

⁵⁶ Spitzer, 146.

⁵⁷ Hayes, 35; Welch Williams, 32; Hollengreen, 81-108.

devotional manuscripts, as well).⁵⁸ Pilgrimage badges were even specific to Chartres: they differed from other Marian shrines in France in their depiction of the Sancta Camisia instead of an image of the Virgin herself, providing a visualization of the renowned relic as a helpful memory aid for the illiterate.⁵⁹ Throughout, then, economic life served the cult of the saints emplaced at Chartres. The cult of Mary at Chartres was even involved in codes of labor. In one thirteenth century legend, a young woman defied the prohibition against spinning on Saturday, the Virgin's day, and so suffered paralysis in her hands, swelling in her body, and eventual putrefaction. The only cure for this dire condition was to make a pilgrimage to Chartres and petition the Virgin there.⁶⁰

Coins of Chartres, issued at the mint claimed by the Bishop of Chartres, were likewise sold as medieval pilgrimage tokens. These coins, stamped with images of Mary's banner and veil, also gained a reputation for miraculous power.⁶¹ Like the pilgrim badges, coins served important mnemonic functions that linked devotion and commerce. The pilgrimage memento was a tangible and portable object that connected the pilgrim to the shrine, allowing the pilgrim to reflect on the image of the chemise even when far away. As is the case today, expenditures by medieval visitors generated significant income for the townspeople of Chartres, and the integration of the local economy with

⁵⁸ Bugslag, 170.

⁵⁹ Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 164.

⁶⁰ Burns, 173.

⁶¹ Williams, 118-9.

pilgrimage practices at the shrine supported an emerging identity for the urban center.⁶²

Bustling cathedral fairs were held on the major Marian feast days in the chapter-controlled space immediately outside the cathedral, and tradesmen did brisk business in religious souvenirs as well as fuel, textiles, and food.⁶³ These economic zones were intimately connected to the cathedral space experienced by the pilgrim, and they emphasized the importance of the cult of Mary to all aspects of local life.

From Past to Present

The various images and objects at medieval Chartres, embedded in the cult of Mary, provided a relatively defined place for the pilgrim. Even though various social classes brought their own perspectives—merchants, bishops, guilds, aristocrats, peasants—the medieval context defined the experience. The cult of Mary was a centripetal force at the cathedral, elevated by the unique splendor of the surroundings and the overarching importance of salvation for pilgrims. To obtain miracles or blessings, one sought proximity to the relics and images of Mary inside. Even the medieval commercial activities of fairs on specific Marian feast days and the sale of pilgrimage mementoes were firmly ensconced within the bounds of the cult, differing in reach and technology from today's globalized pilgrimage environment. Now, proliferating networks of

⁶² Otto von Simpson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 166-9; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 186.

⁶³ Williams, 39 and 135; Hollengreen, 84; Spitzer, 146; Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 173-4; Whitney S. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France: Medieval Architecture, Sculpture, Stained Glass, Manuscripts, The Art of the Church Treasuries* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1972), 173-5. Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 15-16, also points to the historic ties between pilgrimage and the marketplace, including medieval feast day fairs.

interface and information even expand to include the seemingly boundless global realm of the internet. The emergence of tourism as a ‘cultural pilgrimage’ has dramatically expanded the demographic of stakeholders and visitors to Chartres, prompting changes in the deployment of images at the cathedral. Signage, both image and text, now directs people to more than relics and sacred objects—but rather, to stained glass windows and statues that are also deemed to possess great art historical and cultural value, even without any tradition of being objects of religious pilgrimage. They have become relics of history. In this way, the influx of widely varied audiences to Chartres invites a contested environment in which different audiences and memories are engaged and addressed.

Thus, today’s pilgrimage environment is more expansive, not only because of the scope of globalization and technology that supports the pilgrimage industry, but also because the unifying logic of the cult of Mary at Chartres has given way to more numerous and fragmented cultural interests that intersect there. The porousness of boundaries at Chartres arises from these numerous, fragmented interests that interface and coincide. The physical and historical foundations at Chartres remain relevant for the array of audiences that accrue today, providing both a rationale and a material basis for a pilgrimage environment significant to France, Europe, and a globalized world.

Contemporary Pilgrimage and Contestation at Chartres

Pilgrimage by religious groups persists as an important practice to and at Chartres. At the annual pilgrimage from Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris, for example, devotees travel the 72-mile route over black top and dirt roads for three days until the

spires of Chartres rise up as the first visible signs of the destination.⁶⁴ As Bratton states, the massive cathedral is still a dramatic landmark from a remarkable distance, serving as a visual beacon for those approaching Chartres: it is “as its medieval sponsors intended—this center of worship is a surprise and a wonder.”⁶⁵ This kind of devotional audience has not disappeared; rather, new audiences have been integrated. Supported by mass travel and communication, Chartres has gone beyond what Harris would call a theater of memory. It is a multiplex of memory, and its images are part of an overall heritage and artistic ensemble, conserved to enshrine our knowledge about European medieval history.

Porousness at Chartres ensues from its expansive pilgrimage environment—proliferating stakeholders and visitors coincide at and near the cathedral. This array of groups interacts with the cathedral simultaneously, problematizing the boundaries among devotional, cultural, and commercial place. With this array, there is an interrelationship among the sources of contestation at Chartres, as different memories, varied audiences, and commerce affect one another. As governments and organizations at the local, national, and international levels promote Chartres as a monument via internet, brochure, and travel agency, and as visitors expect ever-increasing consumer choices about their experience, cultural heritage activity increases. As the cathedral becomes a cultural heritage place as well as a religious place, artworks accrue new memory narratives. For

⁶⁴ “Pilgrimage to Chartres,” *Religion and Ethics Newsweekly*, June 19, 2009, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/episodes/june-19-2009/pilgrimage-to-chartres/3283/>.

⁶⁵ Bratton, 117. See Sowers for a psychological and sensory perspective of a person approaching Chartres. As the viewer comes closer, the cathedral dominates the landscape; closer still, the cathedral fills the observer’s field of vision and entire subsystems of architectural detail become legible. Robert Sowers, *Rethinking the Forms of Visual Expression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 26-8.

example, when contemporary visitors approach the stained glass lancet window of the *Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière* on the south side of the cathedral at the entrance to the choir—showing a crowned Virgin Mary on a throne, holding her son on her lap and surrounded by angels offering homage—they are apprehending a historical artifact as well as a religious image. As visitors move through the cathedral today, these heritage memories are embedded in signs, guidebooks, and explanatory materials.

This section is divided into four parts demonstrating how porousness arises at Chartres as boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism, devotional and commercial place, and spiritual and cultural value are constantly crossed. Chartres demonstrates the strong interdependence between porousness and contestation, as the proliferating stakeholders and visitors facilitate both the permeability of boundaries and the polyphony of a multi-use place. First, the cathedral is embedded in the cultural and commercial order of the city, where the building becomes a heritage attraction offering interactive activities to a range of audiences and valorizing both the religious and artistic past. Second, cathedral caretakers participate in this cultural and commercial context, yet also memorialize the continuous spiritual character of Chartres and encourage a pilgrimage of one day. Third, Chartres commemorates the French nation, not only through the varied political philosophies of different pilgrimage groups, but also through the construction of Chartres as a national cultural monument managed by the state. Finally, Chartres is memorialized as a masterpiece of human cultural heritage by actors such as UNESCO—a memory narrative that is itself contested through the politics of preservation.

Chartres as Local Attraction

At the local level, the cathedral is embedded in a commercial and cultural network that includes the entire urban area and invites contestation related to memory and audience. While not as popular a destination in France as, for example, the Marian apparition site at Lourdes, Chartres nonetheless still draws significant numbers of visitors.⁶⁶ This small city of 40,000 inhabitants in the Centre-Val de Loire region of France—often publicized as a pleasant day trip from Paris for tourists, American college students studying abroad, and others—hosts approximately 1.3 million visitors from around the world each year. This surpasses other popular sites in France, such as the basilica of Sainte-Thérèse-de-l'Enfant-Jésus in Lisieux.⁶⁷ Interestingly enough, the Chartres Convention and Visitors Bureau classifies 300,000 of these people as pilgrims, maintaining a problematic division between religious and non-religious visitors.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Popular news and websites often estimate numbers to Lourdes as 6 million or more, citing it as the most popular pilgrimage in the Christian world. See, for example, “Lourdes Facts,” *Places of Peace and Power*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://sacredsites.com/europe/france/lourdes_facts.html; Regina Linskey, “Each Year, Millions Flock to Lourdes Seeking Physical, Spiritual Help,” February 11, 2008, <http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/0800794.htm>. The official website of Lourdes puts the numbers of visitors as “millions of people,” including categories of tourists, pilgrims, vacationers, and “simple visitors.” “Comment le Sanctuaire Vous Accueille,” *Sanctuaires Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://fr.lourdes-france.org/evenement/infographie-lourdes-news-sanctuaire-accueil>.

⁶⁷ Some 700,000 visitors come to Lisieux each year, according to the Normandy Regional Tourist Board. This site is publicized as the biggest church built in France in the 20th century. “Lisieux,” *Normandy Regional Tourist Board*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.normandie-tourisme.fr/articles/lisieux-276-2.html>.

⁶⁸ “Chartres: Press Release,” *Chartres Convention and Visitors Bureau*, accessed January 18, 2012, <http://www.chartres-tourisme.com/en/pdf/presse/Chartres-Pressrelease2010.pdf>. This press release is no longer available online and has been replaced by a more recent tourist guide. The original statistic was presented in English as follows: “Around 1,300,000 tourists from all over the world, among them 300,000 pilgrims, visit Chartres each year.” No criteria for this division between tourist and pilgrim are provided.

Indeed, among my three case studies, any attempted division between *pilgrimage place* and *tourism place* is most problematic at Chartres because of its attractiveness on both religious and cultural grounds. The boundary between pilgrimage place and tourism place becomes porous as the Office of Tourism for the city of Chartres adeptly deploys religious and artistic features of the cathedral through multilingual online resources and social media marketing. Such efforts support an economic development engine for the urban area. In the process, the city is memorializing the cathedral's historical significance as part of its present meaning, and re-situating the cathedral as pivotal to the town's economic development.

The city's tourist guide highlights "the sublime pinnacle of twelfth and thirteenth century art," symbolizing "the power of Chartres' bishops and the fervor of the population in the Middle Ages."⁶⁹ The guide—published in French, English, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and Dutch—conveys the consequence of the site through the historic workmanship required to build the structure, the past and present role of the stained glass windows in teaching religious ideas (a masterwork ensemble and "genuine picture book," according to the guide), and the precision and delicacy of the sculpture at the west, north, and south portals. All these artistic elements have become connected to the cathedral's global status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, also highlighted by the city's guide. Throughout, however, the city also highlights the cathedral as a place of religious pilgrimage. The guide stresses the continuity of pilgrimage practices, mentioning annual

⁶⁹ "The Cathedral," *Chartres Office of Tourism Guidebook*, accessed May 12, 2016, 9, <http://www.chartres-tourisme.com/en/chartres-tourist-office>. The French guidebook is a separate e-publication, while the other languages are combined in another e-publication. There is no German guidebook, but the Office of Tourism website is offered in three languages: French, German, and English.

pilgrimages for students and workers, the Tamil community, and the procession into town for the feast of the Assumption on August 15. This is part of the overall marketing of the cathedral's historic traditions, blending the meaning and purpose of the site.

As the city memorializes the historic significance of the cathedral, it offers ample opportunities for visitors to interact with the city's past—integral to its current value. City officials stress the accessibility of the cathedral and its artworks in marketing materials available at and around the site. People may enter the cathedral between 8:30am and 7:30pm every day, or until 10:00pm some nights July and August at the height of tourism season. They can walk the aisles, view the sculpture and stained glass, light candles, or sit in the chapels on their own timeframe. There are particular activities offered: on Fridays between March to October, visitors can walk the thirteenth century labyrinth on the nave floor—where, according to the city, the 261.5 meter circular path offered medieval pilgrims “an image of human life, way to God and his resurrection.”⁷⁰ Visitors entering the cathedral experience what Bratton calls the surprise and wonder of the space, but added to this experience is the infrastructure of a cultural landmark. This is exemplified by phases of the 2009-2017 restoration project, as the French state and non-profit organizations blocked some devotional spaces with scaffolding and plywood, including the nave and labyrinth, in the name of conservation. It is also shown by the range of amenities offered to visitors, befitting a global monument: ticket booths admitting people who wish to climb the north tower, literature racks with multilingual flyers explaining the cathedral's history, explanatory plaques labeling key images like the Belle Verrière,

⁷⁰ “The Cathedral,” *Chartres Office of Tourism Guidebook*, 10.

lighted signs providing notes on the cathedral's artworks, and an onsite gift shop. Outside the doors and surrounding the cathedral are shops and restaurants, public restrooms, and money changing stands.

There is a sense of mutual accommodation between the city and its visitors. The city invites visitors to interact with the cathedral space, but does so by juxtaposing the religious and historic features of the site with contemporary, commercial attractions. In the same guidebook that features pilgrimage, stained glass and the medieval labyrinth, the city is likewise publicizing local perfume and cosmetics businesses, festivals and leisure activities, shops and galleries, hotels and restaurants. Visitors, for their part, may engage in “ritual browsing”—choosing from a range of spiritual and commercial possibilities at Chartres.⁷¹ Artistic elements like the cathedral's labyrinth and sculpture are part of a suite of interactive activities, and people can choose among them as desired.

Illustrating this are heavily-promoted general interest events such as the Lights of Chartres. As the self-proclaimed City of Light and Perfume, Chartres is part of the Lighting Urban Community International (LUCI) network of cities around the world, and light shows are featured at 29 monuments around the town.⁷² People are offered the opportunity to follow a path through key locations around the city, nighttime in April through October, where churches, galleries, and gardens are lit up by colorful light

⁷¹ Coleman and Elsner, “Performance Pilgrimage.” Ritual browsing will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

⁷² “Le Concept,” *Chartres en Lumières*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.chartresenlumieres.com/fr/2012-06-08-09-59-48/le-concept.html>; “Chartres, France,” *Lighting Urban Community International Association*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.luciassociation.org/map-city/chartres-2/>.

exhibits with music. The cathedral is the most important of these locations, and crowds gather to view the various images and colors projected on the exterior of the west and south portals during the shows. The projections even include artworks from inside the cathedral, such as the iconic image of Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière shown on much larger scale and projected onto the west and south façades. In this sense, the architectural history of the site becomes the canvas (in the case of the Lights of Chartres, literally) for a citywide strategy to accommodate visitors.

In the lights of Chartres, we have a direct instance of the expansive boundaries of the pilgrimage environment—Chartres becomes one node on an urban circuit that includes the town theatre, library, fine arts museum, and Saint-Pierre church, with its religious images like the Belle Verrière featured in a show in conjunction with non-religious images. The lights exemplify how the city's Office of Tourism has repositioned the cathedral as part of an extensive commercial environment that includes local industry and moreover, presents the cathedral as a kind of museum, open for browsing possibilities even for those not engaged in devotional practices. The cathedral's history—its importance to medieval religious fervor, the power of its bishops, the intricacy of its stained glass—is employed as a memory narrative supporting its status as a noteworthy museum. This does not preclude city materials from attracting or informing visitors engaged with religious practices, and the marketing efforts by the Office of Tourism provide historical context for a broad range of people. Rather, new audiences are encouraged by these efforts, as are activities that blend pilgrimage place and tourism place. This is a key source of contestation in the pilgrimage environment of Chartres:

memory narratives of historical, cultural value connect with its religious past. In the process, varied audiences accrue there, adding their voices to the array of stakeholders, caretakers, and participants. In the process, the cathedral becomes a place of leisure, business, and administration.

Cathedral Caretakers and the 'Authentic Spiritual Dimension'

It is understandable that the city's Office of Tourism would market religious places and artifacts in conjunction with a broader strategy of urban economic development. However, cathedral caretakers also participate in promotion, even as they maintain the cathedral as ritual and spiritual space with a continuous history of pilgrimage. In some regards, there is cooperation between city and cathedral in terms of integrating audiences. Cathedral caretakers, however, have an added agenda to encourage a "pilgrimage of one day," where visitors who have not necessarily come to Chartres for religious practices are offered the chance to join its spiritual space.

Cathedral caretakers offer and encourage various modes of interaction at the site, highlighting religious, pilgrimage-related, historical, and even commercial themes. The building's art and architecture are pivotal to this endeavor. On the cathedral's website, the stained glass windows and architecture have their own dedicated sections. These feature interactive flash environments that allow users to view individual window panes with scriptural references, the cathedral floor plan, the flying buttress design, and the

sculptural façades.⁷³ These visual resources demonstrate how caretakers attempt to address visitors coming to Chartres for cultural reasons, as well as how artworks support the cathedral's continuing popularity and agendas. This broad address is echoed in the interior of the building, where signage and bilingual French-English explanatory materials describe both the religious and cultural function of objects.⁷⁴ These signs combine historical details on the image as well as devotional text—the sign by the Belle Verrière, for example, adds a quote from French Catholic poet Paul Claudel about contemplating the face of the Virgin presented in stained glass. Likewise, near the Sancta Camisia, viewers encounter a placard explaining the history and significance of medieval pilgrimage tokens in the shape of a chemise, accompanied by images of such tokens.⁷⁵

For cathedral caretakers, however, there is a contestation of memory, as the cultural character of the place intersects with the longstanding devotional character of the objects explained. The cathedral's own publicity stresses the uninterrupted nature of spiritual activity at Chartres. After the gifting of the object by Charles the Bald in 876, its

⁷³ "Architecture de la Cathédrale de Chartres," *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/architecture-cathedrale-chartres>. The website also features 360-degree views of the Royal Portal, north and south porches, the north ambulatory, and other architectural zones.

⁷⁴ Certainly, the use of French and English reflects a choice to speak to certain visitors and not others—the languages of surrounding European countries, let alone languages beyond Europe, are not included in main explanatory materials in the cathedral. The backlit signs at important stations detailing the history and importance of the place or image. There is an assumption in the signage that non-French speakers will speak English, which Francesconi notes as the "lingua franca for tourism" because of its global reach. Sabrina Francesconi, *Reading Tourism Texts: A Multimodal Analysis* (Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2014), 10. See also David Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Cori Jakubiak, "Moral Ambivalence in English Language Voluntourism," *Moral Encounters in Tourism*, ed. Mary Mostafanezhad and Kevin Hanna (London: Ashgate, 2014), 96-7.

⁷⁵ On the importance of cultural heritage signs and symbols for cultural heritage places, see Martin Selby, "People–Place–Past: The Visitor Experience of Cultural Heritage," *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*, ed. Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 40-1.

immediate celebrity prompted pilgrimage to the site as “*la venue de Dieu sur terre*” or the coming of God on earth, as evidenced by the garment worn by Mary during the Nativity.⁷⁶ By approaching and viewing the relic (even if it is behind a gate), viewers connect with a sacred history, according to cathedral publicity. The cathedral website also notes that medieval pilgrims traveled to venerate the Sancta Camisia during the height of its popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, sleeping in great crowds inside the cathedral during the feasts of the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin, and bringing home souvenir pilgrimage badges in the shape of the chemise.⁷⁷ This emphasis on the continuous nature of pilgrimage at Chartres suggests that contemporary visitors participate in, and contribute to, this longstanding tradition of devotional interaction.

The cathedral’s publicity materials link the continuous character of pilgrimage to a range of economic and social activity in the town and across France. As with medieval pilgrimage to Chartres, when markets and increased activity coincided with the major Marian feast days, contemporary pilgrimages to Chartres mark significant religious dates in the calendar and moreover connect the cathedral to various social groups throughout France. Major pilgrimages are cited: the student pilgrimage of the Île de France region, undertaken each March since 1935, with 2500-3000 annual attendees in the 2000s; the

⁷⁶ “Informations Pèlerinages,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/pelerinages-informations,110.html>. The cathedral’s official website is offered in French, with parts in English. The homepage notes that for non-French speakers, the site is being translated into English.

⁷⁷ In case visitors require additional instruction for interacting with the cathedral’s artifacts, the pilgrimage information page includes the image of a nineteenth century engraving of Notre-Dame du Pilier, robed in red and blue with scepter in hand, surrounded by kneeling pilgrims. This print is catalogued by the French Ministry of Culture with the inscribed title, “Notre Dame de Chartre / Priez Pour Nous / Je Vous Salue Marie.” “Portail des Collections des Musées de France,” *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.culture.gouv.fr>.

annual workers' pilgrimage on May 5, active since 1948 and resonating with the images of Labors of the Month and trades in the stained glass windows; the more traditional *Association Notre-Dame de Chrétienté* pilgrimage on Pentecost between Chartres and Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, drawing almost 10,000 Roman Catholics from Europe and North America for its 25th anniversary in 2007; and the Tamil pilgrimage, established in 1995 for Catholics in the Paris area fleeing civil war in Sri Lanka, and growing to 5000 yearly attendees by the end of the decade.⁷⁸

These major pilgrimages involve existing religious and cultural communities across France. However, the cathedral also integrates visitors into the continuous history of pilgrimage at Chartres by inviting them to interact with its relics and artifacts in the “pilgrimage of one day.” The cathedral’s website states:

You are more than 80,000 ‘individual’ pilgrims who come to Chartres cathedral each year, carrying your intentions to the Virgin Mary. But among you, those who come as ‘tourists’, how many of you have an authentic spiritual dimension to your visit?...To all those who respond to the spirituality at Chartres, we welcome you with joy.⁷⁹

Here, there a problematic line drawn between a spiritual, authentic place and a secular tourist place by cathedral caretakers. However, this is one of the boundaries that is crossed as cathedral caretakers offer ‘tourists’ a chance to take part in the spiritual space of Chartres and an alternate memory narrative of religious devotion. This invitation

⁷⁸ “Être Pèlerin à la Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/pelerin-a-chartres,9.html>. On the Pentecost pilgrimage of L’Association Notre-Dame de Chrétienté, see also “Présentation,” *Notre-Dame de Chrétienté*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.nd-chretienite.com/index-eng.php?file=presentation-eng&PHPSESSID=a43ceab15403b3b1d6053762cabeb2ed>.

⁷⁹ “Pèlerinages d’un Jour,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/les-pelerinages-d-un-jour,66.html>. Translated by author.

points to the deep interrelationship between contestation of memory and audience at Chartres: by addressing the purportedly more casual visitors, the cathedral caretakers are emphasizing one set of memories (the spiritual tradition that dwells in the place) over another (the historic character of the place as a tourist attraction).

Specifically, cathedral publicity emphasizes spiritual memories by guiding pilgrims for a day to the locations where they can encounter Mary, referencing four images and objects. These are the relic of the Sancta Camisia; Notre-Dame du Pilier; the statue of the Virgin in the crypt, Notre-Dame de Sous Terre; and the stained glass window of Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière.⁸⁰ Here, visitors may encounter Mary as accessible and immanent through fabric, paint, glass and wood, all available as they navigate the cathedral. It is important that these are Marian-related images and objects, offering to the twenty-first century viewer a link to the cult of Mary that justified the original building project. And yet, despite the guidance towards spiritual encounter with these images, they nonetheless evoke cultural reminders of medieval art and the cult of the saints—here, the boundary between spiritual value and cultural value is once again blurred. The presentation of images reinforces these overlapping memory narratives. The reverent display of artworks, on columns at a height or within chapels, as well as people touching or praying nearby, show their devotional history; the explanatory notes on nearby plaques also commemorate their artistic and cultural worth.

The labyrinth on the nave floor is another example of this contestation of memory. Cathedral publicity offers the labyrinth as a path where one encounters the

⁸⁰ “Pèlerinages d’un Jour.”

divine through the act of walking to the center.⁸¹ The invitation to interaction and encounter is amplified by the outdoor version of the Chartres labyrinth behind the building in the Bishop's Garden. Visitors can walk a section of the same iconic pattern, on grass and gravel instead of stone, surrounded by a panoramic and popular view of the entire city (Figure 3.4). At the same time, however, the labyrinth is presented as a cultural artifact even by the cathedral's own publicity, which includes details of its history from the early thirteenth century, its materials, and medieval manuscripts with drawings of other mazes.⁸² For its part, the outdoor labyrinth in the garden of the former Bishop's Palace is now a museum, the Musée des Beaux-Arts—an interactive, contemplative, and curated place. It is connected to the cathedral by the shared blueprint of the nave labyrinth, but it is beyond the bounds of the cathedral itself. The popularity and visibility of the outdoor labyrinth in adjacent museum space, affirming an important image from inside the cathedral, demonstrates how spiritual and cultural value interrelates.

Memory and audience are important sources of contestation in the cathedral's own publicity; however, there is also contestation in the intermingling of devotional and commercial places. Certainly, the cathedral's images are firmly embedded in the commercial zone of the surrounding neighborhood—in the streets facing the south side of

⁸¹ “Le Labyrinthe de la Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/le-labyrinthe,121.html>.

⁸² “Le Labyrinthe de Chartres, Enfin Dévoilé? Les Dernières Découvertes,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/le-labyrinthe-de-chartres-enfin-devoile-,article-133.html>. The labyrinth is also a cultural artifact in its many reproductions around the world, including the 42-foot wide replica on the atrium floor of the Palazzo Verdi building in Greenwood Village, Colorado—“a spiritual and meditative tool” that allows visitors to walk through 34 turns in order to reach the center. Margaret Jackson, “Palazzo Verdi More than Office,” *Denver Post*, Nov. 11, 2008, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_10951218.

the cathedral, once the location of medieval feast day fairs, rows of shops still sell mementoes that reiterate images from inside (Figure 3.5). However, the commercial environment is grounded within the building itself. The cathedral offers its own images for sale in the gift shop near the west portal, managed by the diocese of Chartres and approved by the National Monuments Centre—a shop which does not, according to cathedral publicity, “detract from the atmosphere of prayer that prevails in the building.”⁸³ In the shop, mass-produced mementoes repeat the famous artworks of Chartres—on books, postcards, magnets, mugs, poster prints, coasters, and jewelry—creating aesthetic trademarks of the Royal Portal, the Belle Verrière, and the labyrinth. The merchandise and its accessibility to visitors show how, in keeping with Reader’s analysis, the sacred arises and is given palpable form through the mundane, profane, and mercantile: the repetition of the images valorizes both their religious significance and their cultural past as important religious artifacts. Indeed, Chartres exemplifies how, as Weidenfeld and Ron observe, devotional and commercial practices carry each other along in spheres of cooperation, competition, and ultimately, mutual influence.⁸⁴

Overall, cathedral caretakers contribute to the contested environment at Chartres by inviting varied visitors to interact with the place and experience its images. There are some similarities in the ways that the church and the city encourage interaction, opening

⁸³ “La Boutique,” *Cathédrale de Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.cathedrale-chartres.org/fr/la-boutique,113.html>. The National Monuments Centre is a public institution governed by the French Ministry of Culture; its mission is to manage and conserve historic buildings under the ownership of the state. “Notre Histoire, Nos Valeurs,” *Centre des Monuments Nationaux*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://www.monuments-nationaux.fr/Qui-sommes-nous/Notre-histoire-nos-valeurs>.

⁸⁴ Weidenfeld and Ron, “Religious Needs in the Tourism Industry.”

the cathedral to visitors. However, cathedral publicity promotes a particular memory narrative of Chartres as spiritual and authentic, even for the visitors designated as tourists, and available as a tangible reminder of the longstanding pilgrimage traditions in French society. By naming visitors as tourists, cathedral caretakers suggest a divide between tourists and pilgrims—but by inviting them to take part in the pilgrimage of one day, they openly address the variations in audience. Likewise, cathedral publicity presents the nave labyrinth as a means to interact with the divine while the nearby outdoor labyrinth is part of the cultural ensemble of the Musée des Beaux-Arts. This array of memories and audiences interfacing in and near the cathedral fosters the porousness of boundaries between cultural and spiritual place.

Given this array, the intermingling of devotional and commercial aspects is inevitable. Indeed, the physical location of a shop inside the cathedral itself illustrates how devotional and commercial zones intertwine. Just outside the shop and directly in the nave, visitors can obtain a souvenir coin for two Euros showing the outline of the towers of Chartres or the face of Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière. These coins, reminiscent of the coins sold to medieval pilgrims, are part of a contemporary series featuring French cathedrals, available at kiosks inside cathedrals across the country. The souvenir coins link Chartres to another set of networks and stakeholders contributing to the contestation in the broader pilgrimage environment—in this case, through different memory narratives of French architectural and religious history.

National Memory at Chartres

The image of the towers and stained glass of Chartres on these memento coins, alongside other cathedrals of France, demonstrates the connections between the cathedral and other territories of national culture. Chartres does not only commemorate a purportedly neutral cultural heritage associated with art or religious ritual. Rather, French nationhood is also commemorated at Chartres, inscribed within its history, and the pilgrimage environment is connected to nation-wide networks of activity, association, and meaning. These connections date back to the medieval period, as royals travelled to petition the Virgin of Chartres. Now, however, that connection includes Chartres as a national artistic monument and conservation project. Scholars like Emile Mâle have certainly explored Gothic as a French style, or *Opus Francigenum*; in this, the very construction of the idea of French Gothic expresses nationalism as well as artistic style.⁸⁵ To commend the artistic style of Chartres is to commend the great achievements of France's past. Indeed, Reader argues that pilgrimage's popularity in the recent years is because "it has been projected in the media as a form of national commodity associated with nostalgic themes."⁸⁶ Thus, cultural or devotional place also becomes national place.

The physical presence of the cathedral serves different and even seemingly contradictory purposes with regards to French nationhood, so even the idea of *national*

⁸⁵ Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 29; Emile Mâle, *L'Art Allemand et l'Art Français du Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Colin, 1918), 112.

⁸⁶ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 38. Here, Reader employs Mori Masato's work on Japanese pilgrimage.

place is subject to its own set of contested memory narratives. For example, both the city Office of Tourism and cathedral caretakers encourage the annual Tamil pilgrimage—and the city’s marketing materials do so specifically in the context of a present-day multicultural France. In this sense, the cathedral memorializes a France that embraces new communities and their religious traditions, while simultaneously calling upon a historic Frenchness embodied in the cathedral’s history.⁸⁷ This occurs even during a time when the public role of religious identity, and the traditional respect for secularism in French society, is especially fraught.⁸⁸ The attention of the Chartres leadership to a secular yet religiously pluralistic French society is shown through the cathedral administration’s official publication, *Jalons 2*. Between articles on local summer festivals and the importance of belief, the spring 2015 issue reflects on French society after the Charlie Hebdo shootings and the simultaneous attack on a Jewish grocery store in Paris. The publication asks what kind of society the community wants for the future, and religious leaders respond by reaffirming religious diversity and the importance of faith—as well as adherence to the French national values of liberty, equality, and fraternity.⁸⁹

Alongside the narrative of pluralism, a different set of memories and audiences converge around Chartres. The annual traditional pilgrimage from Chartres to Paris

⁸⁷ On the Tamil community and pilgrimage, see Marie Percot, Andréa Tribess, and Gérard Robuchon, “Tamouls Sri-Lankais en France,” *Migrations Études* 59 (1995): 1-8.

⁸⁸ See Jean Baubérot, *Histoire de la Laïcité en France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010); T. Jeremy Gunn, “Under God but Not the Scarf: The Founding Myths of Religious Freedom in the United States and *Laïcité* in France,” *Journal of Church and State* 46.7 (2004): 7-24.

⁸⁹ Jean-Baptiste Quisfix, “Quelle Société Voulons-Nous Demain?” *Jalons 2: Journal Catholique du Grand Chartres at ses Environs* 17 (2015): 10-11; Georges Pontier, “Quelle Société Voulons-Nous Construire Ensemble?” 11-12.

continues, sponsored by the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), a conservative Catholic organization with international reach. SSPX has been critical of immigration and pluralism in Europe, and the founder of SSPX, Marcel Lefebvre, has expressed support for the radical right and anti-immigrant National Front party in France.⁹⁰ The Vatican does not recognize SSPX, citing unorthodox SSPX positions on issues of ordination and doctrine, yet there are active and pilgrimage-focused SSPX chapters all over the world.⁹¹ This is the same organization that, elsewhere in Europe, has galvanized xenophobia with regards to religious architecture. SSPX supported the vote in Switzerland in 2009 to ban construction of new minarets on mosques, a decision channeling fears that Muslim immigration would erode European values and control the religious landscape of the country.⁹² Chartres is connected to this movement even beyond Europe, as the American SSPX chapter also brings a contingent of young American pilgrims to France and other European locations each year. In June 2011, the youth pilgrimage was a 12-day journey

⁹⁰ Damir Skenderovic, *The Radical Right in Switzerland: Continuity and Change, 1945-2000* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 246; Alexandra Zavis, "France's Far-Right National Front Party takes Center Stage in Sunday's Election," *LA Times*, December 12, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-france-far-right-20151212-story.html>.

⁹¹ Mark Weitzman, "Jews, Radical Catholic Traditionalists, and the Extreme Right," *Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity, Volume III, Global Antisemitism: Past and Present*, ed. Charles Small (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013), 266.

⁹² Peter Wensierski and Steffen Winter, "Embarrassment for the Catholic Church," *Spiegel Online*, February 1, 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/embarrassment-for-the-catholic-church-bishop-williamson-unrepentent-in-holocaust-denial-a-675163-2.html>; "Switzerland: Constitutional Ban on the Building of Minarets," *Documentation Information Catholiques Internationales*, December 23, 2009, <http://www.dici.org/en/news/switzerland-constitutional-ban-on-the-building-of-minarets>.

to Paris, Lisieux, Lourdes, and Chartres, and in May 2012, the American SSPX youth pilgrimage joined the three-day traditional pilgrimage from Chartres to Orléans.⁹³

The pilgrimage route in 2012 from Chartres to Orléans was a significant one: it commemorated the 600th anniversary of the birth of French saint and heroine Joan of Arc in Orléans, petitioning both a religious devotion and a national symbolism through the journey.⁹⁴ In this sense, the spires of Chartres serve as tangible reminders of French nationhood during a time when anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim public discourse is increasing. That SSPX-sponsored pilgrimage exists alongside pilgrimage of multicultural communities in France shows how contested this pilgrimage environment can be in terms of both memory and audience. This mapping and re-mapping of Chartres to different causes may differ from the maps of the past—the medieval maps and images of Christian cosmology, for example, that placed the monstrous Other at the margins (strange and exotic beasts, the people and monsters of mythical or barely known territories, or the religious Other such as Jews).⁹⁵ Nonetheless, through their broader webs of meaning and memory, contemporary pilgrimage places can serve to re-inscribe the community and territory—and in some cases, reassert who is the insider and who is the outsider.

⁹³ Michael J. Matt, “Gloire et Honneur au Christ-Roi! Two French Pilgrimages, One Thriving Catholic Restoration Movement,” *The Remnant*, May 15, 2012, <http://www.remnantnewspaper.com/Archives/2012-0615-mjm-chartres-pilgrimage.htm>.

⁹⁴ From the September 2012 “Pélé-Infos” bulletin: “St. Joan is a model not only for the French, but for Catholics worldwide.” Translated by author.

⁹⁵ Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014); Camille, *Image on the Edge*; Deborah Hassig, “The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races,” *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 25-46; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Contestation of Chartres as a national place does not only occur through the sharing of the cathedral by groups with different political philosophies. Contestation is also grounded in the very administration of the cathedral, where the French government functions as a powerful stakeholder alongside religious leadership. There is a public management of memory as the state deploys Chartres as a cultural resource. Chartres is part of the DRAC Centre, DRAC being a Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs within the French Ministry of Culture and Communication. A DRAC is responsible for implementing the government's cultural policy and advises on matters of heritage, museums, archives, and the visual arts.⁹⁶ Chartres cathedral is considered a historic monument of the state, a legal status granted to a landmark with a historical, artistic, or architectural perspective that provides sufficient public interest to make it appropriate for preservation.⁹⁷ State ownership is enshrined in the national law that separated churches and the state, passed in 1905 and giving French government control over buildings such as Chartres.⁹⁸

With the Ministry of Culture and Communication's formal role in the management of the cathedral comes significant cultural and political influence. The Ministry presents the large cathedrals in DRAC Centre—Chartres, Bourges and Orléans—as part of a web of monuments connected by the practical concerns of

⁹⁶ "Régions," *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Regions>.

⁹⁷ "Monuments Historiques," *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Regions/Drac-Centre/Nos-secteurs-d-activite/Monuments-historiques>.

⁹⁸ Michael Minkenberg, "The Policy Impact of Church-State Relations," *Church and State in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Zsolt Enyedi and John T.S. Madeley (London: Routledge, 2004), 197.

management, all emblematic of French national history. To develop this national history, the Ministry is responsible for the 2009-2017 restoration project at Chartres. The initial phase to 2014 focused on the interior decoration of the nave and 14 stained glass windows, all costing an estimated 13 million Euros.⁹⁹ The Ministry presents the conservation effort at Chartres as a privilege and worthy of national and European economic resources. Its documents detail the physical space of Chartres, complete with floor plan diagrams and particulars on the décor, windows, and ambulatory. Documents for the Ministry's restoration campaign also display its logo below the national symbol, a stylized French flag and the words *Liberté, égalité, fraternité, République française*—a reminder of the national significance of Chartres as a cultural project.¹⁰⁰ This same imagery of the French republic is displayed on signage in the cathedral itself, with placards inside the building and on the grounds announcing the restoration. Viewers are greeted by these signs, which feature the stylized French flag and declare the French state as the owner of the building.

⁹⁹ “Chartres (28) Cathédrale Notre-Dame,” *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Regions/Drac-Centre/Nos-secteurs-d-activite/Monuments-historiques/Maitrise-d-ouvrage-des-travaux-sur-les-monuments-de-l-Etat/Chartres-28-Cathedrale-Notre-Dame>. Some European funds from the European Regional Development Fund, as well as private funds raised by the non-profit American Friends of Chartres, also contribute to restoration efforts.

¹⁰⁰ “Campagne de Restauration, Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres (Eure-et-Loir 2009-2016),” *Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/content/download/82955/626392/version/4/file/Fiche_globale_des_travaux_maj_mai_2014.pdf. The logo of the French Republic is itself an important image to juxtapose with Chartres as a place of national cultural heritage. Above the words “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” from the Declaration of Human Rights and the Citizen of 1789, a woman's face is outlined in profile, appearing as the middle white section of the French flag between blocks of blue and red. The woman is Marianne, a national symbol of the French republic appearing on coins, stamps, and official government buildings. The presence of this image frames the restoration and administration of national monuments like Chartres, valorizing cultural heritage as important national work.

National memory is conveyed even more explicitly in one of the backlit explanatory signs inside the south transept: the sign declares that by virtue of the 1905 Law on the Separation of Churches and State, the cathedral belongs to the state of France, which is responsible for its conservation. This particular display is flanked by other backlit signs showing a blueprint of the cathedral design and technical details of its construction, all offering to visitors an overall visual presentation of the cathedral's history, construction, and ownership. The presentation of such backlit explanatory signs—at the Belle Verrière window, inside the south doors, by the Sancta Camisia—is extremely important. They punctuate the dark interior of the cathedral and draw the eyes as colorful panels of text, image, and luminosity. They are prominently placed in the main routes of the aisles and at the entrances, an inevitable encounter for approaching visitors as infrastructure of national management. This particular sign not only captures the eye, but it also captures the porous boundary between national secular place and religious place: there, in the cathedral that is an active church and seat of bishop Michel Pansard, the sign declares the state has full ownership under law.

With the specific sign in the cathedral featuring the 1905 Law on the Separation of Churches and State, we have a conjunction of national memory, cultural heritage, and the conservation of artistic images. When visitors interact with the cathedral, they are interacting with this layered national space, as well. However, Chartres is part of networks and memory narratives beyond those on the national level. The cathedral is also configured as a regional space, notably through its historic and contemporary connection to the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage route. Of course, the Camino is a very literal

and direct regional network—a series of roads and routes passing through northern France—of which Chartres is one node. However, the connection to the Camino also expands the pilgrimage environment in and around the cathedral. The *Association des Amis de Saint-Jacques* has a regional office directly across the street from the south portal at Chartres, the Camino having dozens of national and regional arteries and offices throughout Europe. This office is on the street filled with shops and cafés, facing the cathedral and offering to visitors a view of the south portal sculpture through its doors. The Chartres office also coordinates the validation of pilgrimage passports or *credenciales*—reminiscent of safe-conducts issued to medieval pilgrims—offering the traditional stamp for the Santiago passport.¹⁰¹

The Association at Chartres adopts the transnational symbol for the Camino, the blue square with its abstract radiating yellow lines of a scallop shell. This image is displayed on tiles embedded in the streets of Chartres, leading towards the cathedral on the south and west sides (Figure 3.6). The scallop shell image serves as a reminder of St. James, patron saint of pilgrims, even as it also suggests the colors of the European Union flag. Thus, the locally specific version of Mary at Chartres, to use Spitzer's words, is also part of a regional map of historic pilgrimage to Spain. She can be everyone's 'Our Lady

¹⁰¹ "Carnet du Pèlerin," *Association des Amis de Saint-Jacques d'Eure-et-Loir*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.compostelle28.org/38+carnet-du-pelerin.html>. The pilgrimage office at Santiago estimates the number of pilgrims in 2015 at 262,459, including 7.08% French nationals. The statistics office for the Santiago pilgrimage consciously uses the term "pilgrim," but perhaps in recognition of the problematic boundaries between audiences, has created a joint "Religious/Cultural" category for pilgrims' motivation. According to the statistics office, 54.09% of Santiago pilgrims had Religious/Cultural motivation for the journey, 37.98% cited Religious motivation, and 20.80% cited Cultural motivation. "Pilgrim's Welcome Office," *Pilgrim's Office in Santiago de Compostela*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/pilgrims-office/statistics/?anio=2015&mes=>.

of Chartres' as they depart westward, traveling from France towards St. James. There is a long history of infrastructure along the Camino to accommodate pilgrims, including hostels and shelters—in this sense, the Association petitions a well-established memory narrative of devotional travel to Santiago de Compostela.¹⁰² At the same time, however, the Association is another participant in the broader pilgrimage environment around Chartres, within a web of administration and management. It provides service to visitors as the Camino attracts similar heterogeneous audiences as the cathedral itself, and the route to Santiago gains popularity as a journey of personal self-discovery and identity.¹⁰³

As actors proliferate in the pilgrimage environment of Chartres, national memory becomes an important source of contestation—the place is both a symbol of France's artistic and religious past, and the potential of its inclusive future. Chartres accommodates both Tamil pilgrimage groups and groups affiliated with SSPX. At the same time, the French government itself commemorates Chartres as part of a national web of publicly managed sites—monuments of France that merit national and European funding to conserve. That Chartres is a significant national cultural project is evident for those interacting with the artworks there, shown in signs throughout the buildings and grounds declaring French ownership. In the process, the boundary between national secular and religious place becomes more porous.

¹⁰² Houlihan, "Souvenirs with Soul." Chartres in modern times has continued to be a popular secondary starting point for the Camino. See "The Paris Route," *The Confraternity of Saint James*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.csj.org.uk/planning-your-pilgrimage/routes-to-santiago/the-routes-today/the-paris-route>.

¹⁰³ Samuel Sánchez y Sánchez and Annie Hesp, eds., "Introduction," *The Camino de Santiago in the 21st Century: Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Global Views* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 8; Janneke Peelen and Willy Jansen, "Emotive Movement on the Road to Santiago de Compostela," *Etnofoor* 20.1 (2007): 75-96.

Global cultural heritage: Patrimoine and preservation

Just as Steller argues for a postmodern pilgrimage that challenges an understanding of pilgrimage as an exclusively local phenomenon, Hernández likewise argues that globalization has transformed our very concepts of heritage beyond local ones, as cultural space becomes subject to “diverse systems of belonging.”¹⁰⁴ The idea of broadly-based cultural heritage helps us understand Chartres as embedded in regional and global systems of movement, diaspora, and resettlement—all contributing to the polyphony of actors and networks there, and ultimately, its porousness.¹⁰⁵ As the demographics of France change with immigration, Tamil pilgrimage takes root at Chartres and families gather each May to touch Notre-Dame du Pilier and bless their loved ones. As the cathedral attracts more international visitors, the city and cathedral offer explanatory materials in Japanese and Russian, and such flyers are among the first things a visitor encounters when entering through the west portal. As European economic and social integration grows, Chartres joins the *Association des Villes Sanctuaires*—an organization promoting hotels, restaurants, and cultural activities at pilgrimage places—and visitors can arrange tours at the cathedral, as well as related trips to Lourdes and

¹⁰⁴ Steller, 2543; Gil Manuel Hernández i Martí, “The Deterritorialization of Cultural Heritage in a Globalized Modernity,” *Journal of Contemporary Culture* 1 (2006): 95.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Bounds and Patterson’s analysis of “transnational space” as a result of the forces of globalization. Elizabeth M. Bounds and Bobbi Patterson, “Intercultural Understanding in a Community School,” *Religion in Global Civil Society*, ed. Mark Juergensmeyer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 174-5.

Lisieux.¹⁰⁶ With this polyphony, one of the most influential memory narratives at Chartres takes root: the cathedral a global cultural heritage monument.

Important for this narrative is the designation of Chartres as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. This designation is pivotal for the deployment of cultural heritage at Chartres, offering to visitors the chance to experience its art and architecture as global and human achievements. The city of Chartres, for example, features the cathedral as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in the “History and Heritage” section of its “*Découvrir Chartres*” webpage, with welcoming text for visitors. Here, the cathedral and its heritage status are marketed as an essential monument in a range of local attractions.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the World Heritage status becomes part of the architectural ensemble of the cathedral itself: a plaque on the exterior cathedral grounds declares the site’s inscription to the World Heritage list (Figure 3.7). The plaque states that the property is included on the list in recognition of its exceptional and universal value, in order to ensure its preservation for the benefit of all humanity. One encounters this plaque when moving around the eastern end of the cathedral, past the intricate flying buttresses and columns. A gravel

¹⁰⁶ “Chartres pour votre Séjour,” *Villes Sanctuaries en France*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.villes-sanctuaires.com/spip.php?article5>. On the strategy of marketing religious and pilgrimage places, see Adi Weidenfeld and Amos S. Ron, “Religious Needs in the Tourism Industry,” *Anatolia* 19.2 (2008): 358. Organizations such as the Shrines of Europe Association may even contextualize pilgrimage as a foundation of European integration. In this view, shrines are “traditional European centres” and “long before any attempts to economically and politically unite Europe,” people crossed borders to reach pilgrimage sites. Anna Niedźwiedz, “Competing Sacred Places: Making and Remaking of National Shrines in Contemporary Poland,” *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Place-Making in Eastern Europe*, ed. John Eade and Mario Katić (London: Ashgate, 2014), 98.

¹⁰⁷ “Découvrir Chartres,” *Chartres: Capitale de la Lumière et du Parfum*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.chartres.fr/decouvrir/histoire-et-patrimoine/patrimoine-de-chartres/notre-dame-de-chartres/>.

footpath and nearby benches allow viewers to admire the architectural ensemble, including the UNESCO sign on a stone wall as part of the ensemble.

As the plaque on the grounds reminds viewers, World Heritage Sites chosen are places of “universal value,” according to UNESCO’s own guidelines.¹⁰⁸ This is a key memory narrative established by UNESCO at the cathedral, its artistic uniqueness and magnitude in human cultural history. Chartres was among the first set of inscriptions to the list in 1979, as an archetype of the cultural, social and aesthetic life of the Gothic cathedral, and as an object of pilgrimage for devotees from all over the Christianized West.¹⁰⁹ Specifically, Chartres was inscribed under criteria (i), (ii), and (iv) of UNESCO’s ten criteria for selection of World Heritage Sites: first, it is a masterpiece of “creative human genius”; second, it exhibits an important interchange of human values related to architecture and monumental arts; and third, it is an outstanding example of a building or architectural ensemble that illustrates a significant stage in human history.¹¹⁰ According to this memory narrative, to approach the sculptural façade at the portals or apprehend the vaulted ceilings of the nave is to view creative genius, codified and verified on a global scale by the United Nations agency for the benefit of all.

¹⁰⁸ “Criteria for Selection,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>.

¹⁰⁹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage list 81,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/81bis.pdf.

¹¹⁰ “Chartres Cathedral,” *UNESCO World Heritage Center*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/81>. All criteria are listed at “Criteria for Selection.”

Chartres' designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site is frequently petitioned as part of the place's heritage concept.¹¹¹ The cathedral is a reference point for French Gothic art, but UNESCO's argument for common human culture extends its importance beyond the borders of France. Consequently, organizations worldwide wish to participate in this space of universal cultural heritage. A prime example is the non-profit group, the American Friends of Chartres, which financially supports ongoing restoration projects.¹¹² Citing the cathedral's cultural significance on UNESCO's World Heritage List, the American Friends of Chartres launched a restoration campaign in 2014 to clean the baker's window in the nave clerestory, featuring the medieval bakers of the town and a large image of St. James wearing his signature cockle shells and carrying his pilgrim's staff. This was a crowdfunded campaign, inviting people from all countries and religions, as beneficiaries of this art, to donate to a masterpiece.¹¹³ Once removed and restored, the window will travel abroad to an American museum. This is a more direct instance of porous boundaries between cultural and religious place—in this case, a cultural heritage organization involved in restoration removes a piece of the physical ensemble and ships it overseas for exhibit. This is reminiscent of pieces of the ensemble that are removed from the cathedral itself for a permanent museum setting, such as the fourteenth century piece

¹¹¹ Margry uses the example of Santiago de Compostela as the creation of a constructed "heritage concept," and observes that the historic route was designed to be widely appropriated by European societies. Reader gives a dramatic example of such appropriation in the service of national identity: the Santiago pilgrimage was promoted by General Franco in Spain as a symbol of nationalism and orthodox Catholicism. Margry, 25; Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 175.

¹¹² *American Friends of Chartres*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://friendsofchartres.org>.

¹¹³ "American Friends of Chartres Bakers Bay/US Museum Crowdfunding Campaign," *Youtube.com*, June 13, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzVUDTx4ekk>.

of armor from the cathedral treasury that is now part of the permanent collection at the city's Musée des Beaux-Arts.¹¹⁴

The commemoration of Chartres as a cultural heritage monument may be an influential memory narrative, but it is certainly a contested one. UNESCO is a powerful actor in global civil society, but its classification of cultural and natural landmarks is not disinterested. There is a politics of preservation here, and the conscious memorialization of *patrimoine* or heritage. Decision-making about what places are worthy to preserve, and how to go about preserving them, is not a neutral exercise. Scholars have argued the limitations and biases of World Heritage Sites: they are a European imperial project in regions such as the Middle East¹¹⁵; they may be contested places presented as objective cultural resources, with harmful results for local communities¹¹⁶; they are not only commercialized for international tourist consumption, but create an entire set of global assumptions about cultural ownership¹¹⁷; and they are elite cultural prizes that commodify cultural and natural spaces.¹¹⁸ In his discussion of the Mahabodhi temple complex in Bodhgayā, India, Kinnard points to tensions in the site's designation as a

¹¹⁴ "Collections Permanents," *Chartres.fr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.chartres.fr/en/culture/musee-des-beaux-arts/les-collections>.

¹¹⁵ Scott Macleod, "Digital Spatial Representations: New Communication Processes and 'Middle Eastern' UNESCO World Heritage Sites Online," *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, Change, and Transformation*, ed. Rami Daher (Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2007), 114.

¹¹⁶ David Harrison and Michael Hitchcock, eds., *The Politics Of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism And Conservation* (Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2005).

¹¹⁷ Michael A. DiGiovine, *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009).

¹¹⁸ Mark Patrick McGuire, "What's at Stake in Designating Japan's Sacred Mountains: Shugendo Practices in the Kii Peninsula," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40.2 (2013): 323-354.

World Heritage Site. First, the intention to preserve the universal value of Bodhgayā creates a “museumized” place that fixes the structure in time; second, Bodhgayā is a working temple for present-day Buddhists and Hindus; and third, Bodhgayā is a tourist site, despite the blurred boundary between tourism and religious pilgrimage.¹¹⁹

These tensions are present in some respects at Chartres, though without the more normalizing and controlling history of imperialism that implicates the UNESCO project at a site like Bodhgayā. One could even make the argument that a European Christian cathedral like Chartres is a prototypical and regulating standard for ‘sacred space’ that complicates UNESCO involvement in, and ordering of, non-Western sites like Bodhgayā. In this, as Roseman points out, the cathedral is part of a contemporary shift to mass consumption of heritage on a scale not historically seen, and the related marketing of traditionally religious pilgrimage sites to wide audiences.¹²⁰ Certainly, at Chartres, both religious and civic actors embrace the status gained by *patrimoine*, showcasing the historic and aesthetic relevance of the cathedral’s art, architecture, and relics.

The very politics of preservation, however, is itself an arena with multiple actors and its own forms of contestation. The French government’s controversial 2009-2017 restoration project is a case in point: various actors have differing visions about the goals and methods of restoration, even as the state has ultimate control of the site. Critics

¹¹⁹ Kinnard, 125-6. See also Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed., *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Timothy J. Dallen, ed., *The Political Nature of Cultural Heritage and Tourism* (London: Ashgate, 2007).

¹²⁰ Sharon R. Roseman, “Santiago de Compostela in the Year 2000: From Religious Center to European City of Culture,” *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, ed. Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 70-1.

maintain that the repainting of the walls in beige with trompe de l'oeil masonry lines—argued by the conservation team to replicate the thirteenth century style—“makes authentic artifacts look fake” and moreover, is a violation by France of international conservation protocols.¹²¹ Architect Alexander Gorlin further contends that the restoration project prevents people from walking through the dark, unified stone structure while the brilliance of the stained glass windows bursts forth in “*lumière mystérieuse*.”¹²² For Gorlin, this loss creates a spatial amnesia, where a fundamental form of interaction with the cathedral is now absent. However, at the same time, Madeline Caviness and Jeffrey Hamburger, advisors to the American Friends of Chartres and supporters of the restoration project, dismiss concerns as nostalgia for a cathedral of personal memory. They characterize the renovation as “careful and historically responsible,” and note that “historical buildings are modified over time, and it is no longer thought necessary to preserve only their first appearance.”¹²³

In this way, conservation remains under dispute at Chartres, and these disputes are not limited to UNESCO’s World Heritage Site process. There are competing opinions

¹²¹ Martin Filler, “A Scandalous Makeover at Chartres,” *New York Times Review of Books*, December 14, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/dec/14/scandalous-makeover-chartres>. See also Adrien Goetz, “À Chartres, la Cathédrale en Disgrace,” *Le Figaro*, November 19, 2014, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/culture/2014/11/19/03004-20141119ARTFIG00243--chartres-la-cathedrale-en-disgrace.php>.

¹²² Alexander Gorlin, “Amnesia at Chartres,” *Architectural Record* 203.2 (2015): 41.

¹²³ Madeline H. Caviness and Jeffrey Hamburger, “The New Chartres: An Exchange,” *New York Review of Books*, December 17, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/dec/17/new-chartres-exchange/>. For his part, Patrice Calvel, the chief architect of the French culture ministry’s project in its early states, defends the restoration as having “the full weight of the administration of state, historians and architects who decided over a 20-year period what would be done.” Anne Penketh and Kim Willsher, “US Architecture Critic Sparks Row over Chartres Cathedral Restoration,” *Guardian*, December 19, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/dec/19/us-architect-sparks-row-chartres-cathedral-restoration-paul-calvel>.

about *what* precisely should be conserved at Chartres and how—from the Romanesque remnants to the sixteenth century Notre-Dame du Pilier and rebuilt north tower, and continuing through to the beige paint and backlit signage of the early twenty-first century. The various international actors engaged with the artworks of Chartres only increase these competing opinions. The physical presence of the cathedral—how its images are arranged, restored, repainted, and even re-imagined—is crucial for understanding how memory narratives are enshrined and disputed at Chartres, from human genius to responsible conservation to *lumière mystérieuse*. Sheldrake’s point is well taken that medieval religious buildings stand in a different time period and are experienced by completely different audiences—and thus, there is “no way back to the ‘real cathedrals’.”¹²⁴ However, the very attempts to “get back to the real cathedral” through restoration have meaning—for the ways different actors attempt to shape memory and place, and for the ways that audiences ultimately experience Chartres today.

As actors engaged with Chartres as a cultural heritage concept proliferate, the influential narrative of Chartres as a global, human achievement develops. UNESCO’s World Heritage Site designation is important for this dynamic, and encourages further polyphony at Chartres as other actors and organizations, from the city Office of Tourism to the American Friends of Chartres, confirm the cultural worth of the cathedral. The memory narrative of heritage is certainly a contested one, given these various parties, as evidenced by the controversial 2009-2017 restoration project—and this very contestation

¹²⁴ Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 60.

contributes to the porous boundary between the cathedral as a cultural masterpiece and a working church.

Conclusion

Historically, the medieval pilgrim interacted with Chartres as a focused and relatively defined space dedicated to the cult of Mary. Commercial activity outside the cathedral doors was important then as now, but veneration of the Virgin and her relic was a cohesive logic in the medieval pilgrimage experience for a relatively narrow demographic. Today, religious pilgrimages continue, but the devotional activity and imagery at Chartres are joined to proliferating networks relating to modern urban development, national identity, and global cultural heritage. The cathedral at Chartres demonstrates the dynamics of the expansive pilgrimage environment, and how new stakeholders and visitors come to buy in to a well-established site. In the process, audiences who journey to Chartres for specific religious purposes, such as the annual pilgrimage from Paris, do not disappear. Rather, new audiences become integrated.

While spatially defined in its architectural structure, Chartres is porous in the sense of accommodating the interactions of a wide range of actors, fostering contestation of memory and audience. The city's Office of Tourism, cathedral caretakers, the French state and its Ministry of Culture, pilgrimage groups such as SSPX, UNESCO, and American Friends of Chartres coincide and interface in the pilgrimage environment. In particular, the cathedral as a working church is remapped as a cultural tourism resource and an economic engine for the entire urban area. Given the polyphony at Chartres and

the importance of commerce, Reader's assertion that the sacred is constructed and renewed through the mundane, profane, and mercantile is more helpful than the Turners' idea of the pilgrim on the way there and a tourist on the way back.

The web of activity at Chartres means that its artworks, architecture, and devotional objects are continuously reframed by and for various audiences, petitioning a growing range of memory narratives. In some cases, where the cathedral is both a multicultural place in contemporary France and a traditional Catholic place, these narratives may not even be wholly congruent. In other cases, images and objects related to the Marian cult at Chartres—the Belle Verrière, Notre-Dame du Pilier, the Sancta Camisia—gain additional meaning, and the enduring polyvalence of Mary's image is shown through the changing presentation of these artworks. The labyrinth and the statue of the Madonna in the crypt, for example, have been repurposed as focal points of pagan or New Age spirituality. These artifacts are claimed to memorialize the pre-Christian past, inspiring dedicated excursions and organizations.¹²⁵ Anna Fedele examines how spiritual leaders blend Christian and Neopagan elements at Chartres, offering pilgrimage tours that emphasize the Celtic and pre-Celtic roots of goddess worship in images such as

¹²⁵ See Gailand MacQueen, *The Spirituality of Mazes and Labyrinths* (Kelowna, B.C.: Wood Lake Books, 2005); Duncan S. Ferguson, *New Age Spirituality: An Assessment* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 218; Justine Digance, "Religious and Secular Pilgrimage: Journeys Redolent with Meaning," *Tourism, Religion, and Spiritual Journeys*, ed. Dallen J. Timothy and Daniel H. Olsen (NY: Routledge, 2005), 36-48. On tours of Chartres that highlight the pagan spiritual aspect of artworks like the labyrinth and the statue of the black Madonna in the crypt, Notre-Dame de Sous Terre, see "Veriditas Programs in Chartres, France," *Lauren Artress*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.laurenartress.com/pilgrimages>; "Sacred Tour – Camino France and Spain (2014)," *Sacred Mystical Journeys*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://sacredmysticaljourneys.com/sacred-tour-camino-france-spain>; "Travel and Tours," *Ancient Quest*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.ancientquest.com/travel>.

Notre-Dame de Sous Terre.¹²⁶ Chartres is not static space, despite its long-established history, and Mary's image continues to shift as a signifier of global culture.

Heterogeneous audiences at Chartres, and the various networks that facilitate them, may complicate religious practices at the cathedral—mass, confession, or prayer. Polyphony is not necessarily perfect harmony. At the beginning of one mass during my 2015 visit, the priest invited people milling around the aisles and viewing the stained glass to come join the service. Yet, the signs asking that no photos be taken during services—one of the only obvious markers of the religious character of the shared space—are not always respected. To return to Notre-Dame du Pilier, those reaching out to reverently touch the column supporting the statue of Mary and Christ may become part of the exhibit for onlookers and picture takers. The fact that the people reaching to touch the column then take pictures themselves only shows how complex audiences may be.

Nolan and Nolan argue that today's pilgrimage places may attract visitors "by virtue of its artistic merits, historical associations, or the view from the terrace."¹²⁷ At Chartres, such visitors intermingle and coincide, encouraged by the cathedral's configuration. In the process, divisions among Chartres as a religious shrine, a tourist destination, a national monument, and a cultural exemplar become permeable—difficult to maintain or at times, even discern. This is not a reply to Peter Margry's question, is

¹²⁶ Anna Fedele, "The Metamorphoses of Neopaganism," *Sites and Politics of Religious Diversity in Southern Europe: The Best of All Gods*, ed. José Mapril and Ruy Blanes (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 62-4. Fedele examines pagan interpretations of cultural heritage in Catholic-dominant European countries. She studied a 2003 pilgrimage at Chartres, "Mary Magdalene, Black Madonnas and the Cathars and Templars." During this pilgrimage tour, non-affiliated spiritual leaders stressed "energy connections with power places in pre-Christian times" and a link with "Mother Earth" and "the Feminine" through statues of Mary in the crypt.

¹²⁷ Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 14.

secular pilgrimage a contradiction in terms?¹²⁸ Rather, in the case of Chartres, these terms are not stable or discrete categories. Given its continuing history of religious devotion, cultural display, economic importance, and political influence, this is a pilgrimage environment that vexes an ideal of authenticity and audience.

¹²⁸ Margry, 14.



Figure 3.1. Sancta Camisia and reliquary, Chartres, France. Relic: gift of Charles the Bald in 876. Reliquary: 19th century. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.

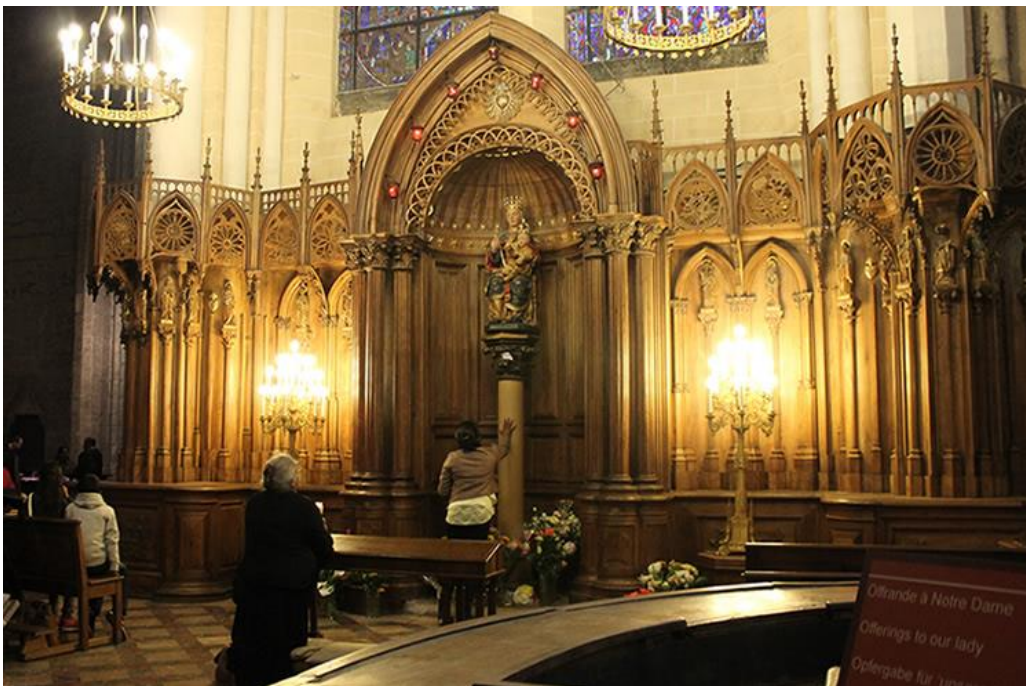


Figure 3.2. Notre-Dame du Pilier, Chartres. Sixteenth century. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 3.3. South transept central portal, Chartres. C. 1210-1220. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 3.4. Exterior labyrinth, Chartres. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 3.5. Shops facing south transept, Chartres. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 3.6. Mile marker for Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage outside West Portal, Chartres. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 3.7. UNESCO World Heritage plaque on east cathedral grounds, Chartres. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.

Chapter 4
The Fluid Pilgrimage Environment: Contestation and Memory at Medjugorje

January 2014 was a milestone in the Vatican’s investigation into the events of Medjugorje: the commission completed its report on the alleged Marian apparitions there, submitting its findings to the Vatican’s doctrine office. In 2010, Pope Benedict XVI appointed a commission of church officials to investigate the apparitions and offer their explanations.¹ This was 29 years after the first reported Marian apparition in the small town in Bosnia and Herzegovina—apparitions that now spill out into the surrounding landscape and inspire an international following. As one report notes, “...the alleged apparitions have been a source of both controversy and conversion, with many flocking to the city for pilgrimage and prayer, and some claiming to have experienced miracles at the site, while many others claim the visions are non-credible.”²

This debate over official religious sanction of the Medjugorje phenomenon has continued for decades, ever since six children in the former Yugoslavian community claimed to see a vision of the Virgin Mary in 1981. Ten years after the initial claims, the bishops of the former Yugoslavia expressed ambivalence, stating that the apparitions or

¹ “Cardinal Ruini: Investigation on Medjugorje Apparitions will not be Presented Immediately,” *Rome Reports*, January 11, 2013, <http://www.romereports.com/pg148065-cardinal-ruini-investigation-on-medjugorje-apparitions-will-not-be-presented-immediately-en>.

² “Vatican Commission Completes Medjugorje Investigation,” *Catholic News Agency*, January 20, 2014, <http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/vatican-commission-completes-medjugorje-investigation>. See also Elisabetta Povoledo, “Church Inquiry May Pit Pope Against a Popular Shrine,” *New York Times*, August 27, 2015, A6.

revelations could not be affirmed.³ The investigation that began in 2010 was conducted in complete secrecy—and as cardinals and bishops have debated, members of the local Roman Catholic hierarchy have discouraged the entire Medjugorje movement. One local archbishop forbade one of the children—Ivan Dragicevic, now grown into an international celebrity—to speak in the United States.⁴ This contrasts with Marian apparition sites like Lourdes in France and Fatima in Portugal, where popes have visited and miracles have been officially recognized.⁵

Nonetheless, Medjugorje attracts visitors from around the world, even as its history has been marked by fierce politics and competition to control the lucrative pilgrimage industry.⁶ It claims the longest continuing appearance of the Virgin Mary in history, generating a popular literature variously describing, supporting, or debunking the apparition phenomenon.⁷ In its first decade since the 1981 visions, ten million pilgrims

³ Ratko Peric, “Criteria for Discerning Apparitions: Regarding the Events of Medjugorje, Part 2,” *Theotokos Books*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.theotokos.org.uk/pages/unapprov/medjugor/bpperic2.html>.

⁴ Edward Pentin, “Vatican Commission Completes Medjugorje Investigation,” *National Catholic Register*, January 18, 2014, <http://www.ncregister.com/blog/edward-pentin/vatican-commission-completes-medjugorje-investigation>.

⁵ Pope Benedict XVI visited Lourdes in 2008, four years after the visit of the previous pope, John Paul II; in July 2013, the Vatican approved the sixty-ninth sanctioned miracle at Lourdes. John Paul II attributed his survival from an assassination attempt in 1981 to the intervention of Mary, and placed one of the bullets removed from his body in the crown of the statue of Mary in Fatima.

⁶ Ian Reader, “Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World: Meanings and Implications,” *Religion* 37.3 (2007): 210–229.

⁷ Joan Ashton, *The People's Madonna: An Account of the Visions of Mary at Medjugorje* (London: Fount/HarperCollins, 1991); Janice T. Connell, *The Visions of the Children: The Apparitions of the Blessed Mother at Medjugorje* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Donal Anthony Foley, *Medjugorje Revisited: 30 Years of Visions or Religious Fraud?* (Nottingham: Theotokos Books, 2011).

are estimated to have visited the site.⁸ The danger posed by regional conflict in the 1990s caused numbers to fall, but since the end of the Bosnian War, current numbers exceed one million a year. Thousands testify to healing and miracles at the site, now a global center of practice and theology for groups in the United States and millions around the world.⁹ 2012-2014 were especially popular years for Medjugorje, as measured by distribution of communion, only exceeded by the thirtieth anniversary of the visions in 2011.¹⁰ The popularity of Medjugorje has prompted development across the region, including record activity at the airport in nearby Mostar. This growth is all driven, according to the Minister for Transport and Communication, by “religious tourism.”¹¹

Clearly, there is a tension between the official position of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on Medjugorje and the popularity of the pilgrimage place itself. *Catholic Culture* blogger Donal Anthony Foley argues that we may well see “a major inconsistency between the unmistakable negative judgment of the Yugoslav Bishop’s Conference and the Vatican, on the one hand, and the practice of millions of Catholics,

⁸ Gerald E. Markle and Frances B. McCrae, “Medjugorje and the Crisis in Yugoslavia,” *Politics and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe: Traditions and Transitions*, ed. William H. Swatos (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 197. In 1992, Vukonić cited 3000-5000 visitors to Medjugorje per day. Boris Vukonić, “Medjugorje’s Religion and Tourism Connection,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19.1 (1992): 81.

⁹ Joseph Wiinikka-Lydon, “Ethnic Cleansing as Religious Practice: Religion, Ethnicity, and Political Conflict in Bosnia During the War,” *Journal of Inter-Religious Studies* 11 (2013): 21.

¹⁰ “Statistics,” *Medjugorje.hr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/en/medjugorje-phenomenon/statistics>. According the Medjugorje parish of St. James’ website, 2,027,900 holy communions were distributed in 2011 and 1,814,900 were distributed in 2012. See also Jakob Marschner, “Medjugorje Records its Second Best Year,” *Medjugorje Today*, January 24, 2013, <http://ourladyprays.com/medjugorje-records-its-second-best-year>.

¹¹ “Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Mostar Airport Records One of its Busiest Years on Record.”

all no doubt in good faith, on the other.”¹² It is immediately evident that the place itself is contested on a number of levels—theologically, historically, politically, and discursively—and that this contestation extends from the area’s turbulent past to its present status as a global pilgrimage destination.

The sources of contestation at Medjugorje are different from those at Chartres and Ephesus. Medjugorje is not recognized for its cultural or historical value, and there are no actors such as UNESCO engaged with the conservation of its images and buildings. Its audience is relatively homogeneous compared to the other two case studies, with Roman Catholic caretakers and devotional participants constituting the majority of stakeholders there. Certainly, there is a strong presence of the pilgrimage marketplace intertwined with the apparition phenomenon. The recent origins of the phenomenon sparked rapid economic development of the small town in conjunction with the growing international fame of the visions. Yet, Medjugorje has been most deeply formed by contestation of memory. Instead of a fresh and spontaneous pilgrimage place that becomes even more regulated over time, as proposed by the Turners and detailed in the Introduction, Medjugorje has figured into struggles to assert memory and identity from its beginnings. Contestation is emplaced as competing memory narratives about the apparitions mark the landscape, complementing or competing with one another. The Franciscan and parish leadership, visitors, and the visionaries all deploy and use various locations and images as reminders of the Marian apparitions. There is moreover an addition contestation of memory at Medjugorje, involving its national role as a symbolic resource. Its history as a

¹² Donal Anthony Foley, “Marian Apparitions: Some Lessons From History,” *Catholic Culture*, January 6, 2013, <http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?id=3962>.

place of revelation under Yugoslavian authoritarianism and its role as a spiritual capital in the newly formed state of Bosnia and Herzegovina were specific memory narratives that shaped Medjugorje in its first two decades.

Medjugorje has porous boundaries not only because the division between commercial and devotional place is permeable, as with Chartres and Ephesus. Rather, in keeping with my initial contention that the case studies demonstrate different kinds of porousness instead of a spectrum of least to most porous, there is an additional dimension of porousness at Medjugorje. Medjugorje problematizes the notion of a spatially centered and clearly bounded site, in physical and conceptual terms. A defining characteristic at Medjugorje, not present at Chartres or Ephesus, is the claimed apparitions of Mary, which are relatively recent and ongoing to present day. The pilgrimage environment is constantly formed by these continuous visions, spilling out without a final or definitive zone of activity. The apparition phenomenon is dispersed, lacking a central place of devotion and marking no singular place where apparitions occur. Rather, Medjugorje commemorates a series of physical places where apparitions of Mary have been claimed, while also encompassing ongoing apparitions throughout and beyond the town. This series of places includes both natural ones—as people climb mountainsides infused with the Virgin Mary’s presence—and constructed places such as the local parish church, even as the church is not the center of the phenomenon. The place is furthermore decentered through the global reach of the Medjugorje movement, as the phenomenon of Marian apparitions spreads to different places around the world.¹³ In these regards, Medjugorje is

¹³ Juan Herrero defines the “Medjugorje movement” as consisting of the pilgrimage center, the worldwide religious movement around it, and the pilgrimage industry associated with it. Juan Herrero in Joseph

porous in that it is best understood as a fluid pilgrimage environment. The fluid quality arising from the newness, dispersed, and continuous nature of the apparitions has provided a fertile landscape for multiple, sometimes competing, and vehemently held memory narratives about Medjugorje.

This chapter is divided into three sections examining different forms of contestation, all opening up a relatively porous apparition phenomenon to competing interpretations. First, the controversial beginnings of Medjugorje immediately and notably established contestation with regards to church hierarchy. Second, contestation is emplaced at Medjugorje as various actors' competing memory narratives about the place mark the landscape and encourage interaction: Franciscan and parish leadership, visitors and devotees, and the visionaries who claim messages from Mary. Finally, an important aspect of contestation is the proliferation of national memory narratives connected to Medjugorje during its first two decades, linking Our Lady of Medjugorje to resistance by Catholic groups in the former Yugoslavia and the violence of the Bosnian War.

Legitimacy at Medjugorje: Contestation from its Beginnings

Contestation at Medjugorje immediately arose from the dramatic and controversial nature of the apparitions, the early church ambivalence towards the phenomenon, and the deployment of the child visionaries as symbols of purity whose ongoing testimony circumvented the need for official church recognition. Studies of Medjugorje have included phenomenological approaches to the devotees' experiences at

Wiinikka-Lydon, "The Ambivalence of Medjugorje: The Dynamics of Violence, Peace, and Nationalism at a Catholic Pilgrimage Site during the Bosnian War (1992-1995)," *Journal of Religion & Society* 12 (2010): 2 n.1.

the site, and more recently, examinations of the motives of visitors to Medjugorje.¹⁴ But evidence related to pilgrimage at Medjugorje is somewhat fragmented, especially since its inception is relatively recent. The recent origins of Medjugorje are important for contestation, opening up the pilgrimage environment to competing interpretations in its early years. This newness facilitated the struggle among various actors vying to define and control the place—in sometimes antagonistic ways.

Medjugorje does not have a historical foundation of continuous ritual, organizational structure, or recognized artistic significance. Unlike some other Catholic shrines in Europe, Medjugorje lacks the legitimacy derived from a long-established pilgrimage tradition. And unlike Chartres, with its modern strategy of accommodating a wide range of visitors, Medjugorje's more homogeneous, religious audience is primarily focused on the apparitions. However, Delakorda Kawashima does argue that "religious tourism" has affected Medjugorje, as has increasing commercial tourism from nearby resorts like Dubrovnik.¹⁵ Likewise, visits by celebrities such as Croatian and international soccer figures have only boosted Medjugorje's profile in recent years.¹⁶ Nonetheless,

¹⁴ Damir Krešić, Josip Mikulić, and Katarina Miličević, "The Factor Structure of Tourist Satisfaction at Pilgrimage Destinations: the Case of Medjugorje," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 15 (2013): 484-94; Costanza Scaffidi Abbate and Santo Di Nuovo, "Motivation and Personality Traits for Choosing Religious Tourism: A Research on the Case of Medjugorje," *Current Issues in Tourism* (2012): 1-6.

¹⁵ Delakorda Kawashima defines religious tourism to include visits to religious buildings, devotional services, and social events with other believers. Tinka Delakorda Kawashima, "Current Trends and Behaviour of Visitors to Medjugorje," *Pilgrimage and Sacred Places in Southeast Europe: History, Religious Tourism and Contemporary Trends*, ed. Mario Katić, Tomislav Klarin, and Mike McDonald (Berlin: Lit Verlag Münster, 2014), 108.

¹⁶ "Top Soccer Boss in Medjugorje 'As a Pilgrim'," *The Medjugorje Message*, March 26, 2012, <http://crownofstars.blogspot.com/2012/03/roberto-mancini-manager-of-british.html>; "Soccer Star Makes Pilgrimage to Medjugorje," *The Medjugorje Message*, July 31, 2015, <http://crownofstars.blogspot.com/2015/07/soccer-star-makes-pilgrimage-to.html>; "Medjugorje Welcomes Top Soccer Team," *Medjugorje...*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://medjugorje.wordpress.com/2010/01/20/medjugorje-welcomes-top-soccer-team>.

because it is not a general tourism destination in the same manner as a World Heritage Site, there is less impetus for caretakers to market the place to non-religious visitors.

For its supporters, Medjugorje's authority and popularity rest instead upon a series of revelations, and the purposeful creation of an emotional and political geography around those revelations. Thus, the continued success of the place is fueled by the belief in ongoing communications attributed to the Virgin Mary. The visionaries, children in 1981, are now grown. Yet, several claim to still receive messages from Mary regularly, each month on the 25th day, as well as other messages on a daily, weekly, and annual basis.¹⁷ As a UK press outlet colorfully stated:

Medjugorje is damned as childish and vulgar by a snootier class of Catholic.... it has become a religious Costa del Sol of hotels and souvenir shops, with everything from Jesus clocks to Virgin Mary lampshades. More seriously, Medjugorje sits uneasily with a Church unused to such uncontrolled displays of faith, and over time it has become an open wound of acrimonious allegation and counter claim. Even the local bishop has denounced the visions as lies, banning the visionaries from public displays.¹⁸

Given the suggestion that Medjugorje is not merely vulgar but mass spectacle and a form of chicanery, Medjugorje's status as sacred was formed at a juncture of controversy from the very start. Designating a place as sacred is a choice made by groups of people, and sacredness may not be equally acknowledged by all. For the most outspoken critics, the spatial authority imparted by the Marian apparitions is palpably

¹⁷ "Our Lady of Medjugorje Messages," *Medjugorje Website*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.ws/en/messages>; "Questions and Answers," *Caritas of Birmingham*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje/questions-and-answers.html>; "Our Lady's Messages," *Medjugorje Web*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.org/olmpage.htm>.

¹⁸ Chris Rogers and Marshall Corwin, "Teenage Hoaxers or Living Saints: Are the Six Bosnians who Claim to see the Virgin Mary for Real?" *Daily Mail*, December 22, 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2252122/Virgin-Mary-sightings-Are-Bosnians-hoaxers-living-saints.html#ixzz2L5n2spt6>.

false; for adherents—whether caretakers, promoters, or visitors—the places where the visions occurred are (or are deployed as) the tangible proof that justifies pilgrimage devotion. Such controversy is not exclusive to Medjugorje, but Medjugorje is an instance of a Catholic pilgrimage place where the controversy was pointedly vehement—and as shown in the final section of this chapter, played a role in regional conflict.

Thus, the construction of Medjugorje as a sacred place has been a complex and ongoing process. Various Roman Catholic officials expressed doubtful attitudes from the early years of the phenomenon. When the bishops of the former Yugoslavia convened to discuss the apparitions, their statement was a careful declaration that declined to legitimate the Medjugorje phenomenon. In April 1991—a decade after the first reported apparition at Medjugorje and the eve of political fracture within the country—the Bishops’ Conference of Yugoslavia stated that “it cannot be affirmed that these matters concern supernatural apparitions or revelations.”¹⁹ Yet, the bishops also noted that the faithful from around the world required pastoral care at Medjugorje, and that healthy devotion towards the Virgin Mary could be promoted.

The bishops’ unwillingness to endorse the apparitions, despite recognizing the significance of pilgrimage prompted through the apparitions, captures the skepticism of regional church authorities towards the Medjugorje phenomenon. The bishop with jurisdiction over Medjugorje did not mince words, calling the claimed apparitions “teenage hysteria.”²⁰ This tension over the theological legitimacy of the Medjugorje

¹⁹ Peric, “Criteria.”

²⁰ Maya Shatzmiller, *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 10.

phenomenon is not an isolated incident; rather, as Delakorda points out, it is an overall orientation that characterizes official church responses through to present day.²¹ A more recent example is the Vatican's laicizing in 2009 of Tomislav Vlastic, a former Medjugorje priest responsible for promoting the Marian messages. Vlastic was accused by other Catholics authorities—including Ratko Peric, bishop of Mostar-Duvno and longtime critic of the visions—of “creating scandal” and “promulgating theological error” by publicizing the apparitions.²²

The parish remains under the control of the local Franciscans, the Herzegovinian Franciscan Province of the Assumption of Mary, who maintain and oversee the parish. Unlike other Marian sites where the apparitions and visionaries were ultimately assimilated by the local diocese and Catholic doctrine, discord between Medjugorje's Franciscan guardians and the diocese in Mostar remains.²³ The Franciscan guardianship has consolidated the order's leadership of Medjugorje; furthermore, this leadership is continually reinforced by the production of promotional literature and images available through the site's Information Centre, pilgrimage guides available on site, and guided tours of the area.²⁴ When the Franciscans position and publicize images on the hillsides overlooking Medjugorje, as shown in the following section, they do so within this disputed context. As I argue below, this is an attempt by the Franciscan leadership to

²¹ Tinka Delakorda, “The Complexity of Establishing a Sacred Place and its Symbolic Meanings: The Religious Field of Medjugorje,” *Inter Faculty* 3 (2012): 9-24.

²² Tito Edwards, “Medjugorje, Exploring the Origins,” *American Catholic*, October 6, 2009, <http://the-american-catholic.com/2009/10/06/medjugorje-hoax-from-the-beginning/#more-13235>.

²³ Delakorda Kawashima, “Current Trends,” 99.

²⁴ Delakorda Kawashima, “Current Trends,” 104-5.

define a disputed and relatively porous apparition phenomenon. Their installation of statues and reliefs, petitioning the presence of Mary, inscribes a broad area with a revelatory legitimacy not granted by the church.

Sacred Geography at Medjugorje: Snakes, Stones, and Visions

The deployment of images, the thematic connection with existing Marian apparition sites, and the memory narrative of child visionaries provide alternative forms of legitimacy for Medjugorje. Devotees believe that on June 25, 1981, the Virgin Mary appeared to six children on a hilltop in the small town in the former Yugoslavia (now the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, within the Western-Herzegovina municipality of Citluk). According to the children's later testimony, messages of peace and reconciliation accompanied the apparition, as well as secret messages about the future. However, this physical place clearly had no particular claims to religious significance prior to the apparitions. Quite the contrary: until this time, Medjugorje was a small village so bleak, a saying went that only snakes, stones and *ustashas*—gangs of armed, anti-Serb young men—could thrive there.²⁵ Medjugorje was known to Croats as part of “the viper zone,” referring both to the poisonous snakes and the Herzegovinian character of the area.²⁶ The claims of the six children fundamentally changed the religious, political, and economic landscape of the town, and the Medjugorje phenomenon has created a new and sacred

²⁵ Mart Bax, “Barbarization in a Bosnian Pilgrimage Center,” *Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History*, ed. J. M. Halpem and D. A. Kideckel (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 193.

²⁶ Juan A. Herrero, “Medjugorje: Ecclesiastical Conflict, Theological Controversy, Ethnic Division,” *Research in the Social Scientific Study of Religion* 10 (1999): 139.

geography there in profound ways. The visionaries who still claim to receive messages from the Virgin Mary do so all over the area: on hills and mountains, at the local church, in the visionaries' homes, and in places outside the town and the country.

Unlike etiologies of certain other pilgrimage places—where a deity was born or performed a miracle, a relic resides, or a prophet had a pivotal moment of enlightenment—a singular event did not occur in one location at one time to accord holiness to the place. Indeed, Medjugorje as a pilgrimage environment is more accurately a cluster of locations related to the ongoing Marian apparitions. It has a decentered and ad hoc quality, complicating the Turners' view of pilgrimage routes that come together in a central shrine.²⁷ This is the unique form of porous boundaries at Medjugorje among my case studies, and it raises the issue of how groups attempt to place borders around an apparition, as opposed to an object like a relic, and the tensions caused by those attempts. Scholars have linked geographically disparate Marian apparition sites as a way to explore apparition phenomena, and in doing so, they suggest a web of pilgrimage places connected by similar occurrences. Zimdars-Swartz identifies key characteristics of contemporary Marian vision sites, all relevant for Medjugorje. Apparitions are *serial* (occurring at multiple places at different times, totaling hundreds of appearances), *public* (happening in community spaces that are accessible), and *communally significant* (conveying secrets that are relevant to both the local community and the entirety of humanity).²⁸ The serial nature of the Medjugorje apparitions, as noted above, is

²⁷ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 22.

²⁸ Sandra L. Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary: From La Salette to Medjugorje* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

dramatically shown as several of the original children still claim to receive messages from Mary on a daily, weekly, monthly, and annual basis. Apparitions occur in non-uniform places at Medjugorje, but in public places such as the Blue Cross on Apparition Hill, the Adoration Chapel behind St. James church, and one visionary's own Chapel of the Two Hearts.²⁹ The communal significance of the apparitions is shown below: the visionaries claim Mary shared secrets with them about future events relevant to humankind, prophecies that only heighten the revelatory significance of the landscape. All these characteristics make an argument about the importance of Medjugorje as a sacred and commemorative place.

Thus, the claimed Marian apparitions create sacredness Medjugorje, in the context of, and amplified by, a larger sacred geography of Marian apparition sites. In its early years, this sacred geography was regional. Medjugorje emerged as the principal apparition site among many in Eastern Europe during a period of religious revival and civil resistance in the 1980s, serving as a proximate and relatively affordable shrine to visit. Even more broadly, however, Medjugorje is often grouped together with other Marian apparition sites established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe: Lourdes and La Salette in France, Fatima in Portugal, and Knock in Ireland among them.³⁰ Medjugorje, then, accrues additional sacredness by the resonance of well-

²⁹ "Saint James Church," *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/83-saint-james-church.html>. The visions have been claimed in some private locations, as well, such as the private chambers of a leading priest of the Medjugorje movement, Slavko Barbarić.

³⁰ Zimdars-Swartz argues that Medjugorje also shares similarities with post-World War II vision sites in San Damiano, Italy and Garabandal, Spain. On the ambivalent reception of Marian apparition sites by the church, see William A. Christian, *Visionaries: the Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 8. On other Marian apparition sites, see Chapter Five, pp. 208-9.

known and more established pilgrimage places—and notably, ones accorded some approval by the Roman Catholic church, such as Lourdes. Indeed, the Medjugorje apparitions echo similar patterns at places like Lourdes and Fatima. As with these places, devotees may arrive in a state of bodily illness or pain—and for some, Medjugorje and other apparition sites are authoritative places of hope or urgency on a journey of healing. During my visit to Medjugorje in 2015, the importance of healing was evident: I was part of a crowd that pulled aside to allow a group carrying a woman on a stretcher, apparently seeking the intercession of Mary, to pass down the steep road from Apparition Hill.

Significantly, as with other apparition sites in this network like Lourdes and Fatima, the initial recipients of the visions were young children from a poor background, not religious or social elites. The children’s testimony thus spoke to an already established narrative, associating Medjugorje with healing and miraculous events elsewhere. In keeping with the work of Ian Reader and James Preston discussed in Chapter Two, this is not simply a question of apparitions creating a place of inherent spiritual magnetism. Rather, it is a question of how those apparitions are presented, marketed, and narrated. There is a purposeful construction of memory and sacredness here. Promotional literature for Medjugorje available throughout the town, at the church, and online draws attention to the children who first saw the Virgin on Apparition Hill, creating a mythology of virtue. As recipient visionaries, the six original children signify and intensify a memory narrative of innocence and purity manifest in the small Bosnian town, justifying divine presence there.³¹ As one site offering tours of Medjugorje puts it,

³¹ “Overview,” *Medjugorje: The Message*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.eu/mary.html#overview>; “Medjugorje Apparitions,” *Medjugorje Website*, May 12,

the six young people saw “a young woman with a child in her arms, who gave them a sign with her hand to come nearer,” but they were “surprised and scared” even as they “felt strongly drawn towards the place.”³² These phrases in the origin story stress youth, innocence, and humility—with all the events occurring, per the story, on Apparition Hill where devotees can now see the statue of Mary as Queen of Peace.

This memory narrative of Medjugorje’s beginnings, innocent and pure, helps validate the importance and reach of the ongoing messages today. Now, the messages claimed by visionary Marija Pavlovic-Lunetti, one of the original six children, are published to the world in multiple languages via internet. This is in some ways comparable to the use of internet at Chartres for city and cathedral publicity, presenting specific images from the cathedral as a means to convey its cultural and spiritual value. Yet, in the case of Medjugorje, the messages disseminated by internet are the raw material of sacredness and not reproductions of it. The distribution of messages, accompanied by digital images of the Virgin Mary and soothing shades of blue and white, reinforces ideas of purity and divine presence. The messages address devotees as the Virgin Mary’s children—rhetorically, an exhortation to faith and an affiliation that bonds them with the original children from 1981.³³ For adherents, then, the place’s claim to legitimacy does not depend on the formal recognition of its sacredness by ecclesiastic

2016, <http://www.medjugorje.ws/en/apparitions/docs-medjugorje-apparitions>.

³² “Apparitions in Medjugorje,” *Medjugorje Tours*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.206tours.com/info/medjugorje/medj-details.htm>.

³³ An example from the March 2, 2013 message, as translated in English: “My children, keep vigil. I, as a mother, am keeping vigil with you.” “Our Lady of Medjugorje: English Messages from 2013,” *Medjugorje.org*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.org/msg13.htm>.

authorities. Rather, it rests upon the authority of the apparitions for a popular audience and the ongoing ‘sacred maintenance’ provided by regular messages attributed to the Virgin Mary, intentionally marketed by the visionaries and Franciscans alike. This almost circumvents the need for official approval by appealing directly to Mary herself for Medjugorje’s status. Such engagement at Medjugorje works as a constant electric charge that, for adherents, keeps the place crackling with sacred current, even as the continuous nature of the apparitions is an ongoing point of contention with the church.

Important here is how these various factors set the stage for a contested pilgrimage environment that, from the outset, was poised to become a controversial symbol. This is an instance of Eade and Sallnow’s competing discourses becoming emplaced via the apparitions—and additionally, one where the arena of contestation becomes antagonistic, entrenching disagreement as the Franciscans sought to memorialize the origins of a place unrecognized by church hierarchy.³⁴ Indeed, it may be understood as a place that “invites contestation” by disrupting and disordering the authoritative structures of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁵ Its newness, without an established historical value or set of practices, made it all the more available for competing interests and interpretations to converge around the apparitions. Its relatively homogenous audiences, attentive to the religious significance of the Medjugorje phenomenon, as opposed to its cultural or artistic value, created a focused concern with the Marian apparitions and their deployment. Its child visionaries created a narrative of

³⁴ Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, 2, 5.

³⁵ Soja, 107.

virtue and purity, purposefully marketed by caretakers and evoking more established and sanctioned Marian apparition sites. As well, its apparition phenomenon was dramatic, quickly gaining attention by regional religious officials and establishing a struggle to define the place and set limits on its fluidity. As Friedland, Hecht, and Kinnard, point out, the construction of sacred places is not a neutral exercise.³⁶ This is certainly the case at Medjugorje. Actors shape (and are shaped by) the place and its symbolic meaning for those who seek Mary there.³⁷

Revelation and Topography: Emplacing Memory Narratives at Medjugorje

Medjugorje is purposely organized to emplace both human history and divine revelation, and various actors mark the landscape with their own memory narratives about its significance. Given the lack of tactile relics as with Chartres, or the structure of the house at Ephesus, the area has to be inscribed in other ways. Images of Mary saturate the town and its surrounding areas, from the exterior altar of St. James church to Apparition Hill, Cross Mountain, and the statue of the Queen of Peace.³⁸ At Chartres, the physical structure of the cathedral produces a more defined pilgrimage space, while Medjugorje is on the other end of the spectrum of place organization, where the actual

³⁶ Friedland and Hecht, 55; Kinnard, 170.

³⁷ Delakorda emphasizes how religious elites shape sacred space and meaning at Medjugorje, while I regard the relationship as flowing in both directions. That is, places designated as sacred also shape rivalries among religious elites. Delakorda, "The Complexity of Establishing a Sacred Place and its Symbolic Meanings," 9-24.

³⁸ "Guide through the Shrine of the Queen of Peace," *Medjugorje.hr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/en/medjugorje-phenomenon/guide/>. A similar guide is published online by an Irish welcome site: "A Pilgrim's Guide through the Shrine of the Queen of Peace," *Medjugorje.ie*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.mir.ie/guide-through-the-shrine.html>.

perimeters of the relatively porous pilgrimage environment are unclear. At Medjugorje, the first claimed apparition occurred outside any built environment and, because so many subsequent visions occurred in various locations, there has been no single sacred spot for construction of a central or overarching commemorative building. Many of the apparition locations remain outdoors, never directly built upon. Indeed, the Medjugorje phenomenon cultivates a fluid pilgrimage topography, still in progress.

Contestation is enacted at Medjugorje through this fluid and dispersed pilgrimage topography—that is, competing memory narratives have quickly developed to mark the landscape and encourage experiences there. First, the Franciscan leadership and caretakers configure Medjugorje as a miraculous zone by positioning images in and around the town to encourage devotional interaction. Second, the Franciscans present the broader Herzegovinian territory as their sacred land dating back centuries, heightening the significance of their deployment of Medjugorje as a place of revelation. Third, for visitors and devotees, Medjugorje offers opportunities for engagement with this revelatory landscape, providing constant reminders of Mary’s presence and past sacred events and places—in the commercial as well as the natural environment. Finally, in terms of the visionaries, Medjugorje commemorates the founding myth of the six children of 1981, even as the visionaries’ activities expand around the world.

Franciscan leadership: Reminders of the miraculous presence of Mary

The Franciscan caretakers place and publicize key images on public land linked to the Medjugorje phenomenon, grounding and commemorating the apparitions. This helps define an otherwise dispersed pilgrimage topography, offering people key paths and

stations for interaction and encouraging particular reactions. Mountains are crucial to this pilgrimage topography. Fittingly, the very name Medjugorje comes from Slavic origins and means between two mountains: in this case, the two hills, *Krizevac* and *Podbrdo*. Apparition Hill (*Podbrdo*) is one of the principle natural spaces at Medjugorje. There, parish leaders erected a simple wooden cross and later, a white marble statue of Mary as Queen of Peace, 2.13 meters high, marking the location where the children first witnessed a Marian apparition in 1981. The statue, created by Italian sculptor Dino Felici in 2001, was a gift from South Korean devotees in remembrance of Mary's intercession.³⁹ At the base of the statue, the date of the first apparition is recorded with the words: "I am the Queen of Peace 25/06/1981." The placement of the wooden cross and statue in the exact location of the first apparition—and even explicitly honoring Mary as the Queen of Peace—allows the Franciscans and parish leaders to designate the spot as filled with sacred meaning. It is a gathering point for people to view the Virgin, presented on a large scale that upholds her status, and to reflect on her miraculous engagement with Medjugorje. There are no seats—there are only large stones—but the rustic and natural setting, surrounded by woods, suggests the immanent and humble character of Mary and the six children in whose place visitors now stand.

³⁹ This statue is a physical reminder of the global audience to Medjugorje: the statue was inaugurated on September 8, 2001 (the Feast of the Mary's Nativity). Visitors to Medjugorje for the inauguration were recorded from Poland, Italy, New Zealand, Brazil, France, Belgium, Lebanon, Ireland, England, Canada, Austria, Germany, Romania, Spain, Korea, Holland, Argentina, South Africa, and beyond. "Medjugorje – 166, September 26 2001," *Medjugorje, Place of Prayer and Reconciliation*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/files/html/enpb092001.htm>. The exact nature of the claimed intercession on behalf of the South Korean pilgrims is unclear, but one source states that a child was cured from illness. "Podbrdo, la Collina delle Apparizioni," *Medjugorje: Dove il cielo è Aperto*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.progettomedjugorje.it/luoghi/podbrdo-la-collina-delle-apparizioni>.

Parish leadership authorizes other images on Apparition Hill: along the mountain path are a series of bronze reliefs created in 1989 by Florentine artist Carmelo Puzzolo (who also created the 12-foot high painting of the Queen of Peace in 1998 for the conference hall behind the parish church of St. James). Approximately 1.5 meters high and 1.2 meters wide and accompanied by plain wooden crosses, the reliefs display images from the Joyful and Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary. The Joyful Mysteries present moments from Mary's life (the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity) and the Sorrowful Mysteries present episodes from her son's death, exhibiting to viewers her presence and importance to the divine plan (Figure 4.1). These images affirm the message from the parish that Our Lady of Medjugorje is one with the hillside and people can find her there: mounted directly on large stones, each relief features organic, uneven edges that frame each scene.

As with the Felici statue, the bronze reliefs are pietistic images intended to intertwine place and memory—prompting what García calls the meditative exercise that occurs when a devotee gazes at a religious image. That is, seeing scenes that valorize major events in the Virgin's life is both emotional and instructive, prompting the viewer to re-create sacred figures, places, and past events.⁴⁰ The fact that parish leadership supports the Mysteries of the Rosary is particularly important for this linking of memory and place. Rosary beads on a string are small, tangible objects that serve as abstractions

⁴⁰ Juan Luis González García, "Empathetic Images and Painted Dialogues: The Visual and Verbal Rhetoric of Royal Private Piety in Renaissance Spain," *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 1, 499.

of sacred places from the Holy Land: Bethlehem, the streets of Jerusalem, the Temple.⁴¹

The devotee touches beads while speaking prayers, focusing the mind and memory on the mysteries and emphasizing key events during Mary's time on earth. The bronze reliefs at Medjugorje adapt a small string of beads, itself a memento of sacred places, and reproduce it on a large and interactive scale in the natural environs of the mountainside. The Puzzolo reliefs in many ways integrate Gelfand's typology of pilgrimage forms: they facilitate physical, performative, *and* imaginative pilgrimage as visitors climb upwards on Apparition Hill, engage with the series of bronzes, and imagine the places and events of the Gospels.⁴² The intentional deployment of the reliefs by the Franciscans invites this manner of response.

While the parish church does not serve as a central shrine housing the apparition phenomenon or pilgrimage practices, it is connected to what occurs on the mountainsides and the images placed there. The parish church is St. James the Apostle, consecrated in 1969 and dedicated to the protector of pilgrims—which later became a dedication loaded with meaning, given pilgrimage to Medjugorje.⁴³ Images of Mary infuse all aspects of the building. Inside, the large shrine to the right of the altar with a statue of Mary veiled in white and crowned with stars makes her a constant presence, even during services.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Reader examines a similar dynamic, albeit in a very different setting. He argues that an exhibition recreating Buddhist temples of the island of Shikoku on small scale—in this case, inside a shopping mall at a Japanese airport—allowed visitors to perform the Shikoku pilgrimage in miniature. Over 50,000 people performed the “miniature pilgrimage,” one that recalled the sacred places on Shikoku associated with the eighth century Buddhist monk Kōbō Daishi. Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 7.

⁴² Gelfand, 88-9.

⁴³ The entire parish was founded in 1892 and dedicated to St. James, patron saint of pilgrims.

⁴⁴ For the iconographic significance of Mary with a crown of stars, see Chapter Five, p. 219.

large plaza outside holds a marble statue of Mary as Queen of Peace—erected in 1987 and the twin of the Dino Felici statue on Apparition Hill. Mary beckons with her left hand, reaching out to her devotees, while resting her right hand on her heart. This statue is another strategically deployed by the Franciscan leadership. It is a popular focal point of devotion, conveying the overall message of Marian presence as people gather around the statue, kneeling on the concrete, singing, and praying in a variety of languages (Figure 4.2). The Felici statue in the church plaza is also commemorative: its prominent placement on the grounds, as one approaches the church from the market area on the surrounding street, reminds viewers of the first apparition on the hillsides directly to St. James. The twin Felici statues become images that connect people in the plaza with the origin of the entire Medjugorje phenomenon on Apparition Hill—and the Franciscans with the presence of Mary. Here, the parish has displayed the purported truth of the visions on its own doorstep, strengthening its claim to stewardship over the entire pilgrimage environment.

Franciscan and parish leadership, then, is offering a pilgrimage place that demonstrates the spiritual success associated with Mary's presence—her miraculous presence is on the mountains, inside the church, and along the path of the Mysteries of the Rosary. There is even an official parish radio station in town, Mir Medjugorje, that broadcasts mass from inside St. James—not only to the streets outside the station via loudspeaker, but via radio to Mostar, Split, Banja Luka, Sarajevo, and other places in Bosnia and Croatia.⁴⁵ The spiritual success of Medjugorje is so pronounced that it spills

⁴⁵ “Radio Station “Mir” Medjugorje,” *Medjugorje.hr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/en/radio/mir/>.

outside the church doors, on a grand scale. Herrero observes that before the apparition claims, the church was considered too large a space for the parish—while now, its space is inadequate to accommodate the crowds arriving from abroad.⁴⁶ Behind the church, the parish built an open-air altar in 1989, accommodating 5000 for mass, concerts, and youth festivals (Figure 4.3). During services, there is continuous movement into and throughout the aisles, benches, and paths of this open space: people come and go, kneel on the ground, push wheelchairs towards the altar, and take photographs of family members.

Miracles proliferate as part of this spiritual success, bubbling up in new locations. Southwest of the church is the nine meter bronze statue of Christ as Risen Savior, created by Slovenian artist Andrej Ajdič in 1998 and producing a new hub of activity promoted by the parish. Some believe that the statue's right leg miraculously generates a healing liquid, and people line up to gather the liquid on cloths for its restorative properties (Figure 4.4). Ward and Gelfand both examine how historically, devotional places become subject to increasing demands for interactivity, touch, encounter, even intimacy—and how site providers, if they want these places to thrive and to solicit emotional reactions, respond to that demand.⁴⁷ The locations at and beyond St. James respond to that kind of demand for encounter and experience, from kneeling on the concrete of the outdoor arena to touching the statue of Christ as Risen Savior.

Franciscan and parish leaders have not necessarily defined a pilgrimage place with absolute boundaries—it is indoors and outdoors, in public natural spaces and the

⁴⁶ Herrero, 139.

⁴⁷ Gelfand, "Illusion and Interactivity"; Susan Leibacher Ward, "An Alabaster Panel of the Mass of St. Gregory," *Push Me Pull You*, Vol. 1, 357.

built environment—but they have offered an experience that is intentionally wide-ranging. In the absence of established site history or official sanction, they attempt to inscribe *place*. Indeed, this attempt can be read as a response to the porous spatial boundaries of the apparitions—the Franciscans publicize images to tether an ongoing phenomenon. Through the placement of the Felici statues, the bronze reliefs, and the outdoor arena, they remind devotees of the miraculous presence of Mary, and moreover, their own proximity to the revelatory significance of Medjugorje. As they configure the pilgrimage environment to convey and confirm these devotional messages, however, there is another memory narrative at play: Medjugorje as revelatory land justifying the local Catholic community’s history and their custodianship of the area.

Religious leadership and the steadfast community of faith

The images deployed throughout the pilgrimage environment by the Franciscan and parish leadership encourage devotional interaction, presenting Medjugorje as a place of profound encounter with Marian presence. This framework of devotional encounter contributes to and justifies an overarching memorial orientation that is promulgated by the parish of St. James to this day: Medjugorje as a powerful revelatory place. The official parish website presents the area’s religious history as one of persecution for Catholics, first under Turkish expansion and Islam from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and later by the Yugoslavian “communist tyranny,” Serbian aggression, and foreign Islamic fighters.⁴⁸ This establishes a popular history of Medjugorje and the

⁴⁸ “A Short Historical Presentation,” *Medjugorje.hr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/en/parish/history>. This site is a global gateway, presented in multiple languages to accommodate Catholic devotees worldwide (Serbo-Croatian, English, French, German, Italian, Polish,

surrounding area as a place of Turkish and Muslim conquest, as well as a place of communist oppression. These persecutions serve to valorize Medjugorje and its religious significance, as well as reinforce the boundaries of a specific Catholic Croat community.

Velikonja notes that local Franciscans, influential and popular in the area, were able to leverage (and in Velikonja's view, cynically exploit) the Medjugorje apparitions in service of their worldview. The apparitions provided the Franciscans with a means not only to defy communist authorities, but also to consolidate their own power in Herzegovinian territory they regarded as "theirs."⁴⁹ According to the Franciscans' own mythology, the territory should be theirs since they steadfastly carried the standard of Christianity and Roman Catholicism throughout centuries of Muslim Ottoman rule, providing the sole spiritual care to Catholics in the Herzegovina territory.⁵⁰ Important

and Magyar). As Perica notes, various groups in Yugoslavia's history faced religious persecution, not just Roman Catholics, and political maneuvering between various religious and government authorities was a constant occurrence. Vjekoslav Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26-7. However, the parish uses the persecution of Catholics as an interpretive lens of commemoration and ultimate liberation, presenting Croat identity as moral and heroic. In this sense, St. James parish at the heart of the Medjugorje phenomenon constructs what Edney refers to as "a spatial history," a territorial creation that is the product of historical events and processes, and subject to the ideological mapping of Catholic and Croat identity. Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 10.

⁴⁹ Mitja Velikonja, *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, trans. Rang'ichi Ng'inja (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 210-11. See also Paul Hockenos, *Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 33; Wiinikka-Lydon, "The Ambivalence of Medjugorje," 7-8 n.7.

⁵⁰ Velikonja, 79. The Catholic blog *Unam Sanctam Catholicam*, critical of the Medjugorje phenomenon, argues that the Marian visions were an elaborate hoax perpetrated by local Franciscans, who were unwilling to cede privileges they won as the sole Christian clergy during Ottoman rule in Bosnia until the nineteenth century. "Understanding the Herzegovina Question," *Unam Sanctam Catholicam*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.unamsanctamcatholicam.com/history/79-history/260-understanding-the-herzegovina-question.html>. See also Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 117-18; Wiinikka-Lydon, "Ethnic Cleansing as Religious Practice," 21. Tóth states that the Turkish authorities needed the Bosnian Franciscans after the conquest of Bosnia in 1463 because the friars could help ensure peace among the tax-paying Catholic populations. This picture is not one of Christian steadfastness in the face of Ottoman domination. Tóth also notes that the Bosnian Franciscans developed a close relationship with Ottoman authorities, even using that special relationship in order to persecute their rivals within the Catholic church, such as Ragusan, Italian, and

here is how the Franciscans infuse this memory narrative into additional sites in the area for members and supporters, even beyond the town of Medjugorje itself. Certain versions of regional history, for example, inscribe the Franciscans as local victims of religiously targeted violence. Medjugorje supporters still commemorate as martyrs those killed in 1945 at the nearby Franciscan Monastery of Široki Brijeg by “the Communists.”⁵¹ The use of this historical incident supports the overall idea of Medjugorje as embattled yet righteous, even as other histories inscribe Franciscans as local oppressors: the Franciscan community at Široki Brijeg aligned with the Ustaše, the ultra-nationalist Croatian Revolutionary Movement, and supported the violent actions of Croat hardliners during the Second World War.⁵²

There is an apocalyptic inevitability presented in the Franciscan memory narrative. The Catholic believers of Medjugorje are commemorated as a religiously and politically persecuted community of faith, and the history of the Herzegovina territory under the Ottomans and Yugoslavian communism validates this worldview. Indeed, one of the earliest messages attributed to Mary on Apparition Hill during the first week of the apparitions exhorts the community to faith, telling the visionaries that they can endure any persecution that comes.⁵³ The stakes are raised by the secrets that the visionaries

Hungarian priests. István György Tóth, “Between Islam and Catholicism: Bosnian Franciscan Missionaries in Turkish Hungary, 1584-1716,” *Catholic Historical Review* 89.3 (2003): 410-11.

⁵¹ “Remembering the Murdered Franciscan Priests,” *In God’s Company* 2, September 2, 2011, <http://ingodscompany2.blogspot.nl/2011/02/remembering-murdered-franciscan-priests.html>; “The Thirty Franciscan Martyrs of Široki Brijeg,” *In God’s Company* 2, September 2, 2011, <http://ingodscompany2.blogspot.com/2011/02/thirty-franciscan-martyrs-of-siroki.html>.

⁵² Hockenos, 33.

⁵³ The question and response claimed on June 29, 1981: “Will we know how to endure persecutions, which will come to us because of you? You will be able to, my angels. Do not fear. You will be able to endure

have claimed to receive: Mary communicates prophecies, casting the entire Medjugorje phenomenon in an apocalyptic light. Notably, the visionaries have claimed that the Virgin Mary would convey ten secrets about human history to them over time and that her prolonged appearances at Medjugorje would be her last on earth.⁵⁴ This narrative presents the community as all the more chosen in the divine plan for earth, and the visions as part of a period of trial and testing for the faithful.

The purported appearance of the Virgin Mary on this holy ground is, in this regard, part of a larger story about a community of believers under attack, but whose ultimate triumph is inevitable. Mary's presence affirms the divinely sanctioned power of Medjugorje as embattled and beset, but standing firm against earthly powers from the conquering Ottomans to the oppressive Yugoslavian state. The Felici statue on Apparition Hill, its twin in front of the church, and the many mementoes throughout the town featuring the image of Mary all serve to reinforce such a narrative for the Franciscans and their supporters, asserting and sustaining the place as chosen by God. The parish of St. James and the local Franciscans marshal the Virgin of Medjugorje as a means to elevate their claim to authority over the pilgrimage environment and Herzegovinian territory.

This entire narrative exists alongside—and in some regards, in tension with—the narrative of revelatory grace grounded in the statue of the Virgin on Apparition Hill. It retains the idea of Mary's blessings, manifested in this small Bosnian town, but it does so

everything. You must believe and have confidence in me.” “Our Lady’s Messages, 1981-2015,” *Medjugorje Web*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://www.medjugorje.org/messagesall.htm>.

⁵⁴ Zimdars-Swartz, 242-3.

by emplacing historical grievances against other groups—Serbs, Muslims, communists. It also elides the possibility of competing memory narratives where the Franciscans are not the vanguard of Catholic steadfastness in the area, but rather leverage their claims on the territory to dominate others—as shown, for example, in the Medjugorje commemoration of Široki Brijeg despite competing interpretations. Such tensions over place and memory are crucial for the upcoming discussion on Medjugorje as a symbolic resource and spiritual capital in the former Yugoslavia and during the Bosnian War.

Medjugorje, in connection with its images, is an instance of what Kinnard calls a “highly charged” place: it houses a surplus of meaning in its images and physical spaces, all of which interact in complex and even messy ways, constructing identity for the Franciscan community who manage the pilgrimage environment.⁵⁵ In the process, the broader historical claims to a Herzegovinian Franciscan province complicate the order’s management of Medjugorje, lending addition urgency to the Franciscans’ attempts to tether a relatively porous vision phenomenon. These claims declare the Felici statue not only as a galvanizing image for devotees, but one that supports the leadership’s spiritual authority in the region and ability to defy Roman Catholic authorities. Here, Medjugorje is social and political, even as it is cast as a vehicle for salvation.

Pilgrimage Practices: Reminders of connection to Mary

As religious leadership positions images at Medjugorje, people come from around the world to experience the site: from Croatia, Italy, Germany, France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Poland, Australia, and beyond. For visitors and devotees, the

⁵⁵ Kinnard, 4.

pilgrimage environment grounds a memory narrative of divine presence in the revelatory landscape—embedded in a commercial environment that sustains Medjugorje’s spiritual success. There are reminders of Mary throughout the town, and her presence is constantly iterated and reiterated. The location of devotional images and stations in the natural environment, and notably on mountains, is an important aspect of people’s interaction with the spatially porous Medjugorje phenomenon. The significance of mountains and hills in the construction of sacred space has long been explored by scholars, from Eliade’s sacred mountain as a juncture of heaven and earth to contemporary debates about the protection of traditionally sacred mountains.⁵⁶ At Medjugorje, the location of key commemorative images on the hillsides encourages practices that are physically demanding, where the upwards motion reminds people of the overall pilgrimage journey. Even as the images on the mountains ground reminders of broader sacred geography and affirm Medjugorje as holy—especially through the Stations of the Cross—people also create their own forms of visual testimony through outdoor offerings.

Devotees navigate the steep and rocky upward path at Apparition Hill, approximately 200 meters high and 1.5 kilometers from the church, by foot. Notable spots are memorialized with religious images, serving as stopping points for prayer and recitation of the rosary. At these spots, individuals and groups pray, sing, and reach out their hands to touch the bronze reliefs of the Joyful and Sorrowful Mysteries. Particular practices have emerged for offerings: people leave not only flowers and rosary beads, but

⁵⁶ See Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane*; Siv Ellen Kraft, “The Making of a Sacred Mountain: Meanings of Nature and Sacredness in Sápmi and Northern Norway,” *Religion* 40.1 (2010): 53-61; Edwin Bernbaum, *Sacred Mountains of the World* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997); McGuire, “What’s at Stake in Designating Japan’s Sacred Mountains.”

photographs of loved ones—a request for blessings in an entire landscape that commemorates Mary’s presence. People also mark the progress of their uphill journey by leaving small stones at the base of the bronze reliefs, gathered from the rocky path. We can understand these practices not only through the lens of the cult of the saints—explained in the previous chapter as creating a profound relationship between the saint and the petitioner through proximity—but also through Blick’s work on the display of votive offerings. For Blick, the accumulation of offerings is an interactive display, where petitioners help build what subsequent people see. Thus, they contribute to a place’s perceived sacredness by leaving their offerings as visual testimony to its power.⁵⁷ Blick argues that the offering itself reflects the identity of the giver—in terms of social class or physical health, for example—and here, the offering of stones is important as a humble gift gathered by people through the exertion of their climb. As they move towards a physical and spiritual summit, they leave pieces of the path itself, a reminder of the sacredness that infuses the landscape and their own struggle.

This climb is even more dramatic on the other mountain of Medjugorje: Cross Mountain (*Krizevac*), about 520 meters above the town and 1.5 kilometers uphill from St. James church. This is the highest mountain in the area, and climbing to the concrete cross at the summit is a longstanding pilgrimage goal. Cross Mountain is important as a location where people have contributed their own direct experiences of miraculous occurrences: devotees have made claims of collective revelations or visions at Cross Mountain, such as crowds witnessing the cross spinning or changing into a column of

⁵⁷ Blick, “Votives, Images, Interaction,” 25.

light while the sun spins.⁵⁸ These people are, in effect, contributing to the memory narrative of Medjugorje as sacred landscape since the first apparition in 1981, just as the offerings on the mountainsides contribute to an exhibit of sacredness.

That people have the opportunity to *ascend* is meaningful. As with Chartres and its spatial hierarchy of high over low places, physical elevation also suggests spiritual elevation. Historically, bodily movement served as an allegory, mirroring the larger efforts of the pilgrim to rise to salvation. Scholars point to the significance of the upward climb as a means to engage the body and senses in movement towards a higher goal, enacting the spiritual struggle of ascent.⁵⁹ The sacredness of Cross Mountain is emphasized by the physical difficulty involved in the climb: it is steeper and higher than Apparition Hill, with slippery and uneven rocks worn smooth in spots from countless journeys to the top. This facilitates the deliberate act of performance—each step must be measured and slow, encouraging contemplative movement. Some people even choose to climb the mountain barefoot, increasing the challenge and discomfort of the ascent, as well as the need to take each step with care and reflection. The entire journey becomes a physical and spiritual test. The shop owners and entrepreneurs of Medjugorje recognize the importance of this ascent, and respond by offering people climbing canes for support, sold for a few Euros in most local shops alongside the Marian memorabilia.

⁵⁸ “Cross Mountain,” *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje/signs-and-miracles/546-cross-mountain.html>; “The Spinning Sun,” *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje/signs-and-miracles/547-the-spinning-sun.html>.

⁵⁹ Gelfand, 104; Ashley, 19; Christine Göttler, “The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte Di Varallo,” *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill: 2012), 393-452.

More bronze reliefs by Carmelo Puzzolo line the path on Cross Mountain, installed in 1988 and showing the Stations of the Cross. These artworks offer not only devotional stopping points that build and reflect the sacredness of the mountainside, but they also remind visitors to Medjugorje of places and past events of the Holy Land. The Stations of the Cross, like the Mysteries of the Rosary, translate larger spaces where sacred events are believed to have occurred, and reproduce these places as a smaller and singular image. Many of the stations on Cross Mountain memorialize the streets of Jerusalem (Jesus falling and meeting the women) or other specific locations (Golgotha and the tomb).⁶⁰ The Stations of the Cross are a re-emplacment of the path of the Via Dolorosa, facilitating pietistic acts of *imitatio Christi* as people walk the route. Gelfand explains this by way of her concept of performative pilgrimage: performative pilgrimage is active in the sense that is physically engaged, but this engagement links the devotee to other, remote places.⁶¹ Historically, walking the stations mimicked and recreated the actions of pilgrimage in the Holy Land.⁶² The arrangement of the bronze reliefs is serial—a form of “episodic devotion” as pilgrims moved from station to station and scene to scene—connected by the uphill path.⁶³ The higher one walks, the more contact one

⁶⁰ Echoing this idea of performance of the streets of Jerusalem, Jonathan Smith refers to the “stational character” of indigenous Jerusalem liturgy, or a kind of “worship as pilgrimage.” Historically, liturgical action in Jerusalem was not confined to one particular building, and the congregation and bishop moved from place to place, or even church to church, as ritual activity. Smith, *To Take Place*, 91-2.

⁶¹ Gelfand, 88-9.

⁶² Gelfand, 109; see also 113.

⁶³ Gelfand, 110, argues for “episodic devotion” in the series of chapels in the Sacro Monte of Varallo, each a stopping point recreating biblical scenes through dioramas. See also Bram de Klerck, “Jerusalem in Renaissance Italy: The Holy Sepulchre on the Sacro Monte of Varallo,” *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, 215-236. Other scholars likewise note the importance of stations and objects in the performance of past events. See Rita Tekippe, “The Grand Procession at Tournai: The Community Writ

gets with sacred figures and past events. By meditating on the passion depicted in the stations, “the pilgrim keeps Jesus company.”⁶⁴

The bronze reliefs on Cross Mountain take this relationship among place, memory, and image even further: the Virgin Mary’s presence at Medjugorje is emphasized for the viewer by the inclusion of her image in the stations themselves. At the first station of Jesus condemned to death, for example, Mary watches the action, surrounded by a mandorla of light and clasping her hands anxiously as she stands apart from the angry crowd. This tableau includes Mary—the very figure that people seek at Medjugorje—in places and scenes where she is not necessarily mentioned in the Gospel texts (Figure 4.5). In this way, the Virgin is present throughout Christ’s death, even as she is present in Medjugorje, subsuming the Bosnian town in past sacred events and geographically distant places. Kilde explains that as devotees move through a place and its ensemble of images, they are able to insert themselves as participants in the narrative space of those images.⁶⁵ In this case, when people insert themselves into the narrative space of the stations, they are close to Mary herself as part of Gospel events. By performing the stations on the climb at Cross Mountain, people can see the image of the Virgin, reenact sacred history, and connect their performative action to the Virgin’s accessibility on the Medjugorje hills.

Large,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, 536; Blick and Gelfand, “Introduction to Volume 2,” *Push Me, Pull You*, Vol. 2, xxxiii-xxxiv and xl; Gertsman, , 438.

⁶⁴ Leonard Orec, “The Pilgrims’ Gatherings in Medjugorje,” *Medjugorje Website*, March 26, 2004, <http://www.medjugorje.ws/en/apparitions/docs-pilgrims-gatherings-medjugorje>. Those unable to climb the mountain are invited to meditate on the Stations of the Cross created by Italian artist Peppino Sacchi and placed inside St. James—another example of the parish deploying images to invite particular forms of interaction.

⁶⁵ Kilde, 539.

The 12-meter high cross at the summit of Cross Mountain makes even more available this memory narrative of Holy Land places and events (Figure 4.6). It was completed in 1934, raised by the pastor and villagers of the town, and served as a reliquary. Built into the cross bar was a relic claimed as a piece of the True Cross from Jerusalem.⁶⁶ Pope Pius XI in Rome sent the relic for the dedication, connecting the Bosnian town to a broader religious and territorial map—and demonstrating a more recent example of the creation of a sacred geography through the translation of relics from the Holy Land.⁶⁷ The great cross visualizes the relic while the relic activates the cross for believers. The relic was a source of sacredness on the mountain decades before the apparitions, but the Marian visions only heightened the significance of Cross Mountain, aligning the blessings of Jerusalem and Rome with the blessings bestowed by Our Lady of Medjugorje since 1981. Such an alignment shows how the meaning of relics can shift and adapt to different contexts.⁶⁸ With the advent of apparitions, the relic commemorated not only the Gospel events, but for those who struggle up the mountainside, it also became embedded in, and confirmed by, the overall sacredness of the area.

There are no directions or religious leaders at the summit, and no guidance towards any particular movement or activity. Some sit and chat or take photographs of

⁶⁶ “The Pilgrims’ Gatherings in Medjugorje”; June Klins, *The Best of “The Spirit of Medjugorje”* (Eastborne, UK: Gardners Books 2007), 31; “Cross Mountain or Mt. Krizevac,” *Medjugorje Pilgrimage*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/84-cross-mountain.html>.

⁶⁷ For the establishment of sacred geography and cult of the saints through the export of Holy Land relics, see Chapter Three, p. 87.

⁶⁸ Kinnard, 146.

the view, while others slowly circumambulate the great cross. As with Apparition Hill, some leave offerings and remnants, tying rosary beads to the concrete base below the cross or leaving stones carried from the climb. As both Apparition Hill and Cross Mountain demonstrate, devotional objects are integrated as part of the natural environment at Medjugorje. People use nearby tobacco fields and vineyards to access Apparition Hill, as they walk, sing, or carry statues.⁶⁹ Commemorative places along the path become holding areas for rosary beads, flowers, photos of loved ones, and cards bearing images of Our Lady of Medjugorje. Nature itself becomes the repository for proliferating images of Mary in the form of statues and medallions made of glass, plastic, and metal: these locations are reminiscent of both outdoor altars and interactive art installations where people participate with displays. Such places of commemoration are available to visitors, and per Blick, their offerings help constitute the pilgrimage environment by creating visual testimony for others. That is, the location of these collaborative places can serve to naturalize strong messages about the sanctity of the land and the Medjugorje phenomenon.

Chidester and Linenthal argue that nature is a cultural product, and our ideas about the authenticity of natural places may serve to elide how they are used for political, social, and economic goals.⁷⁰ Ricketts also helps us understand this construction of nature

⁶⁹ Mart Bax, *Medjugorje: Religion, Politics, and Violence in Rural Bosnia* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1995), 7.

⁷⁰ Chidester and Linenthal, 13. Kinnard and Ross-Bryant likewise argue that the mythic resources provided by nature can strengthen narratives about history and the dominance of particular cultural groups over places. Kinnard, "Public Space or Sacred Place?," *Places in Motion*; Lynn Ross-Bryant, *Pilgrimage to the National Parks: Religion and Nature in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2012). See also Veikko Anttonen, "Space, Body, and the Notion of Boundary: A Category-Theoretical Approach to Religion," *Temenos* 41.2 (2005): 185-201; Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites," 145. As Kinnard, "Public Space

as sacred with reference to pilgrimage places in New Mexico. There, mythmaking about spiritual places has naturalized the landscape as sacred, but obscured the cultural labor necessary for that formulation.⁷¹ Accordingly, by integrating the town's surrounding natural environment—marking it with crosses, outdoor speaker and prayer events, and devotional offerings to Mary—both visitors and caretakers are attempting to strengthen a memory narrative about Medjugorje: this land and this town are blessed, the Virgin's presence infuses them, and she is immanent. All nature affirms the legitimacy of the apparitions, even if the Vatican does not. The overall effect is a pilgrimage environment that spills out over the surrounding area, but in Ricketts' terms, also invites cultural labor that contributes to the very sacredness of nature. As one private, tour-based site notes, visitors may consider journeying in the fall, when "Medjugorje is beautiful" and it is "easy to go out into nature and find God."⁷² Such practices of outdoor offerings and processions underscore Medjugorje as a dispersed and creative place available to visitors, while simultaneously including them in the cultural labor of marking and commemorating an expansive apparition phenomenon.

The expansive and ongoing apparition phenomenon is present in the town as well as the natural environs, illustrating that Reader's "mundane, profane and mercantile"

or Sacred Place?," *Places in Motion*; Lynn Ross-Bryant, *Pilgrimage to the National Parks: Religion and Nature in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2012). See also Veikko Anttonen, "Space, Body, and the Notion of Boundary: A Category-Theoretical Approach to Religion," *Temenos* 41.2 (2005): 185-201; Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites," 145.

⁷¹ Ricketts, 240.

⁷² "When is the Best Time for me to go to Medjugorje?" *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/97-when-is-the-best-time-for-me-to-go-to-medjugorje.html>.

aspects are essential to the construction of sacredness at Medjugorje as well as Chartres.⁷³ The Medjugorje phenomenon is nested within, and given shape and support by, the commercial character of the entire town. In the neighborhood surrounding the church, directly behind St. James and across the street from the plaza, rows of shops continue to present devotional images to visitors. The shops facing the plaza sell mementoes displaying the Virgin Mary's face, the statue from Apparition Hill and its twin in the church plaza, the cross at the summit of Cross Mountain, as well as rosary beads, statues, climbing canes, postcards, hats, and sunglasses (Figure 4.7). However, the commercial area and its repeated and identifiable images of Mary extend beyond the zone directly by the church, encompassing most of the town. Given Medjugorje's history as an isolated place, home only to snakes and stones, the pilgrimage industry has driven rapid development since 1981, in tandem with the rapid development of pilgrimage activity. Hotels throughout the town feature statues of Mary in the lobby; shops line streets to the edge of town, leading to the paths to Cross Mountain and Apparition Hill; buses feature pictures of the Virgin in their windows.

This is in some regards the kind of porous boundaries we see at Chartres and Ephesus: the widespread pilgrimage marketplace fosters permeability between categories of devotional and commercial place. As Reader argues, these spheres do not merely overlap, but intertwine and reproduce the sacred. In her work on marketing and the apparition site of Lourdes, Kaufman agrees, challenging the idea that there exists an

⁷³ Reader, *Pilgrimage in the Marketplace*, 195.

authentic spirituality “beyond the dross of the marketplace.”⁷⁴ She makes a crucial observation about boundaries with reference to Lourdes: there is a “struggle to fix a stable boundary between religion and commerce,” and this struggle fails as even clerics use market stratagems to promote sacred activity.⁷⁵ She calls this a constant cross-fertilization between commerce and pilgrimage. This cross-fertilization is certainly present at Medjugorje, where the entire town is mobilized in service of the apparition phenomenon.

However, there are some differences between Medjugorje and the two other case studies in that Chartres and Ephesus both had longstanding historical value before becoming intertwined with the global pilgrimage marketplace. In contrast, Medjugorje was born and grew in the context of the global pilgrimage marketplace—there is no preexisting heritage value that is mined and marketed there. Rather, the relatively new and extensive commercial character of the town is part of the relatively new and extensive pilgrimage environment, greeting visitors and marketing images that constantly remind viewers of the revelatory events there. Commercial areas and their mass marketed images offer visitors another way to commemorate the presence of Mary and mark the town as sacred. As Reader and Kaufman both point out, the mercantile character of the entire town helps construct Medjugorje as sacred territory—and in this case of intense cross-fertilization, within the context of a globalized economy from its early years.

⁷⁴ Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 7.

⁷⁵ Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 14-15.

Visionaries: Confirming the founding story of Medjugorje

The Franciscans position images that define and commemorate of sacred events and their history of spiritual leadership in the area, and people both encounter and contribute to the memory narrative of Marian presence, given further meaning by the natural and commercial environment that supports the apparitions. At the same time, Medjugorje is a place of commemoration for the visionaries themselves, the original six child witnesses to the first apparitions. The visionaries are what Ricketts calls the foundational myth. Their innocence and purity affirms Mary's presence—and now, as their continuous messages are disseminated in the town, as well as around the world via internet, they provide cultural labor that promotes Medjugorje's ongoing sacredness.

Ivan Dragicevic, one of the six children still publicly involved in the Medjugorje phenomenon, has proven to be a popular and controversial figure. He gathers his followers at a meeting place at the base of Apparition Hill—a powerful way to link his claims of ongoing visions to the apparitions of 1981, commemorating his status as one of the original six children. This gathering spot is the Blue Cross, a simple clearing off a side road with a wooden cross, approximately one meter high and painted in blue (Figure 4.8). The cross is propped up by a rounded foundation of stones where people can leave flowers and other offerings—once again, contributing their visual testimony to the sacredness of the spot, as with Apparition Hill and Cross Mountain. A small white statue of Mary stands beside the cross, sustaining through its placement in Dragicevic's meeting spot the enduring connection between them. Against the backdrop of surrounding trees, large stones accommodate seated groups in an organic amphitheater configuration. Like

the interior of the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus examined in the next chapter, the simplicity of the place of the Blue Cross conveys a message. The cross was crafted from the wood of a nearby house of a devotee in 1982, and its uncomplicated design and simple materials communicate the humble beginnings and unfettered piety of the spot.⁷⁶

The Blue Cross and Dragicevic's meetings there designate the place as part of the overall sacred pilgrimage environment, though one outside the control of the parish leadership. The popularity of such outdoor meetings is such that an identical copy of the Blue Cross has been erected close beside the original, allowing multiple groups to meet at once in this sacred zone. The gathering place at the Blue Cross is located near an alternative path up Apparition Hill, and when approaching and ascending from that direction, one encounters the bronze reliefs of the Glorious Mysteries of the Rosaries in reverse order. Ironically, by starting from the place where one of the most controversial visionaries holds his gatherings, devotees reverse the theological order of the mysteries in their own movements. This reverse performance of the mysteries on Apparition Hill is analogous to Medjugorje's overall disruption of centralized church oversight, facilitated by the location of pilgrimage activity in the dispersed, natural environment—and an example of de Certeau's approach to physical practices, where the choices involved in walking and "pedestrian speech acts," have the potential to disrupt or re-appropriate the planning of managers.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ "What's So Special about the Blue Cross?," *The Medjugorje Message*, May 1, 2013, <http://crownofstars.blogspot.com/2013/05/whats-so-special-about-blue-cross.html>.

⁷⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 96-7.

Indeed, Dragicevic is disruptive on many levels as he carries the Medjugorje phenomenon with him. Extending the reach of the church, the town, Apparition Hill, and the Blue Cross, Dragicevic reports receiving Marian messages when he travels, notably to the United States. His claims of visions there prompted the Vatican ambassador to the U.S. to caution the Catholic faithful against attending Dragicevic's events.⁷⁸ An anecdote about Dragicevic illustrates how the miracle of Medjugorje becomes re-emplaced. In March 2001, Dragicevic travelled to St. Rose of Lima Church in Chelsea, Massachusetts. While there, he claimed a vision not only of the Virgin Mary accompanied by three angels, but also of Father Slavko Barbarić, an influential supporter of the Medjugorje apparitions who died of a heart attack in 2000 as he was descending Cross Mountain with a group of pilgrims. Thus, as Dragicevic travels abroad, he remains connected to the people and places of Medjugorje, maintaining his role as a child recipient of Mary's communications.⁷⁹ In doing so, he commemorates the events of Medjugorje for his audience in an entirely different location. This is reminiscent of Gelfand's performative pilgrimage, where people move along the Stations of the Cross in remembrance and reenactment of the Passion in the streets of Jerusalem. Dragicevic's audience is reminded of the miraculous apparitions of Mary that began in the hills of Bosnia, and can reenact Dragicevic's own first encounter as he channels her presence.

⁷⁸ "Medjugorje Ivan Not Banned from Apparitions in Parishes," *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje-today/headlines/1564-medjugorje-ivan-not-banned-from-apparitions-in-parishes.html>; "14 Things to Know and Share about the New Letter on Medjugorje," *National Catholic Register*, November 6, 2013, <http://www.ncregister.com/blog/jimmy-akin/14-things-to-know-and-share-about-the-new-letter-on-medjugorje>.

⁷⁹ "Father Slavko Appears to Medjugorje Visionary," *Medjugorje USA*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorjeusa.org/strose.htm>.

The situation with Marija Pavlovic-Lunetti is similar to that of Ivan Dragicevic. Pavlovic-Lunetti, another one of the original six children, has a separate and private chapel near her home in Medjugorje. This location, the Chapel of the Two Hearts, is a frequent stop on guided tours of the town.⁸⁰ As with Dragicevic's gathering place at the Blue Cross, the very porous and dispersed character of the apparition phenomenon allows the visionaries to build and designate their own sacred locations and itineraries, beyond the places marked by parish leadership. Pavlovic-Lunetti claims monthly messages from the Virgin Mary, but these messages are not always delivered in her chapel or even in Medjugorje itself. This is an extension of the reach of the Medjugorje phenomenon, even on a global scale: in 2012, Pavlovic-Lunetti attended a prayer event in Beirut, Lebanon that drew thousands to hear her receive her messages.⁸¹ In its broadest sense, this is an example of Coleman and Eade's "mobile performances" that help to construct apparently sacredly charged places.⁸²

Pavlovic-Lunetti also claims to have received messages during her trips to the Caritas religious organization in Birmingham, Alabama (trips that are controversial, like those of Dragicevic, given official Roman Catholic skepticism towards Medjugorje).⁸³

⁸⁰ "The Chapel of the Two Hearts," *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/82-the-chapel-of-the-two-hearts.html>.

⁸¹ The two-day prayer event attracted both Lebanese Christians and Muslims, and preceded national Christian-Muslim Day—celebrated on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation, reflecting the reverence towards Mary across faith traditions. The shared memorialization of Mary by Christians and Muslims will be examined in depth in the following chapter on the House of the Virgin Mary in Ephesus, Turkey. "Muslims and Christians Join for Apparitions," *Crown of Stars*, February 17, 2012, <http://crownofstars.blogspot.com/2012/02/muslims-and-christians-together-for.html>.

⁸² Coleman and Eade, 3.

⁸³ Greg Garrison, "Marija Lunetti Gone from Alabama, but Controversy Persists over her Religious Visions," *Alabama.com*, July 11, 2009, <http://blog.al.com/living->

The Caritas ministry is a major international proponent of the Medjugorje visions, raising \$1.2 million per year in donations, running a publishing operation to produce books about Medjugorje, and building a multi-million dollar shrine called the Tabernacle of Our Lady's Messages.⁸⁴ In July 2008, Pavlovic-Lunetti claimed apparitions over two days in the Caritas compound, one lasting three minutes and forty-five seconds, as Mary blessed those gathered in the room and around the building.⁸⁵ In 2013, Caritas also constructed a 38-foot replica of the cross on Cross Mountain to welcome Pavlovic-Lunetti and her visions, allowing adherents to commemorate and reenact Medjugorje's revelatory landscape by climbing Penitentiary Mountain. According to Caritas, the newly constructed cross both consecrates Penitentiary Mountain and stands in as a replica of the cross in Medjugorje.⁸⁶ This exemplifies what Martin and Kryst refer to as "place contagion," where mimetic Marian pilgrimage shrines are relocated in other parts of the world as an extension of devotion.⁸⁷ In the case of Caritas in the United States and its echoing of Cross Mountain, this place contagion locates the Medjugorje phenomenon in

news/2009/07/marija_lunetti_gone_from_alaba.html; Greg Garrison, "Virgin Mary Is Aware Of Economic Crisis In Europe, Says Marija Lunetti, Visionary From Medjugorje," *Huffington Post*, July 5, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/05/virgin-mary-economic-crisis-europe-marija-lunetti_n_1647990.html.

⁸⁴ Garrison, "Marija Lunetti gone from Alabama, but Controversy Persists over her Religious Visions"; Greg Garrison, "Mountaintop Cross Built in Shelby County as Woman who Claims Virgin Mary Visions Arrives," *Alabama.com*, July 1, 2013, http://www.al.com/living/index.ssf/2013/07/mountaintop_cross_built_in_she.html.

⁸⁵ "July 1, 2008 with Marija at Caritas," *Caritas of Birmingham*, July 1, 2008, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje-america/medjugorje-america/522-july-1-2008-with-marija-at-caritas.html>.

⁸⁶ "Medjugorje's Headlines: A Secret," *Caritas of Birmingham*, November 3, 2014, <http://www.medjugorje.com/medjugorje-today/headlines/10074-a-secret.html>.

⁸⁷ Angela K. Martin and Sandra Kryst, "Encountering Mary: Ritualization and Place Contagion in Postmodernity," *Places Through the Body*, ed. Heidi Nast and Steve Pile (New York: Routledge, 2005), 153-170.

another part of the world entirely. This spatial contagion creates ripples of the apparitions that not only continue to defy the church, but also Franciscan efforts to define the pilgrimage environment. Visionaries move and take the Medjugorje phenomenon with them, far from the territory the Franciscans claim, and in the process, the boundaries of the Medjugorje phenomenon expand.

The various actors at Medjugorje encourage and perform their own memory narratives: the Franciscan caretakers and parish leaders, the people experiencing the pilgrimage environment in its natural and commercial context, and the visionaries who constantly remind others of the initial apparition decades ago. These memory narratives dwell together in the images of Medjugorje, at times supporting or contradicting one another, and demonstrating the emplaced character of Eade and Sallnow's framework of contestation. One single image, the Felici statue of Mary on Apparition Hill, accommodates polyvalent meanings. It is a palpable declaration that the managers of Medjugorje are not bound by official church doubts as to the veracity of the apparitions because this statue recalls the true authority accorded by the apparitions since 1981. For Medjugorje adherents, it is a goal on a difficult climb towards a physical and spiritual summit—a reminder that Mary is around them throughout the revelatory landscape—as well as a place to take souvenir photos. For the visionaries, the statue is a memory trigger for their role in the foundational myth of Medjugorje, and a visual reminder of their continuing status.

At Medjugorje, porous boundaries arise from the intermingling of commercial and devotional spaces of the town, but the ongoing nature of the apparitions provides a significant source of porousness at Medjugorje as the place is constantly formed and

marked by new visions. The contested nature of the pilgrimage environment is discernable from the beginning of the Medjugorje phenomenon, as caretakers, participants, and visionaries enshrine different memory narratives that attempt to define the dispersed pilgrimage environment. The places of revelation spill over into the natural environment, allowing people to help build the sacredness of the landscape through their offerings and actions. Franciscan leadership in particular responds by attempting to tether the apparition phenomenon through the positioning of commemorative images of the Virgin and past sacred events. These attempts are to an extent successful in that they provide people with key commemorative locations to interact with. Yet, the Franciscans do not control the visionaries' own dedicated gathering places in the town, events outside it, or the mimetic places that arise through spatial contagion as the visionaries bring the apparition phenomenon abroad. In these regards, Medjugorje is less a firmly bounded zone with a central shrine, but is rather an overall fluid pilgrimage environment.

Contested Memory in the Former Yugoslavia and the Bosnian War

The contestation of memory is grounded in the hills and town of Medjugorje, but this contestation also extends to the collective memories of national and community identity. As a profitable and politically charged pilgrimage environment, Medjugorje has served as an important symbolic place in the former Yugoslavia and the independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The claimed visions activate the landscape and suggest a territory blessed by the Virgin Mary, and the deployment of this landscape has shaped meaning about Catholic, Croat history. Medjugorje is justified and valorized by an entire set of regional memory systems—ones that petition contexts beyond St. James,

Apparition Hill, or the town itself, adding to the sense of a fluid and expansive pilgrimage environment. The constant development of these memory narratives throughout Medjugorje's history is crucial for understanding its contested nature.

First, Medjugorje became a symbol of religious resistance to Yugoslavian authoritarianism for the town's Catholic community in the first decade after the initial reports of apparitions. This fostered a sense of righteousness in the face of persecution, a memory narrative deployed by Franciscan leadership for pilgrimage audiences today. Second, during the Bosnian War of 1992-95, Medjugorje was part of a contested memorial framework justifying and amplifying pan-Croat identity for nationalist groups. Despite the continued importance of the Virgin of Medjugorje as a reminder of global peace, and even incidents where pilgrims walked across battle lines, Medjugorje became a symbolic focal point and operational launching pad for Croat nationalist groups. This remains significant as the Franciscans' official parish publicity continues to present Medjugorje as unjustly beset by enemies during the war. By presenting this narrative today, publicly and in multiple languages for international visitors, the Franciscans maintain an underlying logic of righteousness in their attempts to define and tether the porousness of the apparition phenomenon.

Revelation and resistance: Medjugorje as blessed landscape in the former Yugoslavia

The former Yugoslavia has been characterized as a centralized and authoritarian political entity that suppressed historically rooted divisions among ethnic, religious, and

national groups.⁸⁸ In the twilight years of the state, belonging to an ethnic group became an increasingly important form of social relevance, contributing to the ethnic tensions that ultimately took violent form in the 1990s.⁸⁹ Such circumstances were connected to pilgrimage: as part of the political and social pressure for reform in Eastern European countries during the 1980s, religious and specifically Catholic expression became a mode of resistance to authoritarian states. The apparitions in Medjugorje were not an isolated incident: during the 1980s, miraculous apparitions of the Virgin Mary were reported in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and western Ukraine, all prompting waves of pilgrimage.⁹⁰ Physical territories in Eastern Europe were marked by images and narratives of divine revelation, challenging state control. In one incident in the Croatian territory of Dalmatia in 1983, a 16-year old girl claimed to see the Virgin Mary, prompting thousands of pilgrims to flock to the girl's village, some already en route to Medjugorje. Ultimately, the police surrounded this latest site in Dalmatia, arresting the visionary girl and local clergy, and dismantling crosses raised at the apparition site.⁹¹ Taking down crosses was retaliation on the part of state forces. Eliminating the physical markers of the apparitions was an attempt to eliminate the deep associations of the Virgin with protection,

⁸⁸ Ian D. Armour, "Nationalism vs Yugoslavism," *History Today* 42 (1992): 11-13; Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006); Pieter Troch, "Yugoslavia Between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation Building," *Nationalities Papers* 38.2 (2010): 227-244.

⁸⁹ Benedikt Harzl, "Preachers of Hatred and Deformation of History: The Case of Ethno-Mobilization in Kosovo," *Southeastern Europe* 34.1 (2010): 38-54.

⁹⁰ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Social Currents in Eastern Europe: The Sources and Consequences of the Great Transformation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 162.

⁹¹ Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 119.

revelation, and divinely sanctioned power. Pilgrimage thus became an important expression of identity and resistance, and the Virgin was a political ally.

At the same time, however, international interest in the Medjugorje phenomenon during the 1980s prompted some commercial concessions from the Yugoslavian authorities. With a nod to the potential benefits of religious tourism, the government gave permission for the construction of hotels in the area in 1989.⁹² Evidently, even for a hardline and purportedly socialist government, the potential profitability of Medjugorje pilgrimage was seductive. The Yugoslavian regime initially harassed the Medjugorje visionaries and parish priest Jozo Zovko, turning them into a symbolic threat against communism. Nonetheless, Yugoslavian authorities gradually came around to encouraging the “tourist potential and market advantages of pilgrimages,” which in turn weakened their grip on the Medjugorje Catholics and friars.⁹³

In this way, messages from the Virgin offered a counter-narrative to Yugoslavian communism during the 1980s. Even now, tourist literature invokes the oppressive communist regime of the past, underscoring and memorializing the authority of Medjugorje in relation to earthly obstacles. One private Medjugorje website stresses the power of the place to compel concessions on the part of authoritarian forces. The regional communist government, says the site, forbade public religious gatherings, yet nonetheless allowed devotees to assemble at Cross Mountain on the feast day of the Holy Cross. The

⁹² Velikonja, 212.

⁹³ Slavica Jakelic, *Collectivistic Religions: Religion, Choice, and Identity in Late Modernity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 54.

site also claims that the Virgin Mary appeared to devotees at the Blue Cross at the base of Apparition Hill as they were hiding from the communist police.⁹⁴

From its beginning, then, Medjugorje accrued legitimacy and popularity among adherents through its connection to a larger political and territorial map of Yugoslavia. As the Yugoslavian government was pulled in by the profitability of Medjugorje, facilitating an economically developed landscape of hotels and tourism infrastructure, it was also pulled into a narrative constructed by local Catholic groups—Medjugorje was protected, transformative, and beyond the control of earthly regimes. Mary’s presence on Apparition Hill conveyed the divinely sanctioned power of Medjugorje as embattled and beset, but standing firm against the earthly power of the oppressive Yugoslavian state, as the community had under the conquering Ottomans. This narrative has remained powerful for the Franciscans positioning images like the statue on Apparition Hill. The parish continues to commemorate the Catholic community’s persecution under Ottomans and communists, as discussed above, and this commemoration is further justified by the fact that Mary chose the town for her revelation.

Pilgrimage and the ruptured map: Medjugorje during the Bosnian War

Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence from Yugoslavia in March 1992, a formal step that came on the heels of several years of regional conflict and

⁹⁴ “Apparition Mountain,” *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/85-apparition-hill.html>; “Cross Mountain,” *Medjugorje.com*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://pilgrimage.medjugorje.com/pilgrimage-to-medjugorje/84-cross-mountain.html>. Medjugorje.com, registered to the Caritas organization in Birmingham, continues this narrative. The site claims that visions at Cross Mountains had unusual duration and intensity during the trial by Yugoslavian authorities of Father Jozo Zovko, pastor of St. James Church in Medjugorje and advocate for the Marian visions. For more on Jozo Zovko, ultimately imprisoned for preaching against the state and thus representing for Catholic Croats a figure of resistance, see Velikonja, 212-13.

irredentism. Even as maps were redrawn, religious, linguistic, and ethnic communities overlapped the new political borders of Bosnia. Bosnian Muslims comprised a plurality of the population. Nonetheless, Wiinikka-Lydon argues for Medjugorje as the “unofficial, spiritual capital” of the newly independent state—whose borders coincided with the centuries’ old Franciscan area of control—serving to mark Croat Catholics as “sacred people” and “more valued than non-Croats.”⁹⁵ This link between place and identity was vital for the newly established state. According to Pruitt, persons and places in Bosnia are divided according to heritage markers—Medjugorje is Croat Catholic, just as the Mostar Bridge was associated with Bosnian Muslims before its destruction by Bosnian Croat forces in 1993, and as the Tvrdox Monastery is Orthodox Serb.⁹⁶

Medjugorje’s geographic proximity to the Croatian border was important for its ultimate significance to pan-Croat aspirations. Bosnia is a mostly land-locked territory, bordered on the east by Serbia and surrounded—almost cradled—on the north and west by Croatia. In the absence of clearly defined identity boundaries after the breakup of Yugoslavia, a shared identity among Croat Catholic nationalists spilled over the newly established border, with Medjugorje as a focusing lens for feelings of nationalism. The very announcement of independence by Croatia occurred on June 25, 1991, the tenth anniversary of the first Medjugorje visions, ascribing to the declaration notable meaning

⁹⁵ Wiinikka-Lydon, “Ethnic Cleansing as Religious Practice,” 21. Mary’s role as “Queen of Croatia,” responsible for its protection, was important for Medjugorje’s status to Croat Catholics. See Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 158.

⁹⁶ Tera C. Pruitt, “Contextualizing Alternative Archeology: Socio-politics and Approaches,” *Archeological Review from Cambridge* 24.1 (2009): 60. See also Robert Block and Christopher Bellamy, “Croats Destroy Mostar’s Historic Bridge,” *The Independent*, November 9, 1993, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/croats-destroy-mostars-historic-bridge-1503338.html>.

for Croat Catholics in Bosnia, as well.⁹⁷ The idea of a pan-Catholic Croat community, united by religion and language, was not new. In the 1980s, Croat church leaders regarded the Marian movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Medjugorje in particular, as “an instrument of national homogenization of the Croats from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.”⁹⁸ Images of the Virgin Mary were powerful objects signaling the breadth and veracity of this community. Clergy such as Monsignor Alojzije Bavčević in the Croatian city of Split promoted statues of the Virgin, imported from Italy and distributed to rural parishes, in order to align local devotion with the flourishing new pilgrimage trade in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁹

During the Bosnian War of 1992-95, Medjugorje pilgrimage remained important for its symbolic value in the region. Indeed, for many adherents, the Virgin of Medjugorje served as an ambassador of international peace, connected to a global web of peaceful devotion. Indeed, in the first decade of the site’s existence and before the hostilities, Orthodox and Muslim Yugoslavs came to Medjugorje to pray, stressing the religious pluralism present at the site in its various audiences.¹⁰⁰ By the 1990s, not only had Medjugorje’s reputation and following grown on a global scale—advocates claimed that 20 million pilgrims had visited the site by 1995—but Medjugorje had developed an international pilgrimage that continued in smaller numbers during the Bosnian war,

⁹⁷ Michael A. Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 107.

⁹⁸ Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 118.

⁹⁹ Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 119.

¹⁰⁰ Wiinikka-Lydon, “Ethnic Cleansing as Religious Practice,” 21; Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed*, 107.

attracting relatively affluent visitors from North America, Australia, and northern Europe, and generating a billion dollar industry centered on the small town.¹⁰¹ Notably, before the Bosnian War, the messages attributed to the Virgin Mary at the Franciscan-controlled site urged universal peace, though with apocalyptic overtones and warnings—and the only enemy named was Satan.¹⁰²

One key incident shows how the Virgin of Medjugorje and her image were mapped to the cause of international peace, even during the war. As charities linked to Medjugorje raised hundreds of millions of dollars for victims of the war of all faiths, Medjugorje was presented as sacred ground and capable of influencing the conflict.¹⁰³ While Serb forces came closer to Medjugorje, there were reports that pilgrims themselves had mobilized:

Enthusiasts claimed that when Medjugorje was cut off at one point in 1992 by the conflict, a group of pilgrims liberated it through a non-violent march across battle lines. Medjugorje was hailed as an epicenter of peace during the war and charity toward the victims, irrespective of their religious affiliation.¹⁰⁴

According to other journalistic accounts of this incident, believers cut off from Medjugorje by the flare-up of hostilities “braved a possible aerial attack from the Serbs as they marched ten miles...to Saint James Church in Medjugorje” and “what was once a

¹⁰¹ Michael D. Pfeifer, “Medjugorje Story,” *Catholic Family Catalog*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.catholicfamilycatalog.com/medjugorje-story.htm>; Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 319.

¹⁰² Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 318. On August 25, 1991, for example, the message attributed to Mary included: “Satan is strong and wants to sweep away my plans of peace and joy and make you think that my Son is not strong in His decisions.” On April 25, 1992, the message included: “Therefore, my dear little children, pray and by your life give witness that you are mine and that you belong to me, because Satan wishes in these turbulent days to seduce as many souls as possible.”

¹⁰³ Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 319.

¹⁰⁴ Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 319.

ghost town was again a place of pilgrimage and prayers for peace.”¹⁰⁵ This incident demonstrates the profound depth of the memory narrative of Mary’s presence throughout the landscape of Medjugorje—to the extent that its faithful could march through it and defy an aerial attack in wartime. The Virgin of Medjugorje protected them, as Mary has been seen to protect her places and her devotees for centuries. In this story, people marching and praying through the town and to St. James confirm the presence of the Virgin, a greater power than that of Serb airplanes. When repeated, the story authorizes the Medjugorje phenomenon for adherents, in the same manner as the repeated story of the young children authorizes the initial apparition locations.

Nonetheless, even when public messages and public interaction at Medjugorje stressed peace, the town was nonetheless linked to broader conflict in the region in more ominous ways. Medjugorje may have had a “civilizing influence” its first decade, drawing visitors from around the globe and imposing peace-oriented standards for those benefiting from the religious tourism boom; yet, impending war and the dwindling lifeline of the pilgrimage economy altered this state of affairs by the end of 1990.¹⁰⁶ Diminishing pilgrimage profits heightened tensions between various clans in the town—

¹⁰⁵ Abigail McCarthy, “Religious Wars...and Religious Peace,” *Commonweal* (12 March 1993): 7. For a similar popular account noting the difficulty in reconciling the Medjugorje phenomenon with the area’s violent history, see Elizabeth Rubin, “Souvenir Miracles: Going to See the Virgin in Western Herzegovina,” *Harper’s Magazine* (February 1995): 63-70.

¹⁰⁶ Mart Bax, “Barbarization in a Bosnian Pilgrimage Center,” *Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History*, ed. J. M. Halpem and D. A. Kideckel (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 193-4. This decline in regional and global pilgrimage to Medjugorje is documented in the annual numbers of communion distributed, as recorded by St. James. The numbers drop dramatically in the early 1990s, with an all-time low of 245,600 for 1992. The New York Times captured this feeling of a pilgrimage place threatened by the oncoming storm of war: Chuck Sudetic, “Medjugorje Journal: In Shrine to Virgin, Threat of War Darkens Streets,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1991, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/28/world/medjugorje-journal-in-shrine-to-virgin-threat-of-war-darkens-streets.html>.

as the hotels and cafés stood empty, feelings of jealousy and resentment arose among clans competing for pilgrimage trade. Various acts of aggression occurred, and people were prevented from moving about the area and climbing Cross Mountain.¹⁰⁷ These are the other narratives about Medjugorje, alongside the stories of pilgrims marching across the battle lines: Medjugorje is a place of grievance and even violence, where peaceful messages from the Virgin may be overwhelmed by contestation in its more brutal forms. While Croats in other parts of Bosnia advocated for a multicultural state, by 1992, Croat religious nationalist groups based in Medjugorje were cleansing Serbs and Muslims from the region.¹⁰⁸ In 1995, when the Bishop of Mostar denounced the Medjugorje visions as a fraud, militias connected to the local Franciscans seized and beat him, stripping him of ecclesiastical insignia, while the Franciscans threatened to blow up the Mostar cathedral and barricaded a disputed church.¹⁰⁹ The town was the base for particularly brutal attacks, including destruction at the Orthodox Serb monastery complex at Žitomislići. HVO, the main military arm of Bosnian Croats, killed or expelled the Orthodox community of Žitomislići, including priests and monks, and dynamited sixteenth century monuments—afterwards sealing the site and raising a Latin cross.¹¹⁰

Exacerbating violence in and near Medjugorje, events of the early 1990s evoked unresolved tensions from the Second World War, when the town was a Ustaše

¹⁰⁷ Bax, “Barbarization in a Bosnian Pilgrimage Center,” 194-99.

¹⁰⁸ Hockenos, 33, notes that Sarajevo-based Franciscans supported a multicultural Bosnian state, while Herzegovina Franciscans threw their support behind Croat hardliners and their separatist agenda.

¹⁰⁹ Juan A. Herrero Brasas, “In the Name of Mary: Sacred Space, Sacred Property, and Absolution of Past Sins,” *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, 160; Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 319-20. The bishop was Ratko Peric, current bishop of Mostar-Duvno, cited earlier as an outspoken critic of the apparitions.

¹¹⁰ Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 320.

stronghold. Some of these tensions involved longstanding memories of grievance. The Medjugorje visions began only days after Orthodox Serbs commemorated the fortieth anniversary of mass killings of Serbs by the Ustaše at Šurmanci during the Second World War. This had raised concerns for Yugoslavian authorities that Medjugorje nurtured the collective memories of Croat Catholics and Orthodox Serbs in Herzegovina—and that Medjugorje was potentially dangerous not only because its apparitions attracted the masses to a religious miracle, but also because it could increase nationalism and conflict in the area.¹¹¹ By the early 1990s, Serbian Orthodox leaders observed with some anxiety the growth of the Medjugorje phenomenon. For these leaders, the Medjugorje visions were a focal point inviting further Croat nationalism and violence against Serbs, a reminder of the crimes of the Second World War.¹¹²

If Medjugorje's ongoing apparition phenomenon fosters a pilgrimage place that spills over boundaries, then this is a broader form of porousness, where the town's miraculous landscape became part of the collective memory of the nation and region. As a galvanizing symbol of collective memory, Medjugorje does not stand apart from the attacks against Bosnian Muslims and Serbs carried out in the name of a greater Catholic Croatia by Croat nationalists. The destruction of sacred places was an attempt to define identity boundaries, both geographic and conceptual, in a situation where these

¹¹¹ Jakelic, 54.

¹¹² Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 120-21. Perica notes, Franciscan friar Jozo Zovko, mentioned above as an advocate of the Medjugorje visions and a hero of resistance to Croat Catholics, was said by Serbian scholar Milan Bulajic to have taught Medjugorje children the fascist salute. In 1990, the Serbian Orthodox church began a series of commemorations of Serb victims of World War II in the vicinity of Medjugorje. Not far from the town, the Serbian Orthodox church also built a chapel to the "new Serbian martyrs," with an adjacent memorial cemetery said to harbor the remains of hundreds of Ustaše victims. The chapel was dedicated as preachers stood in front of the exhumed skulls and bones of some 1500 victims of World War II.

boundaries had become uncertain and even threatening to rival groups. In extreme cases, Croat forces sought to eliminate rival communities by means of erasure, literal and mnemonic, of places with religious and civic significance. At the Bosnian town of Stolac in 1993, Croat militias attacked Serb and Ottoman historical monuments and buildings, seizing Muslim inhabitants and sending survivors to regional concentration camps. The methodical elimination of opponents through the elimination of place and memory was a purposeful strategy, and Catholic homes, businesses, and shrines remained untouched while non-Catholic sites were subject to destruction.¹¹³ This included centuries-old mosques in Stolac and the nearby Orthodox church of St. Nicholas in Trijebanj.¹¹⁴ In some cases, the rubble of destruction was taken away and buried.

Medjugorje was thus a spiritual capital for an aspirational political territory, and one whose most hardline forces practiced a kind of spatial erasure. Such spatial erasure—even beyond the ritual, public act of violence that demonstrates the Other’s profane nature, or what Bruce Lincoln’s calls profanophany—becomes a strategy for ‘overwriting’ the places and identities of competing groups, and thus their collective

¹¹³ Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 317. See also Stolac Municipality, *Crimes in Stolac Municipality (1992-1994)* (Sarajevo: Did, 1996), 45-54.

¹¹⁴ UNESCO documented the destruction of mosques in Stolac in 1993, primarily through dynamiting, but UNESCO did not assign culpability. Destroyed mosques included the sixteenth century Čaršija mosque and the twelfth century Uzunovička mosque, both rebuilt in the early 2000s. UNESCO, “The Natural and Architectural Ensemble of Stolac,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5282>. The Bosnia and Herzegovina Commission to Preserve National Monuments has its own process for preserving cultural heritage, and the architectural ensemble of the Čaršija mosque and connected buildings was designated a national monument. But again, no direct culpability for its destruction is assigned by the Commission. It states that “[i]n the summer of 1993, the Čaršija mosque and the entire Stolac Čaršija was razed to the ground and the remains taken away in lorries and dumped in the Bregava and Radimlja riverbeds.” “Čaršija Mosque and Čaršija in Stolac, the Architectural Ensemble,” *Bosnia and Herzegovina Commission to Preserve National Monuments*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://kons.gov.ba/main.php?id_struct=50&lang=4&action=view&id=1824.

memory.¹¹⁵ The aim is to obliterate even the memory of material culture as the rubble is buried.¹¹⁶ The fact that the Marian messages did not mention these crimes served to minimize or even circumvent them—creating a “violent hermeneutic” that took “Marian theology at Medjugorje as a legitimating force of atrocities carried out by Croats and as a rallying cry toward violence.”¹¹⁷

The importance of Medjugorje in the collective memory narratives in the former Yugoslavia and during the Bosnian War remains. Some observers suggest that religious leadership and locals have not properly acknowledged the role of Medjugorje in regional conflict.¹¹⁸ This is borne out by continuing efforts by Franciscan leadership to promote the narrative of a besieged but righteous community. The parish’s official website, a global gateway presenting pilgrimage information in multiple languages, presents the

¹¹⁵ Friedland and Hecht, 55. Lincoln defines profanophany as the deliberate tactic to expose the powerlessness and bankruptcy of the opponent’s images and symbols. It means that “by profaning the other’s sacred space you make the other profane, an alien with no claim to possession of that space.” Friedland and Hecht describe Bruce Lincoln’s analysis of the ritual desecration and destruction of Catholic buildings, images, statues, and bodily remains by Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. The work of Bruce Lincoln on profanophany will also be discussed in the following chapter.

¹¹⁶ This is an unsettling echo of the Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae*, whereby individuals were condemned and eradicated under Roman law through the utter obliteration of their displayed images. This tactic was intended to alter the very perception of the past as embodied in the visual record and public monuments, vital expressions of Roman authority. Eric R. Varner, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana: Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1. In the case of Bosnia, religious places were critical channels for commemorating community and establishing hegemony. In this context, sacred art and architecture were not merely superficial signifiers of conflict, but central to those deploying religious power and asserting different visions of state and society. Sells, “Crosses of Blood,” 311.

¹¹⁷ Wiinikka-Lydon, “The Ambivalence of Medjugorje,” 12. See also Shatzmiller, 74-5.

¹¹⁸ See Claverie, who states that Our Lady of Medjugorje has been used by locals to make sense of the Bosnian War and the trauma of violence and ethnic cleansing within the area’s conflicted history—and even to justify it. Élisabeth Claverie, *Les Guerres de la Vierge: Une Anthropologie des Apparitions* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003). Catholic blogger Stephen Schwartz further voices the concern that even now, Medjugorje is inscribed as a Croat ultranationalist production. Stephen Schwartz, “What Happened at Medjugorje?,” *First Things*, September 8, 2009, <http://www.firstthings.com/onthesquare/2009/09/what-happened-at-medjugorje>. See also Sumantra Bose, *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 271-2.

Bosnian War through this interpretive lens of besieged, righteous community. Serbian ambitions for a greater Yugoslavia were the cause of oppression and war, and conflict between Croats and Muslims were the result of “misunderstandings.” Crimes committed in Bosnia during the war were those of foreign Islamic soldiers or *mujahedin*. Croats merely wanted self-governance within Bosnia—their own language and schools—and the war ended, in this narrative, because “it was really not needed.”¹¹⁹ This memory narrative, involving regional collective memory as well as local, informs the Franciscan efforts to tether the porously bounded pilgrimage environment at Medjugorje. Their historical claims on the Herzegovinian territory as steadfast protectors of the Catholic faith, grounded in their marking of the hills of Medjugorje with statues and bronzes, were given further weight by the perceived aggression against Croats during the war.

Throughout, Medjugorje and its image of the Virgin Mary, hand outstretched, were powerful material and symbolic resources. The Virgin is simultaneously submissive and conquering, appearing to children from a humble background yet presenting herself as Queen of Peace and revealer of apocalyptic secrets. Wiinikka-Lydon refers to this as a kind of sacred ambivalence, where tangible Marian symbolism inspired hope even as it “conversely inspired and supported nationalist aims and crimes against humanity.”¹²⁰ During the war, this ambivalence fostered a pilgrimage environment where visitors continued to report experiencing a profound sense of compassionate love for all humanity in Medjugorje, but were apparently oblivious to burned out shells of Orthodox Christian

¹¹⁹ “A Short Historical Presentation,” *Medjugorje.hr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/en/parish/history>.

¹²⁰ Wiinikka-Lydon, “The Ambivalence of Medjugorje,” 9.

and Muslim homes, as well as the five concentration camps for Muslims and Serbs just miles away.¹²¹ Given this sacred ambivalence, Mary of Medjugorje herself cannot be contained, facilitating the wide range of contested memory narratives in the pilgrimage environment she animates. She was an inspiration for peace and a source of messages of love for all peoples—even as Medjugorje was a launching pad for the cleansing of Žitomislići.

Conclusion

The critical role of contested memory is a dominant theme in Medjugorje's relatively short history. The embryonic quality of Medjugorje relative to the two more established case studies has helped nurture the many memory narratives there. Franciscan and parish leadership, visitors, participants, and visionaries inscribe and enact various memory narratives throughout the pilgrimage environment; they position images, disseminate pilgrimage publicity to valorize their history as a community of faith, travel across the globe to seek Mary's presence on the mountainsides, and bring their apparitions on the road. Medjugorje is not a case of spontaneous authenticity ceding to eventual institutional control. Rather, Medjugorje as a pilgrimage environment has been

¹²¹ Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed*, 107. The closest concentration camp was Dretelj, approximately 5.2 miles from Medjugorje. This site was first a Croat camp for Serb prisoners, but as the Bosnian War progressed, it became an incarceration center for Bosnian Muslims. In July 1993, Dretelj held as many as 2,270 inmates. Its conditions of abuse and deprivation—including overcrowding, bare cement floors and lack of windows, inadequate toilet facilities and insufficient air—resulted in subsequent war crimes trials for guards and commanders. Paul Mojzes, *Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 175; Jonathan S. Landay, "Muslims Abused in Prison Camp," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 9, 1993, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1993/0909/09062.html>; "Trial for War Crimes in Dretelj Camp Starts," *Balkan Transitional Justice*, July 4, 2012, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/dretelj-trial-serbs-were-detained-in-camp/btj-topic-war-crime-trials-latest-headlines/55>.

continually constructed, disrupted, and disputed from its inception. We see an immediate struggle for control and deeply fractured memory associated with the apparition phenomenon, visible even in the ongoing Vatican deliberation on its authenticity.

There is a profound interrelationship between memory and power at Medjugorje: the power to commemorate the first apparition of Mary on the hillsides and march across battle lines under her protection; the power to defy church authorities and promote pilgrimages to historical spots like Cross Mountain; the power to stake a centuries-old claim to the Herzegovinian territory; and the power to leverage a very lucrative, global Medjugorje movement. To interact with Medjugorje is to interact with complex layers of memory. These layers of memory include the devotional significance of the Stations of the Cross on Cross Mountain and the statue of the Virgin on Apparition Hill, but they extend to how Medjugorje heightened community identity in the former Yugoslavia and after its break-up. The intersection of place, image, and memory is potent and sometimes volatile at Medjugorje, demonstrating how contestation becomes rooted once numerous, varied memory narratives come into play.

Medjugorje offers a unique version of porousness. At Chartres, the wide demographic of stakeholders and visitors, and the contestation that ensues from their interface, renders permeable the boundaries between pilgrim and tourist, devotional and commercial place, and cultural and spiritual value. At Medjugorje, there is undoubtedly an intermingling of commercial and devotional place, or what Kaufman calls the cross-fertilization of commerce and pilgrimage—though even that is distinguished by the advent of the apparitions in a more recent economic context, without the longstanding social and economic history of Chartres or Ephesus. However, porousness at Medjugorje

also ensues from its unfinished and dispersed nature. Medjugorje signifies a phenomenon as well as a physically bounded town, and that phenomenon travels the world. In his discussion of Karbala, Iraq, where the tomb of Husayn ibn Ali draws millions of Shia Muslims annually, Kinnard speaks of religiously charged places as fluid—a “liquid metaphor.”¹²² Such places defy our ideas about centers, boundaries and form. Scholars such as Hassner may see sacred spaces as indivisible, but the very spectrum of divisible and indivisible misses their constant shifts and movements.¹²³ Medjugorje is just so, and given its particular kind of porousness, it prompts continuous attempts to inscribe various agendas to a relatively fluid phenomenon.

The fluid nature of Medjugorje—in and around the town, across the mountainsides, on the Bosnia-Croatia border—is facilitated by the polyvalence of Marian imagery itself, a theme in all three case studies examined here. The flexibility of Mary’s image, and the symbolic power imparted by her imagery, make her available for a range of interpretations across the region. Just as Mary appeared on the banners of the Catholic armies during the Thirty Years’ War, or those of the Spanish forces as they fought the Moors during the Reconquista, she can signify cosmic peace even as she is a doctrinal weapon of war.¹²⁴ Images of the Virgin have always been iconographically malleable: she appears both as anti-modern symbol of traditional Catholicism and modern avatar for

¹²² Kinnard, 167.

¹²³ Kinnard, 167. Here, Kinnard refers to political scientist Ron Hassner’s 2009 book, *War on Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

¹²⁴ David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 394-7; Willy Jansen and Meike Kühl, “Shared Symbols: Muslims, Marian Pilgrimages and Gender,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 15.3 (2008): 296.

addressing contemporary global problems of injustice and inequality.¹²⁵ At Medjugorje, this iconographic flexibility has had powerful results. In the case of the Bosnian War in particular, Mary's image has supported directly contradictory purposes. Croat soldiers prayed to her on the hillsides for her blessings—blessings supposedly given to all, from the Croat Catholic community to increasing numbers of visitors from around the world—even as local religious organizations provided resources to military and paramilitary groups.¹²⁶ Here is the ambivalence of the Virgin of Medjugorje in stark terms: even as people prayed to her for peace, her imagery was also used to serve strategies for exercising dominance spatially, religiously, and politically.

This is a different pilgrimage environment than Chartres. The physical relics and artworks that define the cathedral are absent at Medjugorje, and the apparition phenomenon requires alternative ways of defining (or attempting to define) the boundaries of pilgrimage *place*. This is even more problematic at Medjugorje because of the continuous nature of the apparitions in multiple locations. It is a work in progress as well as relatively recent, opening it up to competing memories, interpretations, and uses. Medjugorje is the epitome of what Sarah Blick describes as the unfinished nature of pilgrimage place—dynamic and ongoing.

¹²⁵ Hermkens, Jansen, and Notermans, 2.

¹²⁶ One example: the Britain-based charity Medjugorje Appeal raised approximately 20 million pounds for a local orphanage in Medjugorje, elevating the profile of the site internationally. However, the money ultimately went to fund the HVO. Wiinikka-Lydon, "Ethnic Cleansing as Religious Practice," 22.



Figure 4.1. First Joyful Mystery, the Annunciation, on Apparition Hill, Medjugorje. Carmelo Puzzolo, 1989. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.2. Queen of Peace statue in plaza of St. James church, Medjugorje. Dino Felici, 1987. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.3. Outdoor altar behind St. James church, Medjugorje. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.4. Christ as Risen Savior statue by St. James church, Medjugorje. Andrej Ajdič, 1998. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.5. First Station of the Cross, Jesus is condemned to death, on Cross Mountain, Medjugorje. Carmelo Puzzolo, 1988. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.6. Cross at summit of Cross Mountain, Medjugorje. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.7. Shops with Marian memorabilia, Medjugorje. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.



Figure 4.8. Blue Cross at base of Apparition Hill, Medjugorje. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2015.

Chapter Five
Links to History: Pilgrimage and the House of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus

On Turkey's western coast, near the flourishing resort town of Kuşadası and the ancient ruins of Ephesus, is a small but noteworthy pilgrimage site. At the summit of *Bulbul Dagh*, or Mount Nightingale, is a stone structure believed to be the historic house of Mary, the mother of Jesus. In Turkish, the name is *Meryem Ana Evi*, or mother Mary's house. The Gospel of John 19:26-27 provides a narrative explaining Mary's presence there: Jesus left his mother in the care of the apostle John as he was dying on the cross.¹ One tradition has John subsequently bringing Mary to Ephesus.² She is said to have lived

¹ John 19: 26-27: "When Jesus saw his mother there, and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to her, 'Woman, here is your son,' and to the disciple, 'Here is your mother.' From that time on, this disciple took her into his home."

² The narrative of Mary's house on earth is a complex one. Early Christian tradition placed Mary's home and the location of the Assumption (or Dormition in the Orthodox tradition) in Jerusalem, as later discussed. Additionally, Mary's earlier house also has been claimed in Loreto, Italy since the Middle Ages—in this case, as the house where the Annunciation occurred and where Mary raised Jesus. According to local legend about the Loreto claim, Mary's house was carried by angels from Palestine to Loreto via Dalmatia in the thirteenth century. The shrine was a major pilgrimage destination through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and into the early modern period. See Bernard Hamilton, "The Ottomans, the Humanists, and the Holy House of Loreto," *Renaissance & Modern Studies* 31 (1987): 1-19; Italo Tanoni, "Le Culte Marial de la Sainte Maison de Lorette et Son Évolution," *Social Compass* 33.1 (1986): 107-138; Yves-Marie Bercé, *Lorette aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles: Histoire du Plus Grand Pèlerinage des Temps Modernes* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011); Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 90; Adriaan Hendrik Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church, and Society*, trans. Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1994), 92; Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 178-9; Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150. Heal, 156-7, makes a spatial contagion argument reminiscent of Medjugorje. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, German families went on pilgrimage to Loreto and returned to build Loreto chapels in Germany, honoring the Virgin of Loreto. Seventeen replicas of the House of Loreto were built in Bavaria by 1675 as important expressions of Counter Reformation piety.

the rest of her life there, until she was assumed into heaven according to the Catholic tradition. The house was uncovered in the nineteenth century, based upon the visions of a Roman Catholic nun and mystic, Anne Catherine Emmerich. Once Emmerich's descriptions were published, members of the Lazarist order identified the structure and established their caretaker role. In 1896, the Vatican formally authorized pilgrimage to the site.³ Today, estimated tens of thousands of people⁴—and by some accounts, even hundreds of thousands⁵—visit the House of Mary each year.

If pilgrimage practices at Chartres were shaped by an important relic of the Virgin Mary and the authoritative function of the cathedral in medieval society, and those at Medjugorje grew from reports of apparitions within a fraught political context, then pilgrimage practices at the House of the Virgin Mary appear at first glance to have a more modest history. The place is relatively small in dimension, offering visitors a greenery-lined route past a key-shaped cistern (said to have been used in the baptism of pagans to Christianity)⁶, the small stone house, a wellspring for drawing water, and a long wall where devotees can fasten their prayers to the Virgin Mary. Like Chartres, the house

³ Andreas Pülz, "Archaeological Evidence of Christian Pilgrimage in Ephesus," *HEROM: Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture* 1.1 (2012): 225-260; Warner, 90.

⁴ "Pope Visited Ephesus and Virgin Mary House in Turkey," *Ephesus.us*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.ephesus.us/pope_visit_virgin_mary_house.htm.

⁵ Demas, 132; "Our Lady of Ephesus," *SSPX District of the US*, September 20, 2013, <http://sspx.org/en/news-events/news/our-lady-ephesus-2419>.

⁶ "Church of St. Mary," *Ephesus Foundation USA*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://ephesusfoundationusa.org/projects/church-of-st-mary>. The cistern likely served a practical purpose of drawing water, but there is a theme at the House of the Virgin Mary of water gaining sacred qualities. This is further demonstrated through the presence of the healing spring, discussed below. For more on the nearby water systems, see Şadan Gökövali, *Ephesus*, trans. Altan Erguvan ([Turkey]: Ege Net, 1979), 12; Dora P. Crouch, *Geology and Settlement: Greco-Roman Patterns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 236.

attracts multiple audiences that visit for various purposes—religious, leisure, cultural, or some combination of all these. The varied audiences at the House of the Virgin Mary have not escaped notice, and one guidebook states: “The site is enclosed within a municipal park and subject to a generous dose of commercialism—though the dense forest and fountain are pleasant enough.”⁷

Despite its compactness, however, this place’s claim to sacredness is substantial: it is believed to have sheltered the mother of God as a physical person. Instead of hosting a miraculous relic of bone or textile, the entire House of the Virgin Mary functions as both secondary relic (touching the body of Christ’s mother and thereby acquiring salvific and healing properties) and reliquary (protecting and now narrating the story of Mary’s life and Assumption). That is, the site gains legitimacy not through its role as an exemplar of artistic style or its historical popularity, in the sense of Chartres as a recognized collection of cultural heritage objects and an important medieval pilgrimage destination. Rather, the rationale for the sacredness of the house is based upon an argument about history itself. This is the place where a sacred figure actually *lived*. The house is presented as tangible evidence of that sacred, physical presence.

The House of the Virgin Mary is thus a vessel and an argument for the ‘true’ location of the Virgin’s domicile, leveraging the small site to a global audience. The presence of the person of Mary two millennia ago is further grounded and asserted by the many images of the Virgin Mary that appear at the site: the welcoming statue of the Virgin on the grounds, the souvenirs for sale at the vendor stands just outside the

⁷ Rosie Ayliffe, *A Rough Guide to Turkey* (London: Rough Guides, 2003), 364.

grounds, the pictures and smaller statues on the altars inside the house itself. In conjunction with these images, the memory narrative of dwelling is further emplaced through ritual and liturgy on site, notably the major service each August 15 commemorating the Virgin Mary's Assumption into heaven.

As with Chartres, porous boundaries at the House of the Virgin Mary arise from the array of stakeholders and visitors participating in the pilgrimage environment, and thus the contestation present in their varied interactions with the house and the broader architectural ensemble at Ephesus. On a smaller scale than Chartres, the categories of pilgrimage and tourism, as well as devotional place and commercial place, become similarly permeable. This permeability is facilitated by the ritual browsing of religious and cultural offerings by a varied demographic of visitor. However, at the House of the Virgin Mary, there is another layer of contestation in the confluence of different and distinct faith traditions among the visitors, with both Christians and Muslims frequenting the site. Image and text integrate Muslim and Christian traditions about Mary's venerability, appealing to different audiences and justifying her presence at her house. In addition to contestation arising from variations in audience and the commercial function of the pilgrimage environment, there is also contestation of memory. There is a careful construction of memory on the part of Capuchin caretakers to present the house as Mary's historic dwelling place, over and against competing external claims, and grounded in the exhibit of the "Historical Notes about the Shrine." At the same time, the Turkish government and UNESCO highlight the tourism and cultural value of the House of the Virgin Mary by including it as part of a series of historical sites in the area.

This chapter is divided into five sections examining different sources of contestation at the House of Mary, all interdependent with its porousness. First, the memory narrative of the house's 'discovery' in the nineteenth century was not contested by church authorities, as with Medjugorje; rather, it was contested in reference to competing theological claims that placed Mary's death or assumption in Jerusalem. Second, the House of the Virgin reinforces the historical legitimacy and presence of Mary through a range of repeated images and possibilities for engagement, even as visitors are offered ritual browsing opportunities related to its role as a commercial attraction. Third, a key display of Quranic verses addresses multiple audiences by situating Mary in both Christian and Muslim traditions. Fourth, the boundaries of the house as a spiritual, cultural, and commercial place become porous as the pilgrimage environment is leveraged by the Turkish government and UNESCO, grouped together as one part of a larger historical ensemble in the area. Finally, the memory narrative of dwelling is both supported and challenged by mutual architectural address, where Mary's house is part of a cultural palimpsest of surrounding ruins. This is a more physical porousness of boundaries as a topography of links—including the Basilica of St. John, the Church of Mary, and the Temple of Artemis—informs the narrative of Mary's presence.

The House of the Virgin Mary: Asserting Historical Legitimacy

The story of the House of the Virgin Mary is one involving a search for historical legitimacy. This gives central importance to the memory narrative of dwelling that asserts the presence of Mary in Ephesus after Gospel events. Unlike Chartres, the House of the Virgin Mary did not have the well-established and centuries-old cult of Mary, providing a

strong historical record that valorizes the cathedral through to the present day. Rather, the house's origins are recounted with reference to more recent archeological and spiritual revelation, and the pilgrimage environment is presented as a product of nineteenth century historical discovery. This discovery began with the visions of a German Augustinian nun, Anne Catherine Emmerich (1771-1824 and beatified in 2004).⁸ Emmerich was an ardent believer, reportedly given to stigmatic bleeding and prolonged periods of fasting and ecstatic trances.⁹ Her secretary, German poet Clemens Brentano, recorded her visions during interviews and compiled them for publication. *The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ: After the Meditations of Anne Catherine Emmerich* was published in 1833, followed by *The Life of the Blessed Virgin: From the Visions of Anne Catherine Emmerich*, published in 1852 after Brentano's death.¹⁰ Emmerich drew not only the attention of Pope Pius IX, but mainstream audiences. Brentano's accounts of her visions were greeted by an avid European public, and she proved to be a favorite topic among German occult journalists in the 1880s and 1890s.¹¹

⁸ Benedict Groeschel, "Preface," *The Life of Sr. Marie de Mandat-Grancey and Mary's House in Ephesus*, by Carl G. Schulte (Charlotte, NC: TAN, 2011), xii.

⁹ Richard D. E. Burton, *Holy Tears, Holy Blood: Women, Catholicism, and the Culture of Suffering in France, 1840-1970* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 83 and 116.

¹⁰ Anne Catherine Emmerich, *The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ: After the Meditations of Anne Catherine Emmerich (Das Leben unseres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi: Nach den Gesichten der Gottseligen Anna Katharina Emmerich)*, ed. Klemmens Maria Brentano (El Sobrante, CA: North Bay Books, 2003); Anne Catherine Emmerich, *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary: From the Visions of Anne Catherine Emmerich (Leben der Heilige Jungfrau Maria: Nach den Betrachtungen der Gottseligen Anna Katharina Emmerich)*, trans. Michael Palairet (London: Baronius Press: 2011).

¹¹ Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Catholic Intensity in Post-Reformation Germany," *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, ed. Christopher Ocker et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 396; Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 301 n.19.

Emmerich's visions included detailed descriptions of remote sacred places and events, including Mary's house and surrounding landmarks. In her accounts, she states:

I am quite unable to tell in what a wonderful way I journeyed last night in a dream. I was in the most different parts of the world and in most different ages, and very often saw the Feast of Mary's Conception being celebrated in the most different places. I was in Ephesus, and saw this feast being celebrated in the house of the Mother of God, which was still standing there as a church.¹²

Emmerich's vision account is both imaginative and specific, describing particular physical aspects of the house. "Mary's house was built of rectangular stones," she notes, while "the house was divided into two compartments by the hearth in the center of it" where all was "neatly and pleasantly arranged."¹³ She discusses the fireplace and chimney, the wicker screens that divided rooms, the places reserved for Mary's maidservant and visitors, the floor plan, and the remaining stone foundations.¹⁴

Mary's house was 'discovered' in 1881 by Julien Gouyet, a French priest who read Brentano's collections of Emmerich's visions. However, Gouyet was unable to convince others of the significance of his discovery, and it was only when Marie de Mandat-Grancey, a Sister of Charity, read about Emmerich's visions that the initiative

¹² Emmerich, *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 31. Here, Emmerich refers to the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, celebrated in the Catholic tradition on December 8.

¹³ Emmerich, *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 185-6.

¹⁴ In her visions of Mary's house, Emmerich is part of a tradition of mystic female visionaries, providing a precedent for Emmerich's readers. This includes Hildegard of Bingen's visions of God as living light during the twelfth century; Catherine of Siena's visions of otherworldly locations in Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory during the fourteenth century; Margery Kempe's visions of Jesus, Mary, and the saints, both at home in fourteenth century England and on pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and Bridget of Sweden's vision of the Holy Land and the Passion of Christ during the fourteenth century. See Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation," *Church History* 54.2 (1985): 163-175; Reneé Neu Watkins, "Two Women Visionaries and Death: Catherine of Siena and Julian of Norwich," *Numen* 30.2 (1983): 174-198; Nanda Hopewasser, "Margery Kempe, St. Bridget, and Marguerite d'Oingt: The Visionary Writer as Shaman," *Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Sandra J. McEntire (New York: Garland, 1992), 165-187; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, "Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 1.2 (1985): 29-42.

moved forward. Mandat-Grancey was stationed in İzmir, Turkey in 1886, and she had dedicated her service to Mary. She was only 75 kilometers away from the site described by Emmerich, and she encouraged two local Lazarist priests, Henry Jung and Eugene Poulin, to read Emmerich's writings. Seeking to prove or disprove Emmerich's visions once and for all, Jung sent an expedition to Ephesus in the summer of 1891, which used the German nun's descriptions as a map to locate the Virgin Mary's house. In June, the expedition found a spot that they declared as matching Emmerich's vision reports.¹⁵ The expedition claimed the stone foundations of the small building dated to the first century CE, further fueling the belief in the discovery of Mary's home.¹⁶ Mandat-Grancey, Jung, and Poulin worked to buy the land, repair the building, and configure the surrounding

¹⁵ Lorraine F. Fusaro, *Mary's House and Sister Marie (Meryem Ana Evi)* (Cold Spring Harbor, NY: 2009), 6-8. See also Schulte, *The Life of Sr. Marie de Mandat-Grancey and Mary's House in Ephesus*; Donald Carroll, *Mary's House: The Extraordinary Story Behind the Discovery of the House where the Virgin Mary Lived and Died* (London: Veritas, 2000); K. E. Schmöger, *Life of Anne Catherine Emmerich* (Rockford, IL: Tan Books, 1976); Jansen and Köhl, 301-2. As Foss notes, there is archeological debate as to the plausibility of the claim for first century CE foundations, and some doubt as to local tradition of this site in connection to Mary before the nineteenth century. Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 95 n.105. However, Demas states that when Poulin and his associates identified the site from Emmerich's visions in 1891-2, inhabitants of the nearby village of Şirince asserted that the site had "long been a place of pilgrimage" annually on August 15, the feast day of the Assumption. Martha Demas, "Ephesus," *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region: An International Conference Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, 6-12 May 1995*, ed. Marta De la Torre (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1997), 136. Cf. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 177. Turkey's proposal to inscribe Ephesus as a World Heritage Site states that Eastern Orthodox Christians settled in Şirince in the first half of the nineteenth century, visiting the ruins of the small building every August 15 to pray to the Virgin Mary. "Ephesus: Nomination File," *UNESCO World Heritage Center*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1018rev.pdf>, 48.

¹⁶ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 90; V. Antony John Alaharasan, *Home of the Assumption: Reconstructing Mary's Life in Ephesus* (Worcester, MA: Ambassador Books, 2006), 43. Guidebooks include the archeological history of the foundations as part of the site's attraction. See Heike Brockmann, *Turkey* (Basingstoke : GeoCenter International Ltd., 1998), 109; Ayliffe, 364-5.

area. Poulin noted that Mandat-Grancey worked tirelessly to repair roads, maintain a chapel, improve the property, and plant trees “with endless generosity and good will.”¹⁷

Control of the site shifted hands over the years, from Poulin to fellow Lazarist Father Joseph Euzet in 1926. Euzet ultimately transferred management of the site to the Dernek, an association founded in 1951 by the Archbishop of Smyrna and dedicated to honoring Mary. Throughout, Turkish state authorities have owned and overseen the forest land around the site.¹⁸ In 1966, the Archbishop of Smyrna also invited the Capuchin Friars, a branch of the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor, to assume pastoral care of the site.¹⁹ The deep roots of the order in the area justified this role: Capuchin history in Turkey dates to the sixteenth century, and the order has historically served as part of an overall missionary effort to propagate Roman Catholicism among Eastern-rite churches.²⁰ As of 2015, the curator of the site is Father Oriano Granella.²¹

¹⁷ Eugene P. Poulin, *The Holy Virgin's House: The True Story of Its Discovery* (Istanbul: Arikan Yayinlari Tic. San. Ltd., 1999), 81.

¹⁸ Fusaro, 13-14.

¹⁹ “Shrine of Meryem Ana - Capuchins,” *Meryem Ana Evi*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.meryemana.info/uk/sanctuary/capuchins>; “On the ‘House of Mary’ at Ephesus,” *Orthodox England* 9.4 (2006): <http://orthodoxengland.org.uk/ephesus.htm>.

²⁰ Oded Peri, *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 101-2; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 85-7; G. B. S., “The Capuchins (1528-1928),” *The Catholic Historical Review* 14.3 (1928): 423-430; Ahmet Türkan, “Turkey-Vatican Relations from the Ottomans to the Republic,” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5.5 (2015): 152. McCabe notes competition in the Ottoman Empire missionary market among the Capuchins and the Franciscans—with both groups vying for influence in places like Istanbul in the seventeenth century—even though the Capuchins were an offshoot of the Franciscan order. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (New York: Berg, 2008), 98.

²¹ “Shrine of Meryem Ana - Capuchins,” *Meryem Ana Evi*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.meryemana.info/uk/sanctuary/capuchins>.

Even with the idiosyncratic beginnings of this pilgrimage environment, it quickly gained some status in the eyes of church authorities. This was not a situation like Medjugorje, where the claims of apparitions immediately became a political and even subversive phenomenon, prompting skepticism and discomfort among Roman Catholic leaders in the area and at the Vatican. Not only did the Vatican sanction pilgrimage to the House of the Virgin Mary in 1896, shortly after the claimed discovery of the historic site, but the Archbishop of Smyrna also sanctioned annual local pilgrimages the same year. The timing was important in terms of the new site's legitimacy. This sanction was granted during a general period of Marian devotion during the nineteenth century. Here, there is a similarity with Medjugorje, where both places have accrued significance and authority with relation to a larger web of Marian devotional sites across Europe. In the case of Medjugorje, this was the shared occurrence of claimed apparitions of the Virgin Mary; in the case of the House of the Virgin Mary, this was the shared timeframe that associated the purported discovery of the house with the Marian fervor of the nineteenth century.

Pelikan calls this period “the golden age of Mary”—when Marian apparitions led to the establishment of major pilgrimage destinations at Paris (the Miraculous Medal apparitions of 1830), La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858), Marpingen (1876), and Knock (1879).²² Marian devotion, and Marian-focused pilgrimage specifically, were promoted

²² Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 14. Fatima in Portugal, where Mary was reported in 1917 to appear to three children, is frequently grouped with the nineteenth century apparition sites. Pelikan, 178-9, states that as of 1962, the “ecclesiastically recognized” Marian apparition sites are Guadalupe, Mexico (1531); the Miraculous Medal apparitions in Paris (1830); La Salette, France (1846); Lourdes, France (1858); Fillipsdorf, Czech Republic (1866); Pontmain, France (1871); Pompeii, Italy (1876); Fatima, Portugal

during this time by religious orders like the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption in France, who organized a mass pilgrimage to Lourdes in 1873 and published pilgrimage accounts in their periodical, *Le Pèlerin*.²³ The Catholic church was quick to take advantage of emerging technology and mass travel to develop large-scale pilgrimages at these new apparition sites Pontmain, La Salette, and Lourdes in France, Knock in Ireland, and Pompeii in Italy.²⁴ This is what Kaufman calls the emerging mass devotional culture of the period: in the case of Lourdes, the town doubled in population between 1858 and 1928, while pilgrimage traffic extended the railway to the town in the nineteenth century and prompted the construction of an airport in the twentieth.²⁵ Thus, the overall theological climate was favorable for the House of the Virgin Mary to find its foothold.

Pilgrimage journeys to the House of the Virgin Mary from nearby İzmir began immediately, and those from abroad started a few years later in 1906.²⁶ In keeping with church recognition of the site, three popes have visited over the years: Paul VI in 1967,

(1917); Beauraing, Belgium (1932-33); and Banneaux, Belgium (1933). Cf. de Haardt, 171 and Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary*.

²³ Promotion by the Augustinian Fathers occurred in the context of what the Vatican called “the onset of the modern French pilgrimage movement in 1873” with the proliferation of apparition sites. Stephanie A. Budwey, *Sing of Mary: Giving Voice to Marian Theology and Devotion* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2014), 127. Budwey draws upon the following work: Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance H. Buchanan, Margaret R. Miles, *Immaculate and Powerful: The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 174-5.

²⁴ David Wharton Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 16.

²⁵ Sara Delamont, *Appetites and Identities: An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe* (London: Routledge, 1995), 150; Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 3.

²⁶ Demas, 136.

John Paul II in 1979 (reiterating the place's status as a place of Christian pilgrimage),²⁷ and Benedict XVI in 2006 (opening his sermon with a blessing in Turkish).²⁸ After the visit of Pope Paul VI in 1967, the site received formal pontifical recognition, which emphasized religious services for the feast of the Assumption as a major attraction.²⁹ These papal visits occurred during a continued upswing in Marian devotion and pilgrimage, as the Vatican had recently enshrined the Assumption as dogma in 1950.³⁰

Such ecclesiastic attention helped establish the house's legitimacy as Mary's last home on earth. This is significant, given competing claims for Mary's home after the Gospel events. There are multiple memory narratives here. While the Roman Catholic Church did not dispute pilgrimage to the house, the entire story of Emmerich's revelations, which took root in an atmosphere of heightened Marian devotion, runs

²⁷ Demas, 142; "Ephesus," *House of the Virgin Mary*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.ephesus.us/ephesus/houseofvirginmary.htm>.

²⁸ "Pope Visited Ephesus and Virgin Mary House in Turkey," *House of the Virgin Mary*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.ephesus.us/pope_visit_virgin_mary_house.htm.

²⁹ Çiğdem Kiliçaslan and Emine Malkoç, "A Spatial Analysis Study: An Example of the Virgin Mary House and its Close Environment," *African Journal of Agricultural Research* 6.12 (2011): 2869.

³⁰ Sanne Derks, *Power and Pilgrimage: Dealing With Class, Gender and Ethnic Inequality at a Bolivian Marian Shrine* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2009), 30. Derks places the 1950 dogma of the Assumption in the historical context of Marian dogmas, all of which upheld Mary as mother and mediator—Mary as *Theotokos* at the Council of Ephesus in 431; the virgin birth of Jesus at the Council of Constantinople in 533; and Mary's Immaculate Conception in 1854. While defining the dogma of the Assumption, Pope Pius XII referred not only to Mary's popular appeal, but also argued that the church did not hold up bodily relics of Mary for veneration. Pope Pius XII, *Munificentissimus Deus: Defining The Dogma Of The Assumption, November 1, 1950*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-xii_apc_19501101_munificentissimus-deus.html. Baun likewise observes that modern Roman Catholic dogmas concerning Mary have been responses to popular as well as theological forces—or, as the Vatican argued about the 1950 dogma, "the irresistible force of the faithful." Jane Baun, "Apocalyptic Panagea: Some Byways of Marian Revelation in Byzantium," *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011), 203. De Haardt, 171, similarly connects the Marian dogmas of 1854 and 1950—as well as worldwide, popular interest in Marian devotion—to the 11 reported apparitions of the Virgin Mary recognized by Rome, including Lourdes and Fatima.

contrary to longstanding claims that Mary died or was assumed in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem claim emerged in the sixth century through the works of Roman writer Pseudo-Evodius, as well as Syrian poet James of Saroung and Pseudo-Meliton, and developed in the seventh century through the devotion of Germanus, Andrew of Crete, and John Damascene.³¹ It was not surprising that Roman Catholic authorities sanctioned pilgrimage at Ephesus. In addition to the church's general encouragement of Marian pilgrimage, the claim for Mary and John's presence in Ephesus was a familiar alternative narrative.³² The Ephesus claim, however, faced not only textual accounts of Mary's last days in Jerusalem, but also monuments to Mary there. The Abbey of the Dormition on Mount Zion hilltop in Jerusalem, the site of a fourth century church, is a case in point. For Eastern Christians, this structure marks the place where Mary fell asleep in a natural death at the end of her life, as her soul was taken to heaven.³³ The Tomb of Mary, according to this Jerusalem narrative, is also located at the foot of the Mount of Olives.³⁴

³¹ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 55-6; F. M. Abel, "The Places of the Assumption," *Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 14 (1951): 109-117; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 89-90. See also John P. O'Connell, "The Testimony of the Sacred Liturgy Relative to Mary's Death," *Marian Studies* 8 (1957): 125-42; Walter J. Burghardt, "The Testimony of the Patristic Age Concerning Mary's Death," *Marian Studies* 8 (1957): 58-99.

³² Warner, 90; A. J. Maas, "Virgin Mary, Devotion to the Blessed," *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church, Volume 15*, ed. Charles George Herbermann (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 2013), 470-1.

³³ Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300/800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 142-3 n.142; Mariëtte Verhoeven, "Jerusalem as Palimpsest: The Architectural Footprint of the Crusaders in the Contemporary City," *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 124-6. On the fourth century church on Mount Zion described by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 CE, see Coleman and Elsner, *Pilgrimage Past and Present*, 84. Avner disagrees, stating that there is little evidence for a church commemorating Mary's tomb or house as early as the fifth century, and the first Marian church in the proximity of Jerusalem may have been the Church of the Kathisma. Rina Avner, "The Initial Tradition of the Theotokos at the Kathisma: Earliest Celebrations

This kind of competing claim—a rival memory narrative, emplaced through the presence of the Abbey and the Tomb—invited a reply. Accordingly, in her vision accounts, Emmerich sees a tomb in Jerusalem that was prepared but never used, allowing the possibility of an alternative historical timeline for Mary’s final days.³⁵ Warner notes that “[s]uch rivalry only shows that the trail to Mary’s grave has expired”—and, I would add, the trail is subject to contested memories about place and image, opening space for Emmerich’s visions to create a strong narrative of Mary’s dwelling in Ephesus and challenge previous ones.³⁶ The Ephesus counter-narrative shows how the historical claim for the House of the Virgin Mary was constructed, and this construction extends to the physical structure of the pilgrimage environment.

Memory Narrative of Dwelling in the Commercial Environment

The House of the Virgin Mary offers visitors a range of ways to engage with the pilgrimage environment and to interact with its memory narrative of dwelling, repeating

and the Calendar,” *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 21-2.

³⁴ Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. Donald W. Wilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 246 n.75; Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape, and Art in the Holy City Under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), 119. For more on the earliest sites of the cult of Mary after the Council of Ephesus in 431 enshrined her as Theotokos, including the Church of Mary’s Tomb in Jerusalem, see Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled: The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014), 154-7.

³⁵ Fusaro, 9; see also Pelikan, 90. This is a trope in competing relic narratives, where one claim will insert a tale about the error of the other claim. Other examples include the *furta sacra* or medieval relics acquired by theft: Patrick Geary explains how plundered relics acquired new tales explaining why a community had suddenly gained new sacred objects and patron saints. These tales were important for the process of rationalization vis-à-vis stolen relics. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 133.

³⁶ Warner, 90.

key images to promote legitimacy through visual consistency. Capuchin caretakers have purposefully arranged the grounds and its images to support the claims to historical veracity. These claims, however, operate within the context of a commercial environment that calls into question the boundary between the house as a devotional and commercial place. In terms of its physical structure and presence, Mary's house in Ephesus is certainly not as imposing as the pilgrimage cathedrals of Santiago de Compostela and Chartres. However, its very image of humble simplicity is an argument for the validity of the house—it is the simple home of Mary, humble servant of God. Its location on the hilltop of Bulbul Dagh, 420 meters high, echoes Medjugorje's proximity to physically and theologically important hillsides, as well as the placement of Chartres high on hill and visible to the surrounding city. At the base of the Bulbul Dagh, a bronze statue of Mary, approximately three meters high and mounted on a white stone pedestal, greets drivers with her outstretched arms and outward facing palms. This pose, mirrored in the bronze statue that visitors encounter inside the grounds, is a gesture of welcoming, signaling the distribution of grace through Mary's open palms.³⁷

The House of the Virgin Mary has many overlapping functions that, like Chartres and Medjugorje, defy a clear delineation of boundaries: it is an archeological site, a nature park, a cultural and tourist attraction, and a working religious place where mass is conducted.³⁸ Furthermore, while the pilgrimage environment is more self-contained than Medjugorje and is not porous in the sense that it spills over the surrounding

³⁷ See Mark I. Miravalle, *Introduction to Mary: The Heart of Marian Doctrine and Devotion* (Santa Barbara, CA : Queenship, 1993), 113; Joyce C. Polistena, "The Image of Mary of the Miraculous Medal: A Valiant Woman," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11.2 (2012): 11.

³⁸ Kiliçaslan and Malkoç, 2870.

mountainsides, the natural environment around the house likewise contributes to its experience for visitors. The house is located in a state-designated nature reserve, surrounded by low stone walls and greenery. The built elements—the house itself, as well as the cistern, wellspring, and the wishing wall—are nested within a setting of natural vegetation and cultivated plants, perennials that frame and unify the site.³⁹ As visitors walk through the place, fragrant pine trees add to the sensory experience. Its cultivation provides the cultural labor described by Ricketts in the previous chapter as validating and naturalizing the message of dwelling. Here, the natural surroundings enhance peaceful atmosphere, thematically linking the environment to Mary as Queen of Peace.

The natural environment may be congruent with the historic and theological claims at the site, but the commercial context is also clear from the start, establishing the pilgrimage environment and its history as available to visitors from around the world. The entrance fee is five Turkish lira for locals and 20 for foreigners, and visitors are offered a range of amenities.⁴⁰ There is sufficient infrastructure to accommodate large groups of visitors, from ample parking and space for multiple tour buses, a ticket kiosk area, and vendor stands offering souvenirs ranging from Marian memorabilia to colorful Turkish lamps. Postcards for sale repeat Mary's image, and particularly popular are postcards showing the bronze statue of Mary inside the grounds, the exterior of the house,

³⁹ Kiliçaslan and Malkoç, 2871.

⁴⁰ "Shrine of Meryem Ana: Entrance and Car Park," *Meryem Ana Evi*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.meryemana.info/uk/entrance-and-car-park>. Demonstrating the range of actors that benefit from pilgrimage, revenues from ticket sales and vehicle levies go to the Municipality of Selçuk, which maintains the park. The shrine itself raises money through visitor donations. "Virgin Mary's House, Ephesus," *House of the Virgin Mary, Ephesus, Turkey*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.turkeytravelplanner.com/go/Aegean/Ephesus/efes_site/virgin_mary_house.html.

and smaller statues of Mary at the altars inside the house. This is a devotional place that interconnects with commercial and public space, from the small café to the white park benches along the tree-lined walkway. As visitors move along the path, signage negotiates and directs the experience, guiding visitors to the house, pointing out facilities, and explaining entrance fees. Signs also convey the sanctity of the house to viewers: the sign at the entrance, repeated in Turkish, English, French, and German, states that “this is a place of worship” where silence and appropriate dress are appreciated.

As visitors move along the main walkway, further educational signage displays, on large scale, the basis for this sanctity. At Chartres, explanatory materials present the cathedral as a cultural heritage monument with a longstanding religious history; backlit signs with notes about the history of artworks and architecture are placed in the cathedral’s central traffic areas, where the eye is drawn to their light and graphics. The House of the Virgin Mary has a similar arrangement. Along the main walkway are a series of large signs, approximately two meters high and displayed in multiple languages—including Turkish, German, Japanese, French, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, English—giving some indication of the range of expected visitors at the site.⁴¹ These large signs form an exhibit for those moving along the walkway, grouped together as a line of monuments (Figure 5.1). They present the “Historical Notes about the Shrine,” attesting to the legitimacy of the house for global audiences. Appealing to the authority of religious texts, the sign states that “St. John in his Gospel tells us that Jesus, before dying

⁴¹ There is no set pattern in the languages used in signage at the site. The most common languages are Turkish, English, German, and French. The walkway signs are the most diverse in terms of international languages, reflecting their prominence as key educational tools in the memory narrative of the house, presenting the historical story about the House of Mary to a wide range of global visitors.

on the Cross, entrusted to him the care of His Mother when he said, Here is your Mother, and from that hour St. John took Her as his own.” This reference to John 19:26-27, where Jesus on the cross entrusted the disciple he loved with his mother’s care, petitions the tradition that John went to preach in Asia Minor after Jesus’ death, bringing along Mary in their flight from persecution. Roman historian and Christian exegete Eusebius mentions John as the apostle who went to Asia, where he lived and died in Ephesus, and Irenaeus and Polycrates similarly placed the apostle John in Ephesus according to an early Christian tradition.⁴² The sign invokes historical persecution, including the martyrdom of Saints Stephen and James in Acts 7 and 12 as supplementary evidence.⁴³

In addition to textual evidence, the “Historical Notes about the Shrine” offer architectural evidence in the physical proximity of the nearby tomb of St. John in Ephesus, as well as “the presence of the first Basilica of the world dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,” the Church of St. Mary.⁴⁴ The Council of Ephesus of 431 at the Church of St. Mary, affirming as dogma Mary’s role as *Theotokos* or God-bearer, is offered as further proof of Mary’s presence in the area. The historical notes also put forward

⁴² Eusebius Pamphilius, *Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, Book III, Chapter 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1952). Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 253-4; Robert M. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 32-3; Mikael Tellbe, *Christ-Believers in Ephesus: A Textual Analysis of Early Christian Identity Formation in a Local Perspective* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 31-2.

⁴³ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 33. Echoing the textual connection between Mary and John, the two are frequently depicted at the foot of the cross in Christian art, strengthening iconographically the relationship between the two figures and the importance of Jesus giving Mary over to John’s care. Alicia Craig Faxon and Nancy Frazier, “Crucifixion,” *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, ed. Helen E. Roberts (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), 194; See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 157-8.

⁴⁴ There are several rival claims as the first church dedicated to Mary, demonstrating the popularity of the title: the Basilica of Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza, Spain; the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome; and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.

ethnographic arguments for the site's claim. The sign cites the oral tradition of local villagers as descendants from the early Christians of Ephesus, celebrating the feast of the Assumption each August: "They had passed from generation to generation the belief of the death of Mary in this place," called *Panaghia Kapulu* or the Doorway to the Virgin, and "they have kept this tradition alive through the annual pilgrimage of 15th August."⁴⁵ Finally, the sign names the published revelations of Emmerich and the claimed discovery of the house in the nineteenth century following the nun's visions. The "Historical Notes about the Shrine" present the discovery as rational as well as revelatory, stating that "two scientific expeditions were organized, and they found this place perfectly agreeing with [Emmerich's] description."

These signs serve as visual persuasion, strategically placed and presenting in large format various forms of evidence in support of the house's historical and theological veracity. They moreover link the House of the Virgin Mary to a web of sites nearby—the Basilica of St. John and the Church of Mary—in order to prove the historical authenticity of her home, as discussed in greater detail below. Through their prominent location and wide address, the signs present to visitors an entire memory narrative connected with the site they are experiencing. This is a story spanning the sacred times and places of the

⁴⁵ By *Panaghia Kapulu* (alternatively *Pahaghia Capouli* or *Panaya Kapulu*), the historical notes refer to the Doorway to the Virgin, a name traditionally given to Meryem Ana Evi by the local community. In popular belief, the last descendants of Ephesian Greek Christians lived in the area. As previously noted (fn. 15), there are some accounts of annual pilgrimages at the site on the Feast of Assumption, August 15, before the establishment of the House of Mary as a pilgrimage site in the nineteenth century. During the original mission to find the house as described in Emmerich's visions, Eugene Poulin and the Archbishop of Izmir supported the connection between Panaghia Kapulu and Mary's home. Fusaro, 9. See also "Our Lady of Ephesus," *SSPX District of the US*, September 20, 2013, <http://spx.org/en/news-events/news/our-lady-ephesus-2419>.

Gospels, the history of sacred figures like John and Mary, the foundations of early Christian history at Ephesus, and longstanding pilgrimage practices in the area.

As visitors move further along the circuit through the grounds, between the olive trees that line the paved pathway, they are greeted by a nearly life-size bronze statue of Mary. This statue dates to 1867 and was erected on the grounds around 1960 by Father Francois Saulais, former chaplain at the site.⁴⁶ As with the statue on the road leading to the house, Mary is crowned but barefoot, with arms out and palms forward, welcoming all who visit the house (Figure 5.2). Similar to the signs displaying the historical notes, the central presence of the statue on the path draws the eye—and makes palpable the presence of Mary near her home. This statue shares some iconographic elements with the image on the Miraculous Medal of Paris, made famous after claims of appearances by the Virgin Mary in a local chapel in 1830: her unornamented swirling robes; her palms open and down to impart grace; and her bare feet subverting the imperial imagery of the crown, demonstrating her humility and humanity.⁴⁷ Her welcoming hand gesture petitions

⁴⁶ “Inside the House of Virgin Mary,” *Ephesus Tours Kusadasi*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.meandertravel.com/ephesustours/ephesus_tours.php?details=insidevirginmaryhouse&m=1&md=sc1.

⁴⁷ For more on the iconography of the Miraculous Medal, see Melissa R. Katz, “Regarding Mary: Women’s Lives Reflected in the Virgin’s Image,” *Divine Mirrors: The Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts*, ed. Melissa R. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 106; Marta Ajmar and Catherine Sheffield, “The Miraculous Medal: An Immaculate Conception or Not,” *The Medal: Journal of the British Art Medal Trust* 24 (1994): 37-51. On Mary barefoot as the Madonna of Humility, see Warner, 205. On Mary crowned as celestial queen, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1996), 166. As a point of comparison, other nineteenth century images of the Virgin proliferated, but they did so in specific cultural contexts. In Mexico, mass produced votives became popular in folk religion iconography, some bearing prayers to Mary and displaying images like the Virgin of Lourdes. The iconography of the Virgin of Guadalupe also found roots in New Mexico during the nineteenth century. As previously discussed, Marian popularity in Europe was also building in the nineteenth century, even among Protestants, due to the papal dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854. This popularized depictions of the Annunciation and domestic scenes of Mary and Jesus. See Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7; Linda B. Hall and Teresa Eckmann, *Mary, Mother*

older Marian imagery, such as the *Madonna della Misericordia* stretching out her arms in mercy to shelter devotees with her cloak, representing the church.⁴⁸ De Haardt argues that Mary with her protective cloak “beautifully expresses the experience of power and mercy,” and this iconography of mercy is appropriate for a pilgrimage place where visitors petition the Virgin for help and support.⁴⁹ Alongside these signifiers of humility and mercy, Mary’s crowned head presents her as *Regina Coeli* or the Queen of Heaven. This iconographic element has even deeper roots, such as the motif of the Coronation of the Virgin, where Mary rises to heaven and is crowned as the mediator who sits at Christ’s side.⁵⁰ The crowned version of Mary was a staple of Counter Reformation images of the Immaculate Conception in Spain and the New World—tangling the symbol systems of Mary with the apocalyptically charged Woman Clothed with the Sun from Revelation 12, who wears a crown of stars.⁵¹ All these visual elements combine to

and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 279-80; Michael Morris, “Some Protestant and Catholic Images of Mary in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Art,” *Marian Studies* 49 (1998): 41-67; Elizabeth Netto Calil Zarur and Charles M. Lovell, *Art and Faith in Mexico: The Nineteenth-Century Retablo Tradition* (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 69-72.

⁴⁸ Peta Motture and Víctor Hugo López Borges, “A Venetian Tympanum of the ‘Madonna Della Misericordia’ by Bartolomeo Bon,” *The Burlington Magazine* 151.1280 (2009): 746-754; George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 95; Catherine Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008), 201-30. Carroll notes that the Madonna della Misericordia bears some resemblance to other Renaissance Italian images of Mary sheltering devotees with her cloak, such as Madonna della Guardia. Michael P. Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim: Popular Catholicism in Italy since the Fifteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 64-5. In the Eastern iconographic tradition, the Virgin Orans, with hands held up in prayer, palms forward, also resonates as a symbol of mercy and majesty. Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 75, 146-7.

⁴⁹ De Haardt, 175.

⁵⁰ Katz, 94.

⁵¹ Katz, 97-8. On the iconographic conflation of Mary with the Women Clothed with the Sun in Revelation 12 from the early Middle Ages, see Heal, 31; Katz, 95; Pelikan, 32-3; Judith Kovacs and Christopher

commemorate Mary in her home as both royal mediator and human mother, eminently worthy of veneration and “supersplendid, supergracious, superglorious.”⁵² The large scale of the statue and its placement on the main walkway make it a key encounter for viewers, creating a strong link between the figure of Mary and her house. The image of the statue is echoed constantly at the site—on postcards and mementoes, in smaller statuettes, in photographs over rows of votive candles—repeating her presence at her dwelling place.

Further along the main walkway, past the outdoor liturgical space, is the house itself. The entrance is marked by guide ropes, organizing lines of people waiting to enter (Figure 5.3). The building is a simple L-shaped stone structure, comprising one floor with small windows and three arches on the front façade, the central of which is the door. Once admitted, visitors pass through the outer vestibule, entering first the larger interior room and then the smaller room to its right. These two interior rooms are sparse and unassuming. The intent is not to overwhelm with grandeur or luxurious materials—quite the opposite, the interior is configured to move the audience by suggesting the humble surroundings of Mary’s domicile. This very plainness becomes a further argument for the historic legitimacy of the site, and the modest set-up can be read as an appeal to the textual simplicity of Jesus’ birth and upbringing. It is almost the inverse of a site like Chartres, which makes its spatial argument for significance through lavish, visual fanfare in sculpture and stained glass. An altar in front of an arched niche dominates the first

Rowland, *Revelation: The Apocalypse to Jesus Christ* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 137; Rachel Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 410; Andrea Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1530: Experience, Authority, Resistance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 128.

⁵² Pelikan, 130.

room, and a centrally positioned statue of Mary then dominates the altar—she is present, there in her home. Her pose is similar to that of the larger bronze statue on the grounds, with arms outstretched with palms forward and wearing simple robes. Candles and lamps flicker around her, creating a peaceful and reverent atmosphere, as fresh flowers lay at her feet. There are plain prayer benches and votive stands inside, where people can kneel to pray, recite the rosary, or light candles.

Once visitors move through the house and step outside, there are multiple stations that encourage further interaction. The display of Quranic verses to Mary, discussed in detail below, is close to the exit of the house, and nearby, visitors can light candles on rows of metal stands, anchoring them in sand on a small platform. Past the candles is a smaller version of the large statue of Mary—head slightly bowed, and again with hands outstretched. The ledge below holds more flower offerings to the Virgin and displays a sign in Turkish: St. Francis of Assisi's Salutation to the Blessed Virgin Mary, conveying the role of the Franciscans as overseers of the site (Figure 5.4). The blessing of St. Francis informs and endorses the image of Mary above: *Hail Lady, Holy Queen, Holy Mary Theotokos, who are the Virgin made Church, chosen by the most Holy Father in heaven*. Even the saints approve this place and Mary's historic link to it. On the reverse side of the display is a digital image of the interior of the house—repeating the statue of Mary in the altar niche of the main chamber, surrounded with candles and flowers—further connecting all interaction at the place with the purported historicity of the house.

All these constant repeated images of Mary—the welcoming bronze statue, the statue on the altar inside the house itself, the digital reproductions on the grounds and on

promotional materials—mean that she appears and reappears to visitors in similar guise throughout the site, creating a sense of legitimacy through visual consistency. Flowers and candles surround her everywhere, reminding viewers of her venerability. As with apparition sites like Lourdes, where the image of the Virgin’s statue in the grotto is constantly reiterated, the likeness of Mary with outstretched hands becomes *the* image at the House of the Virgin Mary. Repetition grounds the presence of the sacred figure in repeatedly recognizable form and in relation to her home. The constant reiteration of similar images, in digital form as well as statues, helps build the memory narrative of historical dwelling as visitors are surrounded by constant reminders of Mary’s presence.

On a slope beneath the house are the wellsprings built into a stone wall. The House of the Virgin Mary has long been believed to have miraculous power. Devotees cite cures for cancer, the conception of “miracle babies” for Christian and Muslims alike, and even one incident in 2006 when large-scale forest fires in the area stopped short of burning the pilgrimage site.⁵³ Accordingly, the water running under Mary’s house is held to have curative properties because of her bodily presence.⁵⁴ The very presence of the wellspring as an important and popular part of the pilgrimage environment is another reminder of Mary’s history there. In connection with the broader sacred geography of the cult of Mary, proximity to Marian relics (in this case, the secondary relic of her house) is also proximity to their miraculous properties. The setup offering the water to visitors is simple, echoing the design of the house: there are three niches framed with rounded

⁵³ Lara Marlowe, “A House in Turkey with a Growing Reputation for Miracles,” *Irish Times*, October, 22 2007, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2007/1022/1192981852743_pf.html.

⁵⁴ On the power of Mary’s bodily presence, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 138-40, 149, 211.

arches, each with a stone basin and spigot. Visitors can line up to draw water from the spigot, drinking directly or filling their bottles and souvenir vessels (Figure 5.5).

Past the fountains is the long wall, approximately 12 meters, where visitors leave their prayers to Mary. Dubbed the wishing wall, each prayer is written on a piece of paper and attached to the wall (Figure 5.6). A low stone barrier on the opposite side of the path, sheltered by trees from the sun, provides a stopping point for people to sit and write their prayers and petitions.⁵⁵ At first glance, the wall is overwhelming. The prayers are so numerous and tied so closely together in clusters, the wall resembles one unified organic offering of white paper (Figure 5.7). It is only when one draws closer that individual clusters and handwriting start to take form. Similar to Medjugorje, the large volumes of devotional offerings are a kind of composite image attesting to the power of the shrine, and the wishing wall certainly exemplifies this kind of visual testimony.⁵⁶ At the House of the Virgin Mary, visitors participate in the interactive display at the wall—and in effect, help create the memory narrative of dwelling for subsequent visitors. As with the outdoor offerings left to the Virgin on the hillsides of Medjugorje, from stones to prayer

⁵⁵ The House of Mary's official Facebook page has announced the launch of an online site to offer prayers to Mary, <http://www.praymaryepheesus.com>. The announcement is accompanied by a close-up image of a dense cluster of paper prayers on the wishing wall, offering a virtual and seemingly boundless opportunity to petition Mary. *House of Mary at Ephesus Facebook*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/House-of-Mary-at-Ephesus/422032101280088?fref=nf>.

⁵⁶ See Sarah Blick's discussion in "Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral," cited in Chapter Two. Frank and Frank make a similar point with regards to Lourdes: the piles of votives and discarded crutches displayed at the site are a powerful validating visual for those approaching. Jerome D. and Julia B. Frank, *Persuasion and Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 104. Graziano notes that at folk-saint shrines, the accumulation of votive piles is positive evidence of miracles—even as Catholic churches may wish to achieve order and minimize distractions by eliminating the piles. Frank Graziano, *Miraculous Images and Votive Offerings in Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

beads and personal photos, the wishes on the wall contribute to, build, and heighten the idea of Mary's intercession at her historical home.

The wellspring and the wishing wall balance each other as forms of participation. Visitors take the water, filling their plastic bottles, and then leave their pieces of paper behind. Some visitors write their wishes there on the spot, tearing off pieces of paper from inside their backpacks, as loved ones take photos of them attaching their prayer. Certainly, leaving petitions in this manner is not a new or unique phenomenon. Geary notes the important role of petitioning saints at their shrines, getting as physically close as possible to the tomb or relic—as outlined in the chapter on Chartres, this was a central practice for the cults of the saints.⁵⁷ At the House of the Virgin Mary, writing and leaving a prayer at the wishing wall is a somatic action that both connects and commemorates. Pentcheva stresses the physical and emotional affinity that such exchange has created between Mary and petitioners—just as she gained closeness to God by giving birth to Jesus, devotees gained closeness to her. In this way, Mary protected the donor as the petition formed a “circular channel of offering, receiving, and reciprocating.”⁵⁸ The many prayers offered on the wishing wall at this pilgrimage site illustrate such a circular channel, serving as visible and interactive reminders of Mary's dwelling.

⁵⁷ Geary, “The Saint and the Shrine,” 169-71. Nickell gives a more recent example reminiscent of the wishing wall in the blue velvet chair in the Chapel of the Motherhouse in Paris, where Mary is said to have sat during a Miraculous Medal apparition in 1830. As with the house at Ephesus, people engage with the claimed presence of Mary there. Visitors to the Paris chapel are permitted to touch the chair and leave on its seat small papers with their divine requests. Joe Nickell, *Relics of the Christ* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 31.

⁵⁸ Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 176.

The memory narrative of dwelling, put forward by all these locations in and around the house, is intertwined with the commercial aspects of the place. There is even a souvenir kiosk on the path down to the wellspring, injecting into the circuit of performance along the walkway the chance to buy postcards and t-shirts. That the same visitors may attach prayers to the wishing wall and take pictures of themselves in front of it encodes the wall as both a location of interactive devotion and a tourist attraction. As with Chartres in particular, the line between pilgrimage and tourism is not always clear. In Chapter Three, I discussed the porous boundaries between devotional and commercial place in reference to Reader's assertion that what we designate as sacred is created through the mundane, profane, and mercantile. That same source of porousness is present at the House of the Virgin Mary as the pilgrimage marketplace does not simply overlap with devotional place and the memory narrative of sacred dwelling, but connects with it, instilling the place with varied and sometimes contradictory purposes.

An additional way of understanding this form of porousness is in terms of ritual browsing. Ritual browsing, as explained by anthropologists Simon Coleman and John Elsner, is a mode of interactive choice-making at pilgrimage places. Coleman and Elsner use the example of Our Lady of Walsingham shrine in Norfolk, England, a house where Mary is said to have appeared in a vision during the eleventh century. Today, the pilgrimage site is configured to "set out the wares and let people make of it what they will," whether they choose to sit quietly in the gardens, light a votive candle and make the sign of the cross, or buy mementoes at the gift shop.⁵⁹ Ritual browsing highlights the

⁵⁹ Simon Coleman and John Elsner, "Performance Pilgrimage: Walsingham and the Ritual Construction of Irony," *Ritual, Performance, Media*, ed. Felicia Hughes-Freeland (London: Routledge, 1998), 46.

potential flexibility that comes from interacting with a pilgrimage environment, as opposed to the more fixed and prescribed performance of liturgy—what Coleman and Elsner call a “creativity in performance.”⁶⁰ However, ritual browsing also helps explain how Reader’s construction of the sacred through quotidian and market-oriented places plays out in a pilgrimage environment like the House of the Virgin Mary. People have the opportunity to connect to the memory narrative of dwelling in various ways, but walking through the house and leaving a prayer on the wishing wall do not preclude other browsing activities, including stopping at the souvenir kiosk a few steps away from the miraculous water of the well.

Addressing Multiple Audiences: Quranic Display

The deliberate construction of memory narratives and the commercial aspects of the pilgrimage environment contribute to contestation and porousness at the House of the Virgin Mary. In addition, however, contestation also arises from the multiple audiences addressed by visual displays. We must keep in mind that contestation, in Eade and Sallnow’s terms, is not necessarily antagonistic conflict but rather, it is the polyphony of varying stakeholders, caretakers, and participants engaged with a shrine. The House of the Virgin Mary is part of a larger web of Marian devotion, and part of that web—and one popular with visitors to the house—is the display of Quranic verses outside the house. Immediately as visitors exit the house, they encounter a metal and glass case repeating a picture of the house’s interior altar and accompanied by text below it—verses

⁶⁰ Coleman and Elsner, “Performance Pilgrimage,” 46-7.

from the Quran (Figure 5.8). The display of these verses by Capuchin caretakers integrates multiple faith traditions, presenting Mary's house as shared interactive space and connecting it to Marian devotion throughout the country and region.

The display of verses about Mary is a focused address based on the paramount religious text in Islam, and grounded at a place in a Muslim-majority country. That is, not only is there porousness at the House of the Virgin Mary because of the intermingled devotional and commercial space of the global pilgrimage marketplace, but there are also multiple audiences and memory narratives simultaneously emplaced there by the verses. The house becomes significant according to both Christian and Muslim traditions, reflecting the high regard for Mary in Islamic tradition as the mother of Jesus.⁶¹ Jesus is seen as an important prophet in Islam, born miraculously from Mary as a virgin. Scholars have called the relationship between Muslims and Mary a "profound and intimate" one, where "Mary enjoys an insuperable prestige in Islam."⁶²

Capuchin publicity makes clear that the house is "a Christian and Muslim shrine."⁶³ The House of the Virgin Mary's official website likewise features a quote by Pope Benedict XVI from his 2006 visit, designating the house and the region as sacred

⁶¹ Demas, 132; John Borelli, "The Virgin Mary in the Breadth and Scope of Interreligious Dialogue," *Marian Studies* 47 (1996): 29-49; Nilo Geagea, *Mary of the Koran: A Meeting Point between Christianity and Islam*, trans. Lawrence T. Fares (New York: Philosophical Library, 1984); Bahar Davary, "Mary in Islam: 'No Man could have been like this Woman'," *New Theology Review* 23.3 (2010): 26-32. On Muslim pilgrimage to Marian sites, see Jansen and Kühl, "Shared Symbols: Muslims, Marian Pilgrimages and Gender," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 15.3 (2008): 295-311; Ekrem Tatoglua, Fuat Erdalb, Huseyin Ozgurb, and Sedat Azaklic, "Resident Attitudes toward Tourism Impacts: The Case of Kuşadası in Turkey," *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration* 3.3 (2002): 79-100.

⁶² Mateus Soares de Azevedo, *Men of a Single Book: Fundamentalism in Islam, Christianity, and Modern Thought* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2010), 38-9.

⁶³ "About Meryem Ana Evi," *Meryem Ana Evi*, accessed May 12, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/MeryemAnaEvi/info?tab=page_info.

for multiple faith traditions—Christians, Jews, and Muslims—and further suggesting that religious pluralism at Ephesus can be a bridge for peace:

From here in Ephesus, a city blessed by the presence of Mary Most Holy—who we know is loved and venerated also by Muslims—let us lift up to the Lord a special prayer for peace between peoples. From this edge of the Anatolian peninsula, a natural bridge between continents, let us implore peace and reconciliation, above all for those dwelling in the Land called “Holy” and considered as such by Christians, Jews and Muslims alike: it is the land of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.⁶⁴

Such quotes reflect a theological basis for pluralistic interest in the House of the Virgin Mary, and for Muslim familiarity with Mary specifically. The House of the Virgin Mary becomes part of a regional web of Marian pilgrimage for Muslims. Scholarly literature extensively details the significance of Muslim pilgrimage to Marian sanctuaries around the world. This includes Fatima in Portugal—Fatima taking its name from the Moorish princess called after Muhammed’s daughter, and where there was strong Muslim presence during the Middle Ages.⁶⁵ It also encompasses the shrine of Mary in Olovo in Bosnia Herzegovina and various Coptic sites in Egypt, such as the churches at Musturud and *Dair al-Uharraq* (Monastery of the Virgin) near Asyfit.⁶⁶ Engagement with Mary spreads as Muslims visit Marian pilgrimage sites throughout the Middle East, North

⁶⁴ “Benedict XVI,” *Shrine of Meryem Ana*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.meryemana.info/uk/Benedict-XVI>.

⁶⁵ Soares de Azevedo, 38-9.

⁶⁶ Marijana Belaj and Zvonko Martić, “Pilgrimage Site Beyond Politics: Experience of the Sacred and Inter-Religious Dialogue in Bosnia,” *Pilgrimage, Politics and Place-Making in Eastern Europe: Crossing the Borders*, ed. John Eade and Mario Katić (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate), 67-70; Otto F. A. Meinardus, “The Virgin Mary as Mediatrix Between Christians and Muslims in the Middle East,” *Marian Studies* 47 (1996): 99.

Africa, and the Balkans.⁶⁷ Jansen and Kühl state that while the majority of visitors to the House of the Virgin Mary are “Christian tourists from the nearby seaside resorts,” Muslims regularly visit and draw healing water from the spring.⁶⁸ Soares de Azevedo adds the specific importance of the House of the Virgin Mary among places of Muslim pilgrimage, highlighting the “miraculous water used by both Christians and Muslims,” in this “unique place in the world, a place of pilgrimage for adepts of two world religions.”⁶⁹ Given its pluralistic character, Kiliçaslan and Malkoç even justify a spatial analysis of the House of the Virgin Mary, arguing that its physical configuration reveals insights into religious tolerance.⁷⁰ The House of the Virgin Mary is thus embedded in a wide-ranging territorial context of Marian pilgrimage.

The presentation of the text at the house conveys Mary’s prominence, in conjunction with her stone house and the bronze statue welcoming visitors. As the mother of the prophet Jesus, Mary is mentioned 34 times in the Quran.⁷¹ Chapter 19 of the Quran is titled *Maryam*, her name in Islam, and contains several of the 70 verses in total that refer to her; Mary is likewise referred to in the Hadith, the collected saying and actions of

⁶⁷ Jansen and Kühl, 296-7. Further studies in this area include: D. Albera, “La Vierge et l’Islam: Mélange de Civilisations en Méditerranée,” *Le Débat* 137 (2005): 134–44; Willy Jansen, “Visions of Mary in the Middle East: Gender and the Power of a Symbol,” *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, ed. I.M. Okkenhaug and I. Flakerud (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 137-54.

⁶⁸ Jansen and Kühl, 301-2.

⁶⁹ Soares de Azevedo, 39.

⁷⁰ Kiliçaslan and Malkoç, 2868.

⁷¹ B.F. Stowasser, *Women in the Quran, Traditions, and Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 67.

the Prophet Muhammad.⁷² These references to Mary stress her virtue, purity, and piety, congruent with the simple interior of her house. Surah 66, verse 12, for example, praises Mary for her chastity, obedience, and faith in the words of the Lord. The Quran also describes how the Lord helped Mary when she was in labor—as the vessel of a prophet—providing her with fresh dates and a cool spring.⁷³ This spring is described as a “rivulet” beneath her, a textual reference that gives additional meaning for Muslims visiting the house and its purportedly healing spring running beneath the stone structure.⁷⁴

When viewers encounter the display directly outside the house, the same text is presented in columns from left to right in Turkish, French, English and German, under the heading “Extracts from the Koran on the Virgin Mary.”⁷⁵ The following verses, on the display in English translation, are:

And We gave Jesus son of Mary the clear signs [signs]
And confirmed him with the Holy Spirit (The Quran, *Al-Baqarah* 2.87 and 2.253)

Mary, God has chosen thee, and purified thee,
He has chosen thee above all women (The Quran, *Al-Imran* 3.42)

O Mary, be obedient to thy Lord, prostrating and bowing before him (The Quran, *Al-Imran* 3.43)

Mary, God gives the good tidings of a Word from Him whose name is Messiah,
Jesus, son of Mary, high honored shall be in this world and the next, near
stationed to God (The Quran, *Al-Imran* 3.45)

⁷² Jansen and Köhl, 303.

⁷³ Jansen and Köhl, 303; Stowasser, 80; L.D. Lybarger, “Gender and Prophetic Authority in the Quranic Story of Maryam: A Literary Approach,” *The Journal of Religion* 80.2 (2000): 240–70.

⁷⁴ The Quran, *Maryam* 19.23-25, has an angel of the Lord addressing Mary: “Do not anguish, for the Lord your God has created a rivulet beneath you, and shake toward yourself the trunk of the palm tree. It will let fall ripe dates upon you.”

⁷⁵ The verses are not displayed in the original language, Arabic, but instead are offered in Turkish, the language of the Muslim majority in Turkey.

And she who guarded her virginity, so We breathed into her of Our spirit and appointed her son to be a sign unto beigns [beings] (The Quran, *Al-Anbiya* 21.91)

These verses connect the figure of Mary, whose image is displayed so prominently at the house, to a sacred geography and history that extends beyond the Christian tradition of the house. The Quranic text moreover reinforces the authority of the pilgrimage environment: these verses attest to Mary's chosen character and virtue next to her purported house. The image displayed above the Quranic text, repeating the statue of Mary located inside the house, drives home the point. This image makes accessible the interior of the house by showing the statue of Mary on the altar, framed by candles and offerings of flowers. She is a figure surrounded by light and greenery, in her home, and linked to the Islamic tradition that elevates her spiritual importance.

Jansen and Kühl refer to Mary as a shared symbol between Muslims and Christians, serving as a potent gendered resource in popular religion.⁷⁶ This kind of sharing, and the location of the House of the Virgin Mary as part of a regional web of Marian devotion, accommodates varied audiences as they interact simultaneously with the pilgrimage environment—a confluence of distinct faith traditions that contributes to the porousness of boundaries there. As with Chartres, this is contestation as polyphony. Varied audiences add to the array of discourse and activity, and different memory narratives dwell in the place: Mary as historical personage and mother of God, and Mary as the mother of a revered prophet. Islam has its own historical understanding of Mary, and as de Haardt points out, her own role in popular devotion in the Middle East.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁶ Jansen and Kühl, 301.

⁷⁷ De Haardt, 170.

reverence accorded by Muslims suggests the broad appeal of the house and the figure of Mary in regional pilgrimage practices.⁷⁸ In this broad appeal, as we have seen with Chartres and Medjugorje, Mary is a polyvalent image with the capacity to unite and divide. She is encoded at the House of the Virgin Mary as both pluralistic and traditional, submissive and royal. Her purported home is humble and simple, yet her statue on the grounds presents her as crowned, receiving people from around the world and addressing multiple faith traditions. In this regard, she persists as a flexible and globalized signifier.

Mary's House as Global and Cultural Attraction

As a globalized signifier, Mary stretches out her hands to welcome a range of audiences at her home. In turn, various actors deploy her image, highlighting the value of Ephesus for reasons of spiritual devotion, cultural heritage, and leisure. In the process, the House of the Virgin Mary is specifically linked to a range of important sites in the immediate area. Contestation ensues as the memory narrative of dwelling is joined by another narrative—sometimes competing, sometimes complementary—of Mary's house within the global, cultural attraction of Ephesus.

The Virgin Mary's home on the slopes of Bulbul Dagħ is marketed as part of a growing international tourist industry in Turkey. Central to that industry is national positioning of an overall series of religious and cultural monuments, including Mary's

⁷⁸ "It is visited every year by tens of thousands of pilgrims[.] Christians come but so do Muslims, considering that the Mother of Jesus is the most frequently mentioned woman in the Koran." "Pope visited Ephesus and Virgin Mary House in Turkey," *House of the Virgin Mary*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.ephesus.us/pope_visit_virgin_mary_house.htm. Fusaro, drawing from Bernard Deutsch's book, *Our Lady of Ephesus*, cites one priest who remarked in 1965 that Muslim visitors outnumbered Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish visitors combined. Fusaro, 12.

house. Tourism to Ephesus and other sites in Turkey is specifically promoted to Christian audiences by the travel industry in Europe, North America, and Australia. Like Israel, as Ruggia observes, Turkey is becoming adept at marketing sites associated with early Christianity and traditional pilgrimage places to Christian audiences.⁷⁹ In Eastern Turkey, popular sites commemorate the places where early Christians developed monastic communities—not only Ephesus, but also Cappadocia and other churches mentioned in the Book of Revelation. One Istanbul-based travel agency markets a package tour to the sites of the seven churches in the Book of Revelation, including Ephesus, as a “religious/biblical/pilgrimage” journey.⁸⁰ These tours connect Ephesus to an extended geography of the Holy Land, resonant with the memory narrative of John and Mary’s relocation to Ephesus. They moreover provide a significant niche market in a country with an overwhelming Muslim majority.⁸¹ This market is facilitated by mass travel to the country, such as the large cruise ships that dock in the nearby resort town of Kuşadası and offer excursions to the historic sites as part of the area’s growing tourism economy.

The Turkish government promotes these sites, a deliberate strategy that both boosts economic activity and instills other memory narratives—national pride in the

⁷⁹ James Ruggia, “Christianity’s Second Holy Land,” *Travel Agent* 299.10 (2000): 132-33.

⁸⁰ “3 Days, 7 Churches of the Revelation,” *Byzas Tours Turkey*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.byzastoursturkey.com/turkey-biblical-seven-churches-pilgrimage.htm>. The seven churches of Asia listed in Revelation 1:11 are Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. The tour to Ephesus also includes Roman ruins—the Temple of Domitian, the Odeon, Library of Celsus, and the Theater where Paul preached—as well as the House of the Virgin Mary.

⁸¹ According to Agilkaya, 99% of the Turkish population identifies as Muslim. Zuhail Agilkaya, “The Problem of Appropriate Psychology of Religion Measures for Non-Western Christian Samples with Respect to the Turkish–Islamic Religious Landscape,” *Archive for the Psychology of Religion* 34 (2012): 287. See also “Turkey,” *CIA World FactBook*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html#People>.

country's cultural heritage and the rich past of its various locales. As with France, a range of governmental offices is focused on drawing international visitors to religiously and culturally significant places.⁸² Part of this story is increasing demand during recent years in Turkey's tourism sector. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), international tourism exceeds expectations: in the first nine months of 2013, international tourism grew by 5%, with Turkey increasing 13% and earning a place as one of the 25 largest global tourism earners.⁸³ Turkey receives tens of millions of visitors from around the world each year, a growing number.⁸⁴ This increased tourism supports Turkey's public face as an influential regional power. The country's sites and cultural artifacts express the importance of its heritage and international relevance as the country aspires to European Union membership, seeks a leadership role in the region's conflicts and alliances, and develops nuclear energy capabilities.⁸⁵

⁸² As with non-profits like the American Friends of Chartres, organizations outside Turkey also promote its sites and fundraise for their preservation. The Ephesus Foundation USA, a Missouri-based non-profit, helps restore Christian archeological sites, including the frescoes and wall paintings in the Cave of St. Paul (where legend has John hiding Mary when she first came to Ephesus) and the Church of Mary. The organization supports its projects by selling prints of a painting by a New York artist depicting "the Blessed Virgin Mary as she lived in Ephesus on Bulbul Dagh mountain." It also markets artwork for the chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Ephesus in Kansas City, Missouri, where the altar is carved with three arches to resemble the front façade of the House of Mary at Ephesus. "Our Projects," *Ephesus Foundation USA*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://ephesusfoundationusa.org/projects>. Similar non-profits like the Turkish Cultural Foundation, a US-based charitable organization that promotes and preserves Turkish heritage worldwide, are aimed at cultural preservation projects. "About Us," *Turkish Cultural Foundation*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=1>.

⁸³ "International Tourism an Engine for the Economic Recovery," *World Tourism Organization UNWTO*, December 12, 2013, <http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2013-12-12/international-tourism-engine-economic-recovery>.

⁸⁴ "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı," *ktbyatirimisletmeler.gov.tr*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.ktbyatirimisletmeler.gov.tr/TR,9854/sinir-giris-cikis-istatistikleri.html>.

⁸⁵ Ziya Onis and Mustafa Kutlay, "Rising Powers in a Changing Global Order: The Political Economy of Turkey in the Age of BRICs," *Third World Quarterly* 34.8 (2013): 1409-26; Isa Camyar and Halit Mustafa Tagma, "Why Does Turkey Seek European Union Membership? A Historical Institutional Approach," *Turkish Studies* 11.3 (2010): 371-386; Sevilay Kahraman, "Turkey and The European Union In The Middle

Security concerns around cultural resources thus have a high profile, shown by the strong reactions to the 2016 bombing in Sultanahmet Square, claimed by Islamic State: this attack occurred in the heart Istanbul's tourist district and close to the religious and cultural landmarks, the Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque.⁸⁶

In this context, the Turkish state frames cultural properties as an ensemble of national resources. According to the 2007 strategic plan of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, *Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023*, the stated intention is to “collectively target wiser use of national, cultural, historical, and geographical assets that this Country has, with a balanced perspective addressing both conservation and utilization.”⁸⁷ Specifically, the Ministry wants to create a “Faith Tourism Corridor” linking sites of religious significance, and plans an overall strong role for material culture in its strategy, including more city museums; the restoration of buildings and ruins with historical, cultural and architectural value; increased lighting, catering, and local marketplaces; and the establishment of art collectives in villages.⁸⁸ This approach is consistent with state

East: Reconciling Or Competing With Each Other?” *Turkish Studies* 12.4 (2011): 699-716; Asli Ilgit and Binnur Ozkececi-Taner, “Turkey At The United Nations Security Council: ‘Rhythmic Diplomacy’ and a Quest For Global Influence,” *Mediterranean Politics* 19.2 (2014): 183-202; B. Akcay, “The Case Of Nuclear Energy In Turkey: From Chernobyl To Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant,” *Economics, Planning & Policy* 4.4 (2009): 347-355.

⁸⁶ Jillian Kestler-D’Amours, “Istanbul Bombing Targets Westerners and Threatens Turkey’s Tourism,” *Toronto Star*, January 13, 2016, <http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2016/01/13/istanbul-bombing-targets-westerners-and-threatens-turkeys-tourism.html>; Umar Farooq, “‘It Will Destroy the Tourism Here’ -- Reactions to the Istanbul Bombing,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-voices-istanbul-bombing-20160112-story.html>; “Turkey: ‘IS Suicide Bomber’ Kills 10 in Istanbul Sultanahmet District,” *BBC*, January 12, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35290760>.

⁸⁷ *Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007), https://www.kultur.gov.tr/Eklenti/43537,turkeytourismstrategy2023pdf.pdf?0&_tag1=796689BB12A540BE0672E65E48D10C07D6DAE291, 1.

⁸⁸ *Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023*, 35-6 and 54.

support for travel to the House of the Virgin Mary. In 1951, Turkish authorities officially opened Ephesus to the public and built a new road to the house, complementing efforts by private organizations to renovate the site.⁸⁹ A tangible sign of this strategy is the bronze statue of Mary, welcoming arms outstretched, on the highway route to the house. This image of Mary is embedded in the modern, public infrastructure of Turkey—the very infrastructure that allows for a respectable annual pilgrimage.

In the context of this overall strategy, the Turkish government positions Ephesus as an important historical crossroads with global cultural significance. Very much in the spirit of ritual browsing, visitors may choose from this range of sites and cultural influences. The nearest urban area to the House of the Virgin Mary, the town of Selçuk seven kilometers away, serves as an important hub of Turkish tourism for the ruins of Roman, Byzantine, and Seljuk architecture. Indeed, the house is only five kilometers from the upper gate entrance to the Ephesus archeological site, with its Great Theater, Harbor Street, Odeon, Temple of Hadrian Olympius, and Library of Celsus. Tours are plentiful, with varied agendas and schedules, and visitors can include the House of the Virgin as one stop in a circuit of the ancient ruins. In support of these varied choices for interaction, the state highlights both the historic and religious value of the area. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism promotes Ephesus by memorializing its past as a commercial hub and cosmopolitan port city, where Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and

⁸⁹ Demas, 137.

Ottoman traces can still be seen today.⁹⁰ Turkey's official tourism portal even commemorates the historical presence of Mary and John, stating that "Ephesus took on a new meaning for Christians as it was assumed that the Virgin Mary had spent the latter years of her life in this region."⁹¹ Mary is repurposed as a cultural attraction demonstrating the richness and value of Ephesus' past.

The strategy of positioning historic landmarks is reflected in Turkey's nomination of Ephesus as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The nomination in 1994 was made in the cultural category, with the state proposal emphasizing Ephesus as an exemplar of ancient life and religious practice—including Mary's house.⁹² There is a certain tension between the proposal and the memory narrative of dwelling at the house. In some regards, Turkey's proposal challenges the uniqueness of the House of the Virgin's narrative by rendering the whole area significant for its religiously diverse past, with the house as one part of an interconnected web of place and memory. According to the proposal, Ephesus

⁹⁰ "Selçuk," *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Tanıtma Genel Müdürlüğü (Ministry of Culture and Tourism Ministry General Directorate of Promotion)*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.tanitma.gov.tr/TR,22660/selcuk.html>.

⁹¹ "Ephesus (Efes)," *Goturkey.com: Official Tourism Portal of Turkey*, accessed May 12, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140703172416/http://www.goturkey.com/en/pages/content/738>. Goturkey.com, the official tourism site of Turkey, is offered to a global audience in Turkish, English, French, German, and Russian. Ephesus is presented as one of many "faith centers" in the country, along with Süleymaniye Mosque, Neve Shalom Synagogue, the Church of the Virgin Mary, the Basilica of St. John, the UNESCO World Heritage Site at Cappadocia, Topkapi Palace, and Eyüp Sultan Mosque.

⁹² Ephesus was first submitted to the UNESCO tentative list by the Turkish government in 1994. In addition to citing the surviving artifacts and the uniqueness of Seljuk architectural features, Turkey proposed that Ephesus is "one of the cities which played an impressive role in the beginnings of Christianity and during the period of its proliferation (St. John Church and the shrine of the Virgin Mary)." "Turkey on the World Heritage List," *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39916/turkey-on-the-world-heritage-list.html>. The proposal was initially rejected in 2000, pending more extensive state cooperation on issues of management and excavation. "Ephesus Expected to be Listed on World Heritage List," *Daily Sabah*, January 5, 2015, <http://www.dailysabah.com/history/2015/01/05/ephesus-expected-to-be-listed-on-world-heritage-list>.

“surpasses most other ancient cities in intensity and fascination” and is associated with the influential cult of Artemis, the “roots of Christianity,” and the flourishing of Islam under the Seljuk dynasty.⁹³ At the same time, however, the location of the house within this commemorative web, physically and conceptually, helps strengthen its claim as a historical artifact as well as theological symbol. The state proposal situates the house alongside the sixth century Basilica of St. John and fourteenth century Isa Bey Mosque as part of a visible and continuous history in the area. Pilgrimage to the house is a development of the past century, states the proposal, but “the tradition of the site and the tradition of the worship of St. Mary go back to antiquity,” showing the house as important evidence that “displays the continuity from antiquity to modern times.”⁹⁴

Important here is the fact that the state proposed Ephesus as an ensemble. Kiliçaslan and Malkoç refer to the overall “spiritual influence of the area” of Ephesus, noting the conjunction of different social and religious forces at the different sites—it is precisely this that makes the historical-archaeological value of the area so high.⁹⁵ The UNESCO proposal likewise presents the House of the Virgin Mary as part of a continuous place-history with “significant symbolic value” at Ephesus.⁹⁶ During the June-July 2015 meeting of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the body that advises UNESCO on World Heritage Sites, various landmarks

⁹³ “Ephesus: Nomination File,” 4.

⁹⁴ “Ephesus: Nomination File,” 4.

⁹⁵ Kiliçaslan and Malkoç, 2870. See also Ulrike Muss, “The Artemision at Ephesos: Paul, John and Mary,” *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and the New Testament*, ed. David L. Balch and Annette Weissenrieder (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 493-512.

⁹⁶ “Ephesus: Nomination File,” 6.

in the Ephesus proposal were recommended for inscription together. These included the prehistoric remains at Çukuriçi Höyük, the Roman city of Ephesus, Isa Bey Mosque, the remains of the Temple to Artemis, the Basilica of St. John, and the Church of Mary. These places were recommended by ICOMOS under UNESCO's criteria (iii) and (iv), indicating "exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization" and "an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble."⁹⁷ The House of the Virgin Mary, despite its inclusion by Turkey as part of the heritage ensemble at Ephesus, was excluded from the ICOMOS recommendation because its historic authenticity and integrity could not be verified.⁹⁸ In this exclusion, we see the disjuncture between the Capuchin narrative about the veracity of the house and international protocols of conservation based on physical and documentary evidence.

While ICOMOS recommended to UNESCO that Ephesus be inscribed to the World Heritage list in 2015 without the House of the Virgin Mary, ICOMOS nonetheless also determined that *only* the House of the Virgin Mary met another criterion originally proposed in the state nomination. This is criterion (vi), which states that a site has "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs,

⁹⁷ The full text of criteria (iii) states that a site has "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared." Criteria (iv) states that a site has "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history." "Criteria for Selection," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>.

⁹⁸ ICOMOS, *Evaluations of Nominations of Cultural and Mixed Properties of the World Heritage List: ICOMOS Report for the World Heritage Committee, 39th Ordinary Session, June-July 2015* (ICOMOS: Charenton-le-Pont, France, 2015), 328. UNESCO defines authenticity, for the purposes of World Heritage Sites, as "the essence and spirit of the property," and integrity as "the wholeness/intactness and sustainability and management of properties." International Expert Workshop on Integrity and Authenticity of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, *Report and Recommendations on Integrity and Authenticity of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes*, December 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/450>, 2-3.

with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.”⁹⁹ ICOMOS determined that only at the House of the Virgin Mary was there direct evidence of “religious beliefs and pilgrimage of outstanding universal significance.”¹⁰⁰ So, even though ICOMOS did not recognize the House of the Virgin Mary for its historical authenticity, its pilgrimage practices warranted acknowledgment. This was important enough that ultimately, UNESCO inscribed Ephesus to the World Heritage List in July 2015, including the House of the Virgin Mary in recognition of pilgrimage.¹⁰¹ The final map of the inscribed World Heritage property reaffirms the area as a spatial and conceptual ensemble. In the in 662 hectare property, the ancient city, Ayasuluk Hill, the Artemision, and the medieval settlement comprise most of the total area. The House of the Virgin Mary a much smaller inscribed area of 0.55 hectares and set apart from the main World Heritage property and its buffer zone. And yet, the map also visualizes how the property is intended to work as an associated whole, despite its memorialization of different time periods and cultural influences.¹⁰²

The entire process exemplifies the porous boundaries that arise as stakeholders involved with a pilgrimage environment proliferate. The international cultural heritage organizations engaged with the House of the Virgin Mary emphasize the outstanding cultural traditions of the Ephesus area, and the state contributes to this emphasis in the

⁹⁹ “Criteria for Selection.”

¹⁰⁰ ICOMOS, 324.

¹⁰¹ UNESCO, “Ephesus: Maps,” *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, accessed May 12, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1018/multiple=1&unique_number=2014.

¹⁰² “Ephesus: Maps.”

context of its overall strategy of tourism at religious and historical sites. As with Chartres, the House of the Virgin Mary is drawn into a merging of cultural and spiritual value in its space—without the artistic recognition accorded to the Gothic cathedral, but with the additional significance accorded it as part of extended territory of the Holy Land.

There are tensions caused by the porousness among cultural, commercial, and devotional place, not in the fraught sense of Medjugorje, but in the complexity of the house's heritage role. As with Chartres and its own World Heritage Site status, the deployment of cultural heritage in the overall Ephesus area is not neutral. Rather, it involves the political and economic motivations of civic authorities, charities and non-governmental organizations, and private tour operators. These actors all work in different ways to promote the area and attract wide demographics of visitors. And, just as cultural heritage conservation at Chartres deepens the political aspects of the pilgrimage environment—including its UNESCO-designated status as a human masterpiece—Turkey's connection to cultural heritage tourism has political implications, as well. Certainly, there is extensive debate over how Turkey can develop sustainable tourism that does not negatively impact the economies, cultures, and ecosystems of communities.¹⁰³ However, the political dimensions of cultural heritage tourism in Turkey also include the construction of Turkey by tour operators as “mysterious, mystic, and intriguing” through

¹⁰³ Cevat Tosun, “Roots of Unsustainable Tourism Development at the Local Level: The Case of Urgup in Turkey,” *Tourism Management* 19.6 (1998): 595–610; Cevat Tosun, “Challenges of Sustainable Tourism Development in the Developing World: The Case of Turkey,” *Tourism Management* 22.3 (2001): 289–303; Cevat Tosun, Dallen J. Timothy, and Yüksel Öztürk, “Tourism Growth, National Development and Regional Inequality in Turkey,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11.2-3 (2003): 133-161.

its ancient ruins and archeology.¹⁰⁴ With the inscription of the Ephesus ensemble as purportedly universal world heritage, the bronze statue of Mary on the main walkway at the house becomes involved in the production of Turkey's past as part of the Holy Land, offered to global audiences on a grand scale.¹⁰⁵

For Reader, the very preoccupation with the authenticity and purity of pilgrimage, as well as the continued influence of idealized concepts like *communitas*, can occlude how pilgrimage places take part in the economic and political world. The case of Ephesus, however, pushes Reader's analysis even further. In the midst of the polyphony of contestation, commercial and political actors may be the very ones presenting the 'authenticity' of pilgrimage sites as a means to increase their marketplace appeal. The inclusion of the House of the Virgin Mary as part of the Ephesus ensemble imparts legitimacy. However, as different actors valorize Ephesus for its cultural heritage, they may also emphasize the natural and supposedly authentic roots of the site for global consumption, further complicating the House of the Virgin Mary as both a cultural and spiritual space.

¹⁰⁴ Seyhmus Baloglua and Mehmet Mangaloglub, "Tourism Destination Images of Turkey, Egypt, Greece, and Italy as Perceived by US-Based Tour Operators and Travel Agents," *Tourism Management* 22.1 (2001): 1-9.

¹⁰⁵ As Wharton observes about the pilgrimage industry related to Jerusalem: "The industrialized urban West desired its Jerusalem to be as natural as possible." Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 197. In Chapter Two, I referenced the development of the tourism industry in Europe in the nineteenth century, making accessible in new ways (physical and imaginative) Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Certainly, rendering exotic the mysterious East evokes what Edward Said calls "Europe's collective daydream of the Orient"—that is, Orientalism as a means for the West to define itself through the imagined geography of the East. Said includes travel literature and religious pilgrimage in Orientalist systems of knowledge and power, especially those journeys with Jerusalem as their end point. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 1-5, 52-3, 71, 174.

There are certainly tensions among what UNESCO wants to conserve as part of its framework of universal cultural value, what the Turkish state wants to memorialize as part of its strategy of national heritage and tourism development, and what the Capuchins want to present in their own memory narrative of dwelling at the House of the Virgin Mary. There is, however, an additional complexity in this porousness of boundaries among the cultural, commercial, devotional aspects of the House of the Virgin Mary. In some regards, that UNESCO and the state enshrine the site as part of a palimpsest of cultural heritage—including the Roman ruins, the Temple of Artemis, and the Basilica of St. John—aligns with the memory narrative of Mary’s dwelling. The state’s World Heritage Site proposal and the UNESCO inscription allow for an architectural address among the various sites in the area. According to the “Historical Notes about the Shrine,” displayed at the House of the Virgin Mary as important visual testimony to Mary’s dwelling, this architectural address supports the claims of Mary’s presence and preeminence. In the following section, I will examine how the inclusion of the House of the Virgin Mary as part of the Ephesus heritage ensemble supports and challenges the memory narrative of dwelling. This is a more physical porousness of boundaries as the zone of Mary’s influence expands in the area to address the Basilica of St. John, the Church of Mary, and the Temple of Artemis.

The House in the Ephesus Ensemble: Palimpsest and Hypertext

As with Chartres, the past at Ephesus becomes the object of the present gaze. People interact with the remains of monuments that marked Ephesus as a great

cosmopolitan, commercial center for Greek, Seleucid, and Roman empires.¹⁰⁶ The availability of tours to multiple sites in the area, including the House of the Virgin Mary as one stop on an overall itinerary, encourages visitors to interact with the various sites in the vicinity as an interconnected series.¹⁰⁷ Ephesus as an ensemble—promulgated not only by private tour companies, but also by Turkish government, ICOMOS, and UNESCO—also means that the House of the Virgin Mary accumulates meaning and legitimacy in juxtaposition with nearby places.¹⁰⁸ Actors promoting Ephesus as an ensemble may to some extent challenge the memory narrative of dwelling, such as the ICOMOS recommendation to exclude the house as part of the World Heritage Site grouping in the absence of clear historical record. Yet, the very placement of the house in the ensemble in other ways serves the memory narrative of dwelling. That is, the ensemble provides a geographically proximate rationale for religious caretakers to claim the house as Mary’s first century home. The memory narrative of dwelling is grounded at the House of the Virgin Mary by the large exhibit of the “Historical Notes about the Shrine” in multiple languages: the notes present to the viewer an argument for the house’s legitimacy based on nearby places. Mary was given to John’s care in the Gospel

¹⁰⁶ Cavan W. Concannon, “The Archeology of the Pauline Mission,” *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013), 74-5; John McRay, *Archaeology and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2008), 250;

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, “Ephesus Tours,” *Ephesus-Tours.pro*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://ephesus-tours.pro>; “Private Ephesus Tours,” *Ephesus Guide*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://ephesusguide.com>; “Highlights of Ephesus,” *Best of Ephesus*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.bestofephesus.com>; “Private Ephesus Tours,” *Ephesus Travel Guide*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.ephesustravelguide.com/private-ephesus-tours.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Ahmet Kara, Mehves Tarim, and Ekrem Tatoglu, “The Economic, Social, and Environmental Determinants of Tourism Revenue in Turkey: Some Policy Implications,” *Journal of Economic and Social Research* 5.2 (2003): 61-72.

of John, and John's presence in Ephesus is affirmed by the basilica, a famed place of medieval pilgrimage, built in his honor. As further argued in the historical notes, the Council of Ephesus met at the nearby Church of Mary to codify Marian doctrine, attesting to her influence in the area. These two Byzantine complexes are included on the sign under the heading "The Facts are Confirmed Historically," as the two "material evidences" of Mary's presence as a historical person in Ephesus.

The remains of the Basilica of St. John on Ayasuluk Hill are approximately eight kilometers from the house, the first of the two "material evidences" displayed on the historical notes. In the Christian tradition, Ephesus was long associated with the apostle John, as well as Paul.¹⁰⁹ The historical notes connect the House of the Virgin Mary to the Basilica of St. John as a renowned place. Indeed, the significance of Ephesus as a Christian pilgrimage destination since the early Byzantine era focused principally on the Basilica of St. John and practices around his tomb.¹¹⁰ The tradition that John had lived in

¹⁰⁹ See above, fn. 41. Paul's missionary journeys to Ephesus are recounted in the Book of Acts in the New Testament, Acts 18:19-21 and Acts 19: 1-7. Additionally, the Epistle to the Ephesians is aimed at the young Christian community in Ephesus, and the church community at Ephesus is a recipient of one of the seven letters in the Book of Revelation attributed to John (Rev. 2: 1-7). There is no scholarly agreement about the target of these texts, notes Concannon, including whether the Epistle to the Ephesians was written by Paul or even addressed to Ephesus. However, he states that "we suspect that a large portion of the New Testament and a sizeable number of early Christian texts were written to, about, or in Ephesus." Concannon, 76.

¹¹⁰ Andreas Pülz, "Archaeological Evidence of Christian Pilgrimage in Ephesus," *HEROM* 1.1 (2012): 225-60; James C. Skedros, "Shrines, Festivals, and the 'Undistinguished Mob'," *Byzantine Christianity: A People's History of Christianity*, Vol. 3, ed. Derek Krueger (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 90. Other early Christian pilgrimage sites in Ephesus were the Cave of the Seven Sleepers (young Christian men were said to have hidden from Roman persecution in caves near Ephesus in the third century), the reported Tomb of St. Luke, and the Grotto of St. Paul. As with the Quranic verses at the House of the Virgin Mary, the story of the Seven Sleepers involves both Christianity and Islam. A variation of the narrative is told in Surah 18, verses 7-26: the youths are presented as a model of faith in God, sleeping for 300 plus nine solar years, accompanied by their dog. The Cave of the Seven Sleepers was thus a pilgrimage destination for Muslims, in spite of its inaccessibility for Muslim travelers during much of the Byzantine period. Clive Foss, "Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 130 and 149.

Ephesus and was buried there was well established by the sixth century CE, when emperor Justinian demolished the smaller, former church and built the 300 by 130 foot basilica—a cruciform shape with four arms radiating from the shrine of the saint at the center.¹¹¹ With its six large domes covering the center aisle, the building was said to be “the greatest and most magnificent church of early Christendom.”¹¹² The very dust from the tomb, called manna, was believed to have miraculous properties, making it a major destination of the Christian Middle Ages. Pilgrims collected this dust as it rose from the grates in the slab covering the tomb each May 8, the anniversary of John’s death.¹¹³ Devotees would process to the tomb, holding all night vigils, and carry home the dust in vials to cure the sick, reverse infertility, and change the weather.¹¹⁴ Foss argues that the miraculous, curative dust was “the greatest miracle a pilgrim could see in medieval

¹¹¹ Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 106-7.

¹¹² Meinardus, “The Christian Remains of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse,” 73. The ambitious archbishop of Ephesus, Hypatius, influenced the building design to fuse Eastern and Western architectural influences and styles—and with the aim of increasing pilgrimage and restoring the city’s prestige. Karen C. Britt, “How To Win Pilgrims and Influence Emperors: A Historical Reinterpretation of the Byzantine Church of St. John At Ephesus,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 64.3-4 (2012): 137-174.

¹¹³ According to many accounts, John did not die but lay down in his own tomb, sleeping or “giving up his spirit,” and his disciples discovered that his body had later disappeared. This belief explained why the tomb was empty, and the manna thus became a kind of surrogate body or relic of the apostle. Daniel Alan Smith, *The Post-Mortem Vindication of Jesus in the Sayings Gospel Q* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 90.

¹¹⁴ Xantheus, 218; Skedros, 90; M. Duncan-Flowers, “A Pilgrim’s Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus,” *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, 125-39; Susanne Bangert, “The Archeology of Pilgrimage: Abu Mina and Beyond,” *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, ed. David Morton Gwynn and Susanne Bangert (Leiden, Brill: 2010), 315-6. Tenth century hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes described the grandeur and popularity of the annual pilgrimage to John’s tomb, writing: “the celebration was so splendid, and attended by so many people of all ages, that it imitated the brilliance of the stars.” No matter how much dust arose from the tomb, and how much the priests distributed, an “inexhaustible supply kept rising forth.” Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 126.

Byzantium.”¹¹⁵ Even now, one of the most popular attractions at the partially reconstructed remains is the marble slab and four columns marking John’s tomb—a tomb attesting to John’s presence in Ephesus, and thereby Mary’s presence. The remains of the basilica thus become a connected spatial argument for the historical and theological claim that John brought Mary to Ephesus, where she spent the rest of her life.

The second of the two “material evidences” displayed on the historical notes at the House of the Virgin Mary is the Church of Mary, *Meryem Kilises*. The Church of Mary was built into the south hall of the former Temple of Hadrian Olympius, itself a declaration that Mary had triumphed over the older pagan gods at Ephesus, architecturally and spiritually.¹¹⁶ The ruins do not have the same history as a major Christian pilgrimage destination that John’s tomb enjoys, but like the Basilica of St. John, its physical presence is linked in meaning to the House of the Virgin Mary. This fifth century cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin. As noted earlier, it even vies for the title as the first one devoted to the Virgin Mary, and its original form of basilica design, 27 meters wide and 237 meters long, affirms its consequence.¹¹⁷ The Church of Mary provided the meeting place for the Third Ecumenical Council in 431 CE—the very

¹¹⁵ Foss, “Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor,” 140. Meinardus states that the Mongol army destroyed the basilica in 1402, as graffiti of 1341 and 1387 inscribed by pilgrims testify to its existence at least to the late fourteenth century. Meinardus, “The Christian Remains of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse,” 74. See also Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 124.

¹¹⁶ L. Michael White, “Architecture: The First Five Centuries,” *The Early Christian World, Vols. 1-2*, ed. Philip F. Esler (London: Routledge, 2002), 731; Stefan Karwiese, “The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympius,” *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 311-9.

¹¹⁷ Xantheus, 218. Krautheimer, 107, gives the dimensions at the time of the Council of Ephesus as 85 meters long, with an additional 58 meters for the narthex and atrium.

council that renewed theological interest in Mary's life.¹¹⁸ At that spot, the Council of Ephesus confirmed as orthodox the belief in Mary as Theotokos or God-bearer, as opposed to Christotokos or mother of the human messiah Jesus.¹¹⁹ The entire building celebrates the fact that the Council of Ephesus approved this new orthodoxy elevating Mary's status. The Council of Ephesus further resolved that Mary had indeed come to Ephesus with John, four to six years after the death of Jesus.¹²⁰

The council's location in Ephesus was pivotal, and related to the history of the influential cult of Artemis. The council's engagement with the sanctity of Mary occurred in the very city where, according to the Book of Acts, Paul sparked a riot of silversmiths upset that his preaching would undermine their livelihood of crafting devotional objects to Artemis. For Pelikan, the Ephesus decision to enshrine the doctrine of Theotokos at Ephesus represents Mary affirming yet correcting what previous pagan deities symbolized.¹²¹ In other words, the location of the council honoring Mary was a way of superseding the competing goddess. Now, as with other sites at Ephesus, visitors experience the place as remnants that commemorate a culturally and religiously layered

¹¹⁸ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 92 n.109; Shalev-Hurvitz, 144. Shalev-Hurvitz argues that the Feast of the Assumption on August 15 was likely fixed following the Council of Ephesus, showing the Council's role in establishing key aspects of Marian veneration.

¹¹⁹ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 44 and 53; Shalev-Hurvitz, 154. On the decision by the Council of Ephesus in 431 CE to designate Mary as Theotokos, see Maaïke de Haardt, "The Marian Paradox: Marian Practices as a Road to a New Mariology?" *Feminist Theology* 19.2 (2011): 169.

¹²⁰ "Ephesus: Nomination File," 48.

¹²¹ Pelikan, 56 and 220. Pelikan refers to Acts 19: 23-41. In this passage, the silversmith Demetrius warns his fellow tradesman that the temple of Artemis could be discredited as Paul led people astray, and that the goddess herself could be robbed of her divine majesty. The crowd replies in support, shouting, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!"

past. Only part of the apse and pillars stand near the Roman remains, and every year since 1986, a mass is held in October to commemorate the Council of Ephesus at the ruins.¹²² This is the overall history petitioned by the historical notes grounded at the House of the Virgin Mary—Mary as an authoritative and triumphant figure at Ephesus.

The role of the cult of Artemis, while not explicitly mentioned in the historical notes sign, further informs the architectural address among the House of the Virgin Mary and the rest of the Ephesus ensemble. The Artemision, the great Temple of Artemis, was recorded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World by Antipater of Sidon in the second century BCE. The various cultural influences at Ephesus made for diverse forms of religious practice, from the Roman imperial cult to Egyptian cults, and the worship of Artemis was central to cultic and festive life.¹²³ Her temple was even associated with a powerful earlier Anatolian goddess, Cybele.¹²⁴ The proximity between the ruins of the goddess' temple and Mary's home, approximately eight kilometers away, underscores the Virgin Mary's supersession over the area's pagan past. The destruction of the temple, and

¹²² Demas, 132; Robert Larson, *Oldest Church in Honor of Mary to be Rededicated, Our Sunday Visitor* 75 (1986): 4.

¹²³ Concannon, 74-5; Dieter Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia," *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1995), 141-55; Christine M. Thomas, "At Home in the City of Artemis: Religion in Ephesos in the Literary Imagination of the Roman Period," *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia*, 81-117; Richard E. Oster, *Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I: Paganism before Constantine* (Berlin : Walter De Gruyter, 1990); C.L. Brinks, "'Great Is Artemis of the Ephesians': Acts 19:23-41 in Light of Goddess Worship in Ephesus," *Catholic Bible Quarterly* 71.4 (2009): 776-794. There is also evidence of a Jewish population in Ephesus during the first century. Concannon, 75; Mikael Tellbe, *Christ-believers in Ephesus: A Textual Analysis of early Christian Identity Formation in a Local Perspective* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

¹²⁴ Jonathan M. Hall, *Artifact and Artifice: Classical Archaeology and the Ancient Historian* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 41 n.16; G. E. M. De Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 153; Brinks, 778.

the fact that the ruins of the temple were ultimately plundered as a source of building materials for the Basilica of St. John and the Church of Mary, only heightens this sense of the Virgin's triumph at Ephesus.¹²⁵ Today, tour buses stop near the widely-strewn architectural rubble where the temple's single remaining marble column stands in the marshy ground—the result of a mid-nineteenth century excavation project by British engineer John Turtle Wood.¹²⁶ The sole column is now part of the overall exhibit of classical remains, joined to the House of the Virgin Mary in the UNESCO ensemble.

There is a mutual architectural address among these places. They connect to and contextualize the House of the Virgin Mary, according to the rationale displayed in the site's historical notes. Jesus gave Mary over to John's care, John brought Mary to Ephesus, and they both ended their human lives there. Additionally, Mary's presence is superimposed over, and gains additional weight from, the pagan remains of the Temple of Artemis. Meinardus captures this, stating: "Where once pilgrims from all over the world assembled to offer their devotion to Diana-Artemis, the cult of the goddess was replaced by the veneration of Mary the Godbearer."¹²⁷ There is thus a sense of cascading

¹²⁵ Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 86, 87 n. 84; Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1969), 157. The temple was destroyed, after centuries of fire, vandalism, and looting, by invading Goths in 262 CE and according to the Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria, the partial reconstruction was finally torn down in 401 CE by a mob led by John Chrysostom. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity*, 86. Foss notes that Cyril of Alexandria's comments about the destruction of the temple were given in his Homily XI to the Council of Ephesus in 431—the council that honored the Virgin Mary. However, Foss also states that Cyril's homily is not certain evidence for the fate of the temple (86 n.83). The homily states that John Chrysostom was "the destroyer of the demons and overthrower of the Temple of Artemis," but the text's authenticity is unclear.

¹²⁶ Concannon, 75.

¹²⁷ Otto F. A. Meinardus, "The Christian Remains of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse," *Biblical Archaeologist* 37.3 (1974): 75. Cf. Peter C. Xantheus, "Ephesus," *International Dictionary of Historic Places*, Vol. 3, Southern Europe, ed. Trudy Ring (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1995), 217.

memory in the remains of Ephesus, where the layers of history attest to the memory narrative of dwelling. According to this narrative, Mary can be read as emplaced and elevated in relation to the broader sacred geography of the area.

Jonathan Smith helps us understand this type of spatial environment, and how cascading memory shapes our understanding of place. His example is the layered nature of Constantine's Holy Land, "laid palimpsest-like over the old, and interacting with it in complex ways."¹²⁸ In the early fourth century, Constantine's extensive building and patronage programs in Palestine created a physical presence for a new Christian order. Religious buildings were frequently constructed over destroyed pagan shrines. Even more pointedly, as Smith argues through the writings of Eusebius in *Vita Constantini*, the newly created Christian topographical stratum was also a memory narrative of triumph over pagan darkness and chaos. According to this narrative, Constantine built in order to restore and re-place Jerusalem—and the site of Jesus' tomb and resurrection in particular—to light, order, and purity.¹²⁹ This was a claim of triumph over a polluted pagan landscape, as well as the declaration of new pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Thus, Smith describes a victory of memory, publicly and systematically emplacing an imperial, divinely sanctioned architecture of Christianity over and above the past.

Smith's analogy of a palimpsest petitions the idea of a reused parchment or tablet with traces of earlier writing still visible beneath the surface. This concept of place-as-palimpsest has been alternatively described as the "collective memory and orientation"

¹²⁸ Smith, *To Take Place*, 79.

¹²⁹ Smith, *To Take Place*, 80. One Constantine's re-creation of a pilgrimage sacred geography in the Holy Land, see also Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2005), 16-40.

found in the layering of myths, histories, and building materials¹³⁰; the writing and re-writing of cultural patterns over the years as a way of constituting place¹³¹; and the specific multi-layeredness of architecture, where older styles mix with newer ones and remain visible in the overall structure.¹³² Bender argues that attention to such historical and physical layering may fuel our attempts to freeze time and space, preserving and packaging a landscape as a museum exhibit.¹³³ Ephesus may function as an exhibit, but I also wish to emphasize the dynamics of architectural and artistic memory present in these strata. As Verhoeven states, buildings are fixed locations in space, yet they are constantly changing with the culture around them.¹³⁴ This is undoubtedly true in a place like Ephesus, where structures from multiple civilizations have been transformed, neglected, restored, demolished, plundered, repurposed, and displayed. In this sense, place-as-palimpsest is paradoxical: a site or building is overwritten, and in the process, its impact may persist through its very traces. This is reminiscent of Coleman's words regarding the shrine at Walsingham, where the power of archeology comes from the very ruins—the witnesses to a violent past.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Kinnard, 30-1, reflecting on the work of Andreas Huyssen in *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

¹³¹ Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 48. Lane, 70, likens the cultural palimpsest to *pentimento*, where a covered and underlying image in a painting is revealed.

¹³² Mariëtte Verhoeven, "Jerusalem as Palimpsest: The Architectural Footprint of the Crusaders in the Contemporary City," *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, 215.

¹³³ Bender argues that attention to such historical and physical layering may fuel our attempts to freeze time and space, preserving and packaging a landscape as a museum exhibit. Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space* (New York: Berg, 1998), 6.

¹³⁴ Verhoeven, 115.

¹³⁵ Coleman, "Memory as Absence and Presence," 17.

In the sense that Smith uses the term palimpsest, places designated as sacred do more than merely reveal traces of their previous layers. First, they contribute to our ideas of cultural heritage by emphasizing the palimpsest of history—the layers of great ancient monuments and civilizations that authenticate, organize, and celebrate the past. This is the framework that operates in tension with the more spiritualized narrative at the House of the Virgin Mary: the palimpsest quality of the Ephesus ensemble both elevates and contradicts the belief in Mary’s dwelling and active presence. That is, Mary is affirmed as part of a historically authenticated grouping of great monuments, even as she is also drawn into the large-scale cultural and commodified aspects that come with that grouping and problematize the house’s value for its sanctity. Second, Smith’s emphasis on place-overwriting as a potential declaration of triumph is crucial. Indeed, Smith’s account of Constantine’s re-writing of Christian Jerusalem over the ruins of pagan resonates with Bruce Lincoln’s idea of profanophany. As noted in the previous chapter, Lincoln uses the term profanophany to describe the ritual desecration and destruction of Catholic buildings, images, statues, and bodily remains by Republicans during the Spanish Civil War.¹³⁶ For Lincoln, this display and destruction became a public declaration that traditional symbols of official church power were not divinely sanctioned, but could be

¹³⁶ Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 115. This is a contrast to practices of spatial erasure in the former Yugoslavia, as shown in the previous chapter. Spatial erasure does not expose the enemy’s places and objects for the purposes of public domination, but instead obliterates to obscure the very memory of cultural presence. Profanophany and spatial erasure are not mutually exclusive poles, however. We see both elements present, for example, in the destruction of cultural artifacts in Syria and Iraq by the self-proclaimed Islamic State. Such destruction—which has been referred to as “cultural cleansing”—serves as a means of spatial domination in religious and political life, as well as a means to gain economic power through the conflict-driven market in stolen artifacts. Michele Neubert and Alexander Smith, “UNESCO’s Irina Bokova Laments ISIS’ ‘Cultural Cleansing’ of Antiquities,” *NBC News*, July 7, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/unesco-boss-irina-bokova-laments-isis-cultural-cleansing-antiquities-n386291>.

exposed for their “profanity, temporality, and corruption.”¹³⁷ The very symbols of competing power are held up in order to uncover their emptiness and powerlessness—and, as Friedland and Hecht argue, as a means to politically dominate sacred space.¹³⁸ Such spectacle of profanophany is relevant to Constantine’s re-inscription of Jerusalem and the sites of the newly defined Christian Holy Land—and ultimately, to the narrative of the Virgin’s triumph over the pagan spaces of Ephesus, where she dwells in her home.

As the House of the Virgin Mary accrues meaning—and traffic—by virtue of its part in the overall Ephesus ensemble, the analogy of a hypertext is as appropriate for the House of the Virgin Mary as that of palimpsest, extending Smith’s suggestion of sacred space as intertextual. By hypertext, I do not refer to the immaterial configuration of digital texts on a computer screen, separated from place of origin or cultural context.¹³⁹ Rather, I refer to how the hypertextual contains links to other texts in an unconstrained fashion—and where the importance and meaning of one text affects the importance and meaning of others.¹⁴⁰ In terms of the House of the Virgin Mary and Ephesus, the area becomes a topology of links.¹⁴¹ As visitors are offered extended ritual browsing

¹³⁷ Lincoln, 126.

¹³⁸ Friedland and Hecht, 55.

¹³⁹ Christian Vandendorpe, *From Papyrus to Hypertext: Toward the Universal Digital Library*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 60.

¹⁴⁰ Michael Riffaterre, “Intertextuality vs. Hypertextuality,” *New Literary History* 25.4 (1994): 781.

¹⁴¹ David Kolb, *Sprawling Places* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 197 n.22. As with Medjugorje, Ephesus has inspired spatial contagion, producing an even broader set of topological links. Similar to the Medjugorje shrine in Birmingham, Alabama, there is a replica of the House of the Virgin Mary in Jamaica, Vermont. Our Lady of Ephesus House of Prayer was built from Vermont marble by the owners of the property, Don and Mary Tarinelli, based on careful measurements of the Ephesus structure. Our Lady of Ephesus House of Prayer not only copies the altars and statues of the house in Ephesus, but it includes two stones donated for the interior—one from Ephesus and the other from Medjugorje. The

possibilities through tours of the entire Ephesus area, they may move from link to link—experiencing not only the House of the Virgin Mary, but the Basilica of St. John, the Church of Mary, and the Temple of Artemis that help give the house its meaning. Here we have a dramatic case of Coleman’s understanding of pilgrimage. Visiting the House of the Virgin Mary may become one activity in a range of activities that cultivates our ideas about sacred figures, objects, and images.¹⁴²

Conclusion

The House of the Virgin Mary in Ephesus is a pilgrimage place without an apparition or a longstanding relic. Instead, its authority arises from its claim as the dwelling place of Mary after the death of Jesus. Indeed, the pilgrimage environment is defined largely as a memory imprint of Mary’s body on earth, carefully arranged by Capuchin caretakers to remind people of the house’s claims to historical legitimacy. That is, the presence of Mary is conveyed through the configuration of the site as palpable fact, a product of revelatory yet nonetheless rational discovery in the nineteenth century. The repeated, recognizable statues and other images of Mary ground this memory narrative of dwelling, as does the physical presence of the house itself. There is contestation as an array of actors move through, organize, and leverage this pilgrimage environment. This is a commercial as well as a working religious place, with a variety of

Archbishop of Izmir, Turkey—who suggested that the replica in the United States be built and shared the blueprints of the original house in Ephesus—blessed the replica in 2006. Johanna Sorrentino, “Mother Mary’s Final Home Re-created to Scale in Hills of Jamaica,” October 8, 2006, <http://www.rutlandherald.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20061008/NEWS/610080374/1003/NEWS02>; “Our Lady of Ephesus,” *Our Lady of Ephesus House of Prayer*, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://www.ourladyofephesushouseofprayer.org>.

¹⁴² Coleman, “From England’s Nazareth to Sweden’s Jerusalem,” 53.

ritual browsing possibilities for visitors, from the wishing wall to the souvenir kiosks. Unique among my case studies is how the House of the Virgin Mary addresses audiences of multiple and distinct faith traditions by displaying verses from the Quran that honor Mary as an important figure in Islam as well as Christianity. Simultaneously, the state and international organizations valorize the House of the Virgin Mary for its cultural value as part of an overall ensemble of historically significant sites in the Ephesus area.

This pilgrimage place has porous boundaries in that the wide demographic of stakeholders and visitors interact with the House of the Virgin Mary for reasons of devotion, culture, and leisure. The house thus challenges the dividing lines among pilgrimage, tourism, and cultural heritage. While this is similar in many respects to Chartres, the intentional re-mapping of the house as part of an ensemble of nearby attractions—the remains of layers of civilizations, combined by state and non-state actors for their aggregate heritage value—adds another dimension of porousness to the House of the Virgin Mary. The ensemble of places with varying histories, faith traditions, and cultural and artistic influences, including the House of the Virgin Mary, inform one another's meaning. In some ways, its inclusion in the Ephesus ensemble challenges the memory narrative of the house as distinctive and Mary's preeminent dwelling place. It becomes one node in a web of the area's religious past, subject to scrutiny on its historical authenticity by organizations like ICOMOS. In other ways, however, the Ephesus ensemble becomes a framing device that 'proves' aspects of the memory narrative of dwelling. The Basilica of St. John and the Church of Mary support the belief in Mary's historical presence in the area, and the Temple of Artemis supports the belief

that ultimately, Mary supersedes the many layers of the past. The Ephesus ensemble thus serves different purposes, all of which intersect and interact as visitors sample the archeological and commemorative strata at Ephesus through excursions, moving through a hypertext-like topology of links. This is not so much fluidity in the sense of Medjugorje's dispersed and continuously formed pilgrimage environment; rather, it is a web of surrounding links that imparts to the house additional significance.

The House of the Virgin Mary is a small site that attempts to both create and respond to history. It situates itself in relation to antique monuments and landscapes of early Christianity, as well as to new commercial and devotional arrangements, presenting the stone house of Mary to worldwide audiences and different faith traditions. These links enhance its importance both as a territory in the broader geography of the Holy Land and as an attraction in Turkey. The House of the Virgin Mary thrives in part because it regenerates a story of dwelling into a contemporary place of pilgrimage, where Mary is once again a polyvalent symbol with international appeal.



Figure 5.1. Historical Notes, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.2. Statue of Mary, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. 1867. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.3. House exterior with lines, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.4. Prayer stand with statue of Mary, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.5. Wellspring, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.6. Wishing wall, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.7. Wishing wall close up, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.



Figure 5.8. Display of Quranic verses, House of the Virgin Mary, Turkey. *Source:* Photo, T.K. Rousseau, 2013.

Conclusion
The Facts of Distance and the Joys of Proximity

“By localizing the holy,” observes Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints*, “late antique Christianity could feed on the facts of distance and on the joys of proximity.”¹ Brown is stressing the role of relics in the construction of sacredness at particular places. The miraculous properties associated with Christian relics were available at the shrine for those who journeyed to be near it, and those not present lacked the same kind of access to the relic’s miraculous powers. For this problem of physical distance, says Brown, “pilgrimage was the remedy,” addressing a yearning for closeness on the part of devotees.²

This is how medieval Christian shrines worked, as was the case as Chartres. The cult of the saints defined a sacred geography of territory and faith, providing a cohesive logic for pilgrimage. Today, however, pilgrimage places are shaped by their global contexts. A continued yearning for the experience of closeness sustains the popularity of many pilgrimage places today. Yet, this movement toward a focused site coexists with an expansive reach of the pilgrimage environment, facilitated by images of the place that are disseminated quickly and easily via internet, allowing for the creation of alternative modes of closeness. At the same time, mass travel and consumer culture are not merely

¹ Brown, 86-7.

² Brown, 87.

echoes of vendors selling mementoes at medieval cathedral fairs outside the doors of Chartres. Modern routes and modes of interaction shape new relationships between pilgrimage places and their stakeholders, caretakers, and participants.

Varied audiences and interactions challenge a firm sense of boundedness of pilgrimage places. Porousness of boundaries takes varied forms in my case studies. In some instances, porousness is social and conceptual. Pilgrimage places become part of expansive zones of management and promotion, encouraging heterogeneous audiences to interact with devotional objects, artworks, and architecture. In other instances, porousness is physical. The actual borders of the site are not always clear and audiences interact with a wide and evolving area of pilgrimage activity. The back and forth flow among religious, cultural, and commercial activity is shared in all my case studies in different configurations. Indeed, a question arising from my case studies is whether and to what extent an active and modern pilgrimage place could be anything *but* porous. To the extent that such places are bounded, those boundaries are negotiated and renegotiated, and pilgrimage place is constructed in conversation with political, economic, and cultural circumstances.

Porousness adds a dimension to the definitions of pilgrimage put forward by Morinis, Dubisch, and McKeivitt, where pilgrimage is a journey to a location of sacredness, as well as to the Turners' idea of pilgrimage as spontaneous and subversive. Rather, pilgrimage places may see a confluence of memories, practices, and interests. Certainly, this confluence fosters porous boundaries in my three case studies as overarching pilgrimage environments; however, the dynamics of porousness are complex

and varied at each one. Indeed, a challenge of understanding these three pilgrimage places is their unique forms of porousness.

Porousness and Contestation at the Three Case Studies

In terms of porousness, Chartres *integrates*. With its cathedral structure and longstanding role as a pilgrimage church, it is the most bounded of the three case studies, both spatially and historically. However, as a global nexus of devotion, culture, and commercialism, the expansive pilgrimage environment at Chartres draws in an increasingly wide range of actors and influences, including them in the historic pilgrimage cathedral. Medieval pilgrimage at Chartres centered on relatively bounded interactions with the cult of Mary and relics, and the miraculous power of the cult infused all aspects of the cathedral, from the threads of the Sancta Camisia to the blue of the Belle Verrière window. Today, the cathedral is positioned in the global pilgrimage marketplace as a cultural heritage monument as well as a religious structure. This polyvalence facilitates the wide demographic that coincides and interfaces at Chartres. Visitors engage with, and choose from, an extensive array of interactive possibilities in and around the cathedral, in turn curated by an extensive array of stakeholders in the site. These dynamics mean that some celebrate mass, some watch, some take photos in the aisles, and all this happens simultaneously. Pilgrimage practices continue, but they do so as the cathedral is renovated and reaffirmed as a cultural monument, stressing its heritage value to France and to the world as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Here is the porousness of boundaries at Chartres: by integrating these various influences into the cathedral space, the lines among devotional, cultural and commercial

place are constantly crossed and re-negotiated. In particular, the wide demographic at Chartres problematizes the boundary between pilgrimage and tourism. The sources of contestation produced by these wide demographics are also deeply integrated. As audiences diversify, memory narratives of cultural value are installed alongside those of spiritual value, and the cathedral is increasingly inscribed as a commercial environment available to a range of visitors. Even cathedral caretakers embrace the memory narrative of artistic value, deploying it to encourage cultural visitors to try a one-day pilgrimage. Certainly, some tensions arise in the midst of the polyphony. Chartres houses cultural visitors while maintaining its role as a working church—for locals, for the diocese, and as a more far-flung pilgrimage destination—as well as different ideals of French nationhood, from pluralism to traditionalism. Nonetheless, Chartres shows how long-established pilgrimage places adapt to the global pilgrimage marketplace, maintaining relevance for both established and new types of audiences. The ability of Chartres to draw multiple audiences, all interacting with its images, may problematize discrete classifications of pilgrim and tourist; however, as Reader argues, this very strategy maintains the cathedral's status as a significant pilgrimage place.

Chartres may integrate, but Medjugorje *spills*. It is unique in many ways among the three case studies as a pilgrimage place founded on claims of apparitions of the Virgin Mary. Medjugorje deals with a different spatial issue than Chartres. The cathedral was built to house a relic, and its architectural configuration as a pilgrimage church addressed the specific problem of how to provide access to the relics for medieval pilgrims. Medjugorje, however, faces the constant issue of how to draw a border around apparitions that are multiple, decentered, and continuous. Medjugorje's dispersed

character, natural setting, and ongoing vision phenomenon in different locations mean that the place is not defined by a singular or centered shrine, but is rather a fluid pilgrimage environment. It spills over the natural surroundings, throughout an entire town mobilized by the economic engine of the pilgrimage industry, in chapels and outdoor spaces where the visionaries take root, and throughout the world as the visionaries take the Medjugorje phenomenon with them. The Medjugorje phenomenon even spilled out into regional conflict, petitioning historical grievances among religious and ethnic groups, and becoming a symbolic inspiration and physical base during the Bosnian War.

While Medjugorje certainly challenges the boundary between devotional and commercial place, its unique form of porousness is fostered by the apparitions, which problematize a clearly bounded site in physical and conceptual terms. Various actors—Franciscan leadership, devotees and visitors, the visionaries—mark the landscape to commemorate the apparitions, attempting to give form to a phenomenon that in many ways defies form. These actors configure Medjugorje, positioning and promoting its images, as well as interacting with its paths, stations, and devotional objects. In doing so, they instill and individualize memory narratives that give the place its meaning and functionality. Here is another distinguishing aspect of Medjugorje: its contestation is firmly rooted in memory. It lacks the cultural or artistic value of both Chartres and Ephesus, and it attracts neither the international cultural organizations nor the wide demographic that renders permeable the dividing line between devotional and cultural place. Memory, however, is a main arena of its contested nature since its inception. People interact with reminders of Mary on the hillsides—the statue on Apparition Hill, the bronze reliefs of the Mysteries of the Rosary and Stations of the Cross, the offerings

to the Virgin—affirming her presence as infused throughout the area. At the same time, by promoting key images across the landscape, the Franciscans stake their claim as spiritual stewards of both the Medjugorje phenomenon, unauthorized by the church hierarchy, and the historical Herzegovinian territory. As it attempts to tether the apparitions and create tangible locations of devotion, the parish advances its narrative of a besieged yet righteous community of faith. This narrative supported conflict during the Bosnian War, even as Our Lady of Medjugorje was presented as the Queen of Peace. The very porousness of this relatively recent pilgrimage place invites the range of competing interpretations and memories, even ones that facilitate violence. At Medjugorje, the stakes are heightened beyond the polyphony of Chartres, and among my case studies, Medjugorje is contestation driven to an extreme form.

If Chartres integrates and Medjugorje spills, then the House of the Virgin Mary *links*. It has neither a longstanding cult of relics nor apparitions, but its significance lies in its claims to have been Mary's actual dwelling place. This claim is presented at the site as palpable and historic 'fact'. In some regards, this pilgrimage place has the same porous character as Chartres in that the cultural value of the Ephesus area, designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2015, increases its draw as a cultural attraction. That designation augments the commercial element of the House of the Virgin Mary, contributing to the permeability of boundaries among devotional, commercial, and cultural place. Like Chartres, its sources of contestation are interrelated. Its range of visitors can ritually browse the house, wellspring, and wishing wall at Mary's dwelling place, even as commercial zones are included on the grounds. There is an important source of contestation unique to the House of the Virgin, however: a prominent display of

Quranic verses honoring Mary addresses Muslim visitors, and petitions different historical, theological, and symbolic understandings of Mary. The pilgrimage environment thus presents Mary as a welcoming figure for the varied audiences that coincide at her home, underscored by the large bronze statue near the entrance, hands outstretched in welcome.

The House of the Virgin Mary is also unique in its links to a web of historical and cultural monuments in the Ephesus area. Various stakeholders present the pilgrimage place as interrelated with this Ephesus ensemble, for various purposes. Capuchin caretakers attempt to prove the house's veracity through its relation to nearby sites of early Christian history, the Basilica of St. John and the Church of Mary. At the same time, the Turkish government has promoted its own agenda of tourism and national heritage by proposing the entire Ephesus vicinity as a World Heritage Site. This additional source of porousness at the House of the Virgin Mary—its links to the surrounding Ephesus monuments—is facilitated by a memory narrative of heritage, as the entire area is presented as a cultural palimpsest. There is a hypertextual quality in the way that visitors can sample the series of linked locations in tours and excursions of Ephesus, each stop informing the value and meaning of the others. In the process, the House of the Virgin Mary is valorized by the internationally recognized historical authenticity of the Ephesus ensemble, reinforcing the key memory narrative of Mary's dwelling there, while it is also commodified through its inscription as a cultural heritage property.

The case studies thus show the complexity and variations of porous boundaries in different pilgrimage environments, and the various configurations of contestation that interrelate with porousness. In addition to what each individual case study shows us about

the particular variations of porous boundaries, they also demonstrate a number of themes as a set: the importance of place to contestation; the shared polyvalence of Marian imagery; the role of emplaced memory; and the complex tension between pilgrimage and tourism.

Contestation and Place

All three case studies demonstrate how contestation, put forward by Eade and Sallnow as discursive array among the wide range of actors at pilgrimage sites, is physically grounded. This is what I have termed emplaced contestation, adding an additional dimension to Eade and Sallnow's emphasis on discourse. Specific concepts provided by art historians in works such as Blick and Gelfand's *Push Me, Pull You* provide a useful language for explaining this emplaced contestation throughout the case studies, including performative pilgrimage, visual testimony, the devotee's desire for proximity and engagement, and the pilgrim's metaphorical and physical ascent.

These concepts support an understanding of pilgrimage places as physical, interactive environments profoundly shaped by, and contested through, their images, devotional objects, and architectural and topographic space. At Medjugorje, the Franciscans inscribe the hills and the local parish as sacred territory, intended to convey the force and presence of the Marian apparitions despite official church disapproval. At the same time, the visionaries have their own ways of inscribing the phenomenon. In the case of visionary Marija Pavlovic-Lunetti, for example, this meant building a private chapel of her own in another part of town. Likewise, at Chartres, the statue of Notre-Dame de Sous Terre in the crypt has been repurposed by visitors and private tour

companies as a focal point of New Age and Neopagan interest. Cathedral caretakers frame Notre-Dame de Sous Terre as a key Marian, Catholic image, as well as a potential conduit for a spiritual experience at Chartres within this faith tradition, even for the most casual of tourists. Yet, new audiences at Chartres form their own memory narratives around the statue in the crypt, and Mary takes on a new role. All these images and interactions help shape the pilgrimage environment, with all its tensions. In this sense, pilgrimage is not spectacle, where people have no role other than a passive one.³ Rather, the engagement among various actors means that the pilgrimage environment is dynamic, shifting with different demands and practices.

The enduring polyvalence of Mary's image

In the case studies, a common theme is the power and popularity of Mary's image, ever adaptable and persistent. She is a welcoming figure of global tourism on the highway in Turkey, an art historical highlight in the stained glass of Chartres, and a miraculous presence at Ivan Dragicevic's Blue Cross in Medjugorje. The porousness of boundaries at the three case studies is facilitated by this polyvalence. Mary's iconographic flexibility accommodates new and proliferating audiences interested in Catholic devotion, New Age spirituality, or cultural heritage artifacts, and the interface of these audiences creates an interplay of spiritual, cultural, and commercial place. Mary as

³ See Wharton, 190-1: in her study of Jerusalem, she emphasizes how Jerusalem is experienced by the West as spectacle. Drawing on the work of Debord and Marx for her definition of spectacle, Wharton argues that this kind of interaction is passive, and its involvement avoids both reciprocity and local content. Wharton extends her argument to the spectacle of simulacra of Jerusalem, such as the "apparently safe spectacle" of the Holy Land Experience theme park in Orlando, Florida.

an iconographic symbol goes to work in many different (and sometimes quite disparate) ways at all three case studies.

This polyvalence has historic roots. As Patricia Harrington and Thomas Tweed both argue, the image and presence of the Virgin may serve interests and offer support for causes that seem diametrically opposed.⁴ According to Harrington, for example, the Virgin of Guadalupe began as an apocalyptic symbol after the claimed apparition of Mary to an indigenous convert in Mexico in 1581. Our Lady of Guadalupe was simultaneously a syncretistic symbol of restoration for indigenous communities, a confirmation for Spaniards of the continued dominance of Roman Catholicism, and a unifying figure of hope during the eighteenth century plague in Mexico City.⁵ Mary is thus imbued with differing social meaning by different groups, and her image is elastic and adaptive, a symbol of both hope and conquest.

Such adaptability does not undermine or dilute the impact of the Virgin's various material guises. Rather, it is a source of visual impact and meaning, and a crucial engine driving the continued existence of the three pilgrimage places. At Chartres, where cultural heritage narratives are so influential, Mary as Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière has become a malleable twenty-first century logo of the cathedral. In the constant addition of new audiences at Chartres, her slightly smiling face on the twelfth century stained glass remains accessible through guidebooks, signage, memorabilia, and websites.

At Medjugorje, the statues of Mary designating apparition spots serve as meaningful

⁴ Thomas A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Patricia Harrington, "Mother of Death, Mother of Rebirth: The Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 56.1 (1988): 25-50.

⁵ Harrington, 34-5, 45-6.

symbols for Croat Catholic identity and international peace. Likewise, at the House of the Virgin Mary, the repeated iterations of Mary with hands open show a figure of both early Christian history and Quranic verse. There, the image of the Virgin is a declaration of shared space among multiple faith traditions. The three case studies show that the polyvalence of Marian images is not merely a historical phenomenon, and Mary's iconographic adaptability can accommodate multiple memories and audiences in a contemporary context. The very ability of Mary's image to speak to a wide range of stakeholders and visitors at the three case studies affirms her status as a modern "megastar" and an enduring figure of global pilgrimage.⁶

Emplaced memory

Memory narratives are a principle source of contestation in all three case studies, as the range of actors that foster porousness install or individualize different memories about a place or an image. Chartres is commemorated as an artistic masterpiece as well as a centuries-old devotional pilgrimage destination. The House of the Virgin Mary memorializes the sacred, physical presence of the mother of God, and is also one part of an ensemble of cultural monuments from layers of past civilizations. Medjugorje's landscape celebrates Mary's appearance since 1981, yet also symbolizes vindication in the face of historical persecution. Throughout, memory narratives are not only contested but also grounded artistically and physically as part of emplaced contestation.

⁶ Hermkens et al., 1.

This kind of grounding of memory in images happens in all three case studies. At Chartres, explanatory signage conveys to visitors both the cultural and religious value of images such as the Belle Verrière window. At the House of the Virgin Mary, the Quranic verses appear beneath a repeated image of the house's interior altar, connecting it with historic narratives about Mary in distinct faith traditions. At Medjugorje, the statue of Mary in the parish plaza allows devotees to recall its twin on Apparition Hill where the first apparition occurred, even as it allows the Franciscans to demonstrate their historical chosen status through their proximity to the phenomenon. In all these cases, the profound emplacement of memory in images shows the importance of artworks, architecture, and visual culture to pilgrimage places. These elements are not a backdrop or stage, but active parts of pilgrimage meaning and activity.

Another theme in the contested, emplaced memory throughout the case studies is the importance of memory narratives to questions of identity and power, as grounded in these particular places. At the House of the Virgin Mary, the Turkish state purposely deploys the site as part of an overall strategy to promote both religious tourism and the heritage status of the country. The country's history and culture are a source of national pride—the government's official tourism portal calls Turkey the cradle of civilizations—emphasized in the state proposal for Ephesus as a World Heritage Site. Capuchin caretakers supplement this narrative by presenting the House of the Virgin Mary as a pluralistic place, reflecting its location in an overwhelmingly Muslim-majority country, and welcome Muslim visitors through their publicity and display of verses from the Quran. At Chartres, memory narratives serve sometimes contradictory political purposes. The cathedral is a physical marker of the country's religious and aesthetic history, as a

masterpiece of French Gothic style, *Opus Francigenum*, and a publicly managed heritage project. Its powerful associations, religiously and culturally, are precisely what makes the cathedral such a potent symbol both for nationalism and multiculturalism, tradition and transformation. The cathedral's signage declares secular ownership by the French state, even as it integrates religious pilgrimages by both Tamil groups and the Society of St. Pius X. In the case of Chartres, heritage involves identity for different actors in different ways—creating what Laurajane Smith calls “a cultural place or sense of belonging.”⁷

At Medjugorje, memory is deeply intertwined with identity and power, beyond the power to control a lucrative pilgrimage site. The ability to define the community of faith through the apparitions has been a potent source of power since Medjugorje's founding in 1981. For Franciscan leadership, apparitions served to strengthen local Catholic identity; later, during the Bosnian War, the apparitions served to articulate and commemorate the legitimacy and grievances of that community. Those grievances spilled over into violence, taking form in ethnic cleansing launched by Croat nationalists from the town, and threats and obstruction from the Franciscans toward the regional church. The locations of the apparitions—memorialized by crosses and statues of the Virgin—served as a tangible reminder of the community's embattled past, as well as its embattled present in terms of official church recognition of the Medjugorje phenomenon.

Pilgrimage places may become memory complexes, giving shape to narratives of identity, struggle, and vindication. These narratives intersect and even collide. The

⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 75.

interaction of multiple memory narratives sheds light on disputed pilgrimage places. These narratives, and the ways they are embedded in images and architecture, help us understand how multiple groups lay claim to places like *al-Haram al-Sharif* or the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, or how the use or threat of violence against pilgrimage shrines and sacred objects could have so much symbolic value. This is what pilgrimage places do—they locate memory. Indeed, they serve as examples of Nora’s *lieux de mémoire*, places of memory that mark shared symbols and experiences, allowing us to localize our collective sorrow, grief, joy, and triumph.⁸ In the most extreme cases, such memory narratives inflame groups to the extent that they attack those outside the community. While Eade and Sallnow do not define contestation as aggression or violence, in the case of Medjugorje and elsewhere, such possibilities are not precluded.

Setting up camp in the ordinary: Commerce and pilgrimage

A significant source of porous boundaries in the case studies is the intermingling of devotional and commercial place. This form of porousness is facilitated by the range of actors that become involved in the global pilgrimage marketplace, from cathedral caretakers at Chartres who invite the pilgrimage of one day to UNESCO, conservation non-profits, tour operators, and vendors inside or nearby. The case studies demonstrate the continuity of commercial concerns as an important factor in the continued existence of pilgrimage places. In the case of Chartres, with its rich history of commercial activity outside its doors, the cathedral has sustained involvement with the pilgrimage

⁸ Nora, *Les Lieux de Memoire*; Coleman, “Memory as Absence and Presence,” 3.

marketplace for centuries. However, today's pilgrimage marketplace is not the same as historical commercial activity. Medieval pilgrimage may have included markets coinciding with the major Marian feast days and the sale of pilgrimage badges on the cathedral's doorstep. However, the rise of modern tourism in nineteenth century Europe was predicated on technological advances that affected all forms of travel for a range of social classes. Chapter Five put the rise of nineteenth century Marian pilgrimage in the context of these advances: mass travel facilitated the rise in popularity of places like Lourdes, creating an overall favorable climate for a place of Marian devotion like the House of the Virgin Mary to flourish. Thus, the relative safety and comfort of mass technology and culture encouraged pilgrimage activity as its more arduous and time-intensive—as well as painful—aspects were reduced over time. In present day context, global pilgrimage can still pose dangers, but bandits, mercenaries, disease, wild dogs, and the elements are no longer the omnipresent threats they once were.

This is an important distinction to make, despite the enduring role of commerce in pilgrimage. Medieval Christianity located pilgrimage as part of its overarching cosmology, not as a separate sphere of human activity associate with leisure and mass culture. Even the commercial activities outside Chartres occurred within bounded pilgrimage space delineated by the cult of Mary. Consequently, pilgrimage in past eras also had a distinct legal facet, and could be meted out as a punishment for crimes as diverse as assault, obstruction of justice, and sheltering a party to a vendetta—and the terrible crime of arson could warrant a pilgrimage all the way to Jerusalem or Santiago.⁹

⁹ Sumption, 147-8. See also Susan S. Morrison, *Women Pilgrimage in Late Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2002), 57.

Pilgrimage was moreover a political phenomenon, and kings visited shrines to be crowned, or to touch and process with relics, drawing upon the social power they imparted.¹⁰ From the donation of relics by Charlemagne to supportive allies to Louis IX's thirteenth century processions with the Crown of Thorns, sacred objects demonstrated the venerability, influence, and aura of royalty.¹¹ And, of course, in addition to its legal and political dimensions, pilgrimage was a theological and hagiographic category. It was palpably salvific, where proximity to the saint through pilgrimage saved one's soul and delivered blessings on earth.

Now, the framework of globalization—greater scale of production, economic integration among states, mobile populations, and technological advances—has created new ways for commercial actors to be involved in Steller's distinctly postmodern pilgrimage.¹² At all three case studies, stakeholders and caretakers turn to digital and social media for publicity, regional and global supply lines for merchandise, and non-profits to cultivate donors and patrons at home and abroad. This last point concerning non-profits is key. Governmental, non-governmental, and inter-governmental organizations—and in many cases, specifically non-religious ones—are crucial stakeholders promoting the cultural and commercial value in the three case studies. These include the American Friends of Chartres, the Turkish Ministry of Tourism, the French

¹⁰ Jacques le Goff, "Reims, City of Coronation," *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past, Volume 3*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 194; William W. Clark, *Medieval Cathedrals* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006), 87.

¹¹ Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 165; Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 166.

¹² Steller, 2543.

Ministry of Culture and Communication, the Ephesus Foundation USA, Caritas, and UNESCO. All these organizations support the profile and worth of all three places, with their various missions and priorities. In these regards, the case studies demonstrate both the continuity of commercial concerns at pilgrimage sites and the unique circumstances of contemporary pilgrimage financing.

The pilgrim and the tourist

Throughout, my case studies support the work of scholars who locate pilgrimage in the daily spaces of social and economic life. All three places feature purposeful strategies that convey sacredness through mass-produced images, notably of the Virgin Mary. This is congruent with Coleman's understanding of pilgrimage as an activity that does not stand apart from all others, but rather, serves our constructions of the sacred.¹³ This is also relevant to Kaufman's argument, raised in Chapter Four in reference to Medjugorje: we must challenge the idea that there is authentic spirituality beyond the marketplace and instead, recognize the "inability to fix a stable boundary between religion and commerce."¹⁴ This is, in her words, cross-fertilization between commerce and pilgrimage—borne out not only at Medjugorje, but also in different ways in the cultural heritage marketplaces at Chartres and Ephesus. Indeed, considering the case studies as a set, cross-fertilization becomes an intertwining of devotional and commercial place. That is, the strong commercial character of all three places is not so much reconciliation between overlapping devotional and commercial spheres. Instead, these

¹³ Coleman, "From England's Nazareth to Sweden's Jerusalem," 53.

¹⁴ Kaufman, *Consuming Visions*, 14-15.

spheres interconnect and thereby, in Reader's terms, allow our ideas about the sacred to materialize.

Thus, this is less about the reduction of devotional space by secular commercial space than their intermingling. Chartres cathedral has a gift shop directly inside it, but the city also publicizes its Roman Catholic cathedral and religious pilgrimage associated with it. Likewise, the House of the Virgin Mary features souvenir kiosks directly on the grounds, selling trinkets that repeat and thus elevate important images of the Virgin with her hands outstretched. This is the mutual influence of religious and commercial practices, as argued by Weidenfeld and Ron.¹⁵ It is not always neat or simple—those celebrating mass at Chartres or fastening prayers to the wishing wall at the House of the Virgin Mary, for example, may become the photographic subject of visitors walking past. However, this is how porousness manifests at the case studies. As Belden Lane states, reflecting on the work of Jonathan Smith, sacred places do not have a unique and epiphanic quality that differs from the world around them. Rather, they are part of a religious world that “continually sets up camp in the ordinary.”¹⁶ Reader goes even further, eschewing the very language of “the ordinary” for the global pilgrimage marketplace. For Reader, the commercial aspects of pilgrimage are not so much ordinary as they are vital for a site to thrive, attract visitors, and remain relevant in a world with many choices of a destination. In this way, at Chartres, Medjugorje, and the House of the Virgin Mary, the pilgrimage marketplace is integral to the construction of pilgrimage place. The marketplace is not

¹⁵ Weidenfeld and Ron, “Religious Needs in the Tourism Industry.”

¹⁶ Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 48. Lane is reflecting on Smith, *Map is not Territory*, 308.

only deeply woven into the fabric of place, but it also reiterates and valorizes the images that are central to meaning and status there.

Consequently, while some distinctions in practice can be made, we cannot completely separate pilgrimage from tourism at the three places, just as we cannot completely separate the places they occupy. The Turners' ideas of a mundane world we leave in order to seek the sacred mode of *communitas*, or fresh and spontaneous pilgrimage places free from routinization, cannot be sustained by the case studies. This is dramatically illustrated by Medjugorje and its subsuming of a previously isolated town in the pilgrimage industry; however, it is also compellingly shown in the cultural heritage industry that has such a major role at Chartres and in the Ephesus area.

Significantly, Chartres, Medjugorje, and the House of the Virgin Mary attest to the complex and porous—and sometimes outright messy—relationship between the categories of pilgrimage and tourism. My goal is not to eliminate the terminology of pilgrimage and tourism, as these are descriptive terms used by myriad stakeholders, caretakers, and participants in reference to these places. Rather, as Jonathan Smith suggests in *Map is not Territory*, where we are unable to resolve tensions in our categories and orientations, we may allow incongruous elements to stand—and thus recognize our task of understanding their very tension and interplay.¹⁷ As such, I wish to let pilgrimage and tourism stand as continuously renegotiated. To suggest the primacy or uniqueness of one over the other, as the Turners do, is to render static the interplay

¹⁷ Smith, *Map is not Territory*, 309.

between them. Ultimately, attempts to sort pilgrims as types of tourists or tourists as types of pilgrims lessen our focus on the broader context in which pilgrimage occurs.¹⁸

Areas for Future Research

The case studies examined here suggest several areas of future research—notably, a wider examination of pilgrimage places as porously bounded. An obvious category is Marian apparition places, in part to see if Medjugorje’s dispersed character, including spatial contagion to mimetic sites in other locations, is a shared characteristic of apparition sites. Major places such as Lourdes, La Salette, and Fatima are key instances, and ones where their historically bounded apparitions may provide a contrast to the porousness fostered by the ongoing Medjugorje phenomenon. As well, smaller and less established apparition places, relatively new and not recognized by Roman Catholic authorities, may offer other cases of immediate contestation involving local caretakers and the church hierarchy. Possible cases include claimed apparitions by Our Lady of Guardia in Italy and Our Lady of Velankanni in India.¹⁹

Contestation of memory at different pilgrimage places also warrants examination. Pilgrimage to Our Lady of Częstochowa in Poland is a case in point. The Byzantine icon of the Virgin at the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa has drawn crowds for centuries. The icon has not only proven a powerful focus of devotion, but it has also commemorated narratives of Polish national identity, and the image with its believed

¹⁸ David L. Gladstone, *From Pilgrimage to Package Tour: Travel and Tourism in the Third World* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 174.

¹⁹ Jonathan Y. Tan, “Asian-American Marian Devotions as Ritual Practice,” *New Theology Review* 23.3 (2010): 37-8; Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim*, 64.

miraculous powers has served as a tangible symbol of Polish, Catholic identity.²⁰ How such memories are emplaced, and how they foster porousness among national, cultural, and devotional place would be a compelling case study in contemporary, multicultural Europe.

A further area of future research stems from issues of cultural conservation. As Chartres and the House of the Virgin Mary show, porousness arises from their role as both cultural heritage monuments and functioning places of Roman Catholic liturgy. A major contributing factor to this tension is their designations as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and the global attention that such a designation brings. A comparison of pilgrimage places with high cultural value would help show whether there is a specific type or degree of porousness that accompanies global cultural properties. In particular, a comparison of other pilgrimage places designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites would help identify themes or patterns in how they address multiple audiences. An investigation of ensemble sites, similar to Ephesus, would also clarify whether the hypertextual quality is a shared feature of heritage areas linking multiple monuments.

Pilgrimage Place, Unfinished

As a set, the three case studies demonstrate the variations in the dynamics of pilgrimage places, showing how such environments work in the contemporary world. In this context, the complexities and variations of porousness arise from the wide-ranging audiences, memories, and markets that give these places meaning. Even the most

²⁰ Cathelijne de Busser and Anna Niediwiedz, "Mary in Poland: A Polish Master Symbol," *Moved by Mary*, 87-100; Marysia Galbraith, "On the Road to Czestochowa: Rhetoric and Experience on a Polish Pilgrimage," *Anthropological Quarterly* 73.2 (2000): 61-73.

physically bounded site—a Gothic cathedral—becomes expansive, electronic, and global within a broader pilgrimage environment, raising questions about how we define pilgrimage place. Religious and devotional aspects have not disappeared at any of the three case studies, but they have been joined by an array of new images, participants, and interests.

In Chapter Four, I referred to Medjugorje as the epitome of what Sarah Blick describes as the unfinished nature of pilgrimage place. For Blick, the shrine is not a definitive thing, but an open, changing setting where images and objects are placed and replaced, shifting meaning and impact for viewers. This is most overtly the case at Medjugorje, where the apparition phenomenon is in progress, creating a pilgrimage environment that is not closed or final. In some regards, however, this is also true of Chartres and the House of the Virgin Mary, as well. They are renovated and repurposed, recontextualized in a web of surrounding monuments, and reconsidered with heritage signage. With their connections to a changing world, they also change in their configuration and symbolism. This is an important aspect of pilgrimage places—their dynamic nature. From a medieval cathedral to a mountainside dotted with the Stations of the Cross, these places present us with varying accounts of place and power, interaction and inspiration, and distance and proximity.

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