The Pilgrim Corps Vivant: Closing the Gap Between Foundational Typologies and Non-Locative Pilgrimage Practices – *Die Sionpilger* by Felix Fabri as Case Study

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis I examine whether the pilgrimage typologies suggested by Victor and Edith Turner (*communitas*) as well as that of John Eade and Michael Sallnow (contestation) are useful tools for describing and analyzing non-locative pilgrimage practices. As these understandings of pilgrimage are based on locative examples of sacred journeying, there is a risk of them being reduced to pertaining solely to physical travel. I propose a clarification of these typologies using the phenomenological work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, such that pilgrims are best understood as both biological and psychological beings whose perceptions and intellectual functions are not separate, but rather inextricably intertwined. In order to examine whether the typologies are suitable for discussing non-locative pilgrimage, I draw on a historical test case: *Die Sionpilger* (1492) written by Dominican Friar Felix Fabri. I demonstrate that the typologies are suitable for discussing non-locative journeys, in that many of the characteristics described by the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow are constituent elements present in the text *Die Sionpilger*.

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However, I say for certain, that I did not have so much labour in making my pilgrimage from place to place, as I had in running from book to book, in thinking, reading and writing, correcting and correlating that I have written.

Pro certo autem dico, quod non tantum laborem habui de loco ad locum peregrinando, quantum habui de libro ad librum discurrendo, quaerendo, legendo, et scribendo, scripta corrigendo et concordando.

- Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*
  As translated by K. Beebe

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Glossary

Communitas (pilgrimage typology): An understanding of pilgrimage proposed by Victor Turner and Edith Turner. It outlines how pilgrimage travel occurs in three phases (leave-taking, journey, and re-aggregation) and will often include periods of *communitas*, or deep fellow-feeling.

Communitas (types):

Spontaneous/existential: The type of fellow-feeling which organically arises in spurts where the everyday, hierarchical, social structures dissolve between pilgrims which allows them to relate to each other as equals.

Normative: An attempt to codify the rules and ethical principles which arise from episodes of spontaneous *communitas*. This can be seen in the rules which emerge on pilgrimage routes as they are re-enacted over time and become entrenched within a tradition.

Ideological: The implementation of precepts codified in 'normative *communitas*' into the social structure of everyday living within a community.

Contestation (pilgrimage typology): An understanding of pilgrimage proposed by John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow. It states that sacred sites are devoid of inherent meaning and rather act as 'religious voids' into which figures of authority and pilgrims alike attribute their own meanings. The plenitude of meanings generated will come into conflict with one another as groups interact.

Die Sionpilger (1492): A spiritual guide book written by Dominican Friar Felix Fabri (1441-1502) to allow the cloistered reformed women's houses of *Medingen* and *Medlingen* to spiritually travel the three major pilgrimage routes of the time: Rome, St James' Way, and Jerusalem. Fabri described the three routes in daily narratives, with his home town of Ulm (in modern day Germany) serving as start/end point, with detailed instructions for how they should be undertaken.

Knightly Pilgrim [*Ritter belgrin*]: Term used in *Die Sionpilger* to denote those who physically travel on pilgrimage.

Spiritual (non-locative) pilgrimage: A form of pilgrimage travel which allows pilgrims to remain within their quotidian lives. Pilgrims visit sacred sites via imagination/spirit sometimes with the aid of a text, narrative, or in modern times internet/video technology.

Syon pilgrims [*Syon bilgrin*]: Term used in *Die Sionpilger* to denote those who travel on pilgrimage, in spirit, through use of Fabri's text.

The living body [*le corps vivant*]: Term used by Maurice Merleau-Ponty to represent the holistic, reality of human beings as a complementary whole composed of the cognitive and physical dimension which interact with the world

Introduction – Can Foundational Pilgrimage Typologies Describe Non-Locative Journeys?

"PILGRIMAGE IS A UNIVERSAL phenomenon".[1] Through this quote, Deborah Ross alludes to the fact that sacred journeying is part of virtually all major religious traditions.[2] In 2017, an estimated 2.35 million Muslims from around the world performed the annual *Hajj* to the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia.[3] In 2016, over 75 million pilgrims traveled to bathe in the Kshipra River in India as part of the *Kumbh Mela*.[4] Every year, an estimated 6 million Christian pilgrims visit Lourdes, France, to bathe in the waters for their healing properties.[5] As pilgrimage practice is a part of many world religions, it necessarily still impinges upon the lives of millions of people today.

Within popular Western culture, pilgrimage has been taken up in both religious and secular contexts. One contemporary example of a pilgrimage that attracts both religious and non-religious practitioners is the way of St James, the Camino de Santiago de Compostela in Spain, whose routes historically spread throughout Europe.[6] Due in part to its extensive coverage in mainstream media, including the Hollywood movie *The Way*,[7] more and more pilgrims are also traveling on pilgrimage routes that were religious in origin, even though not all contemporary

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[1] Emphasis author's. Deborah Ross, "Introduction," in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), xxix.
[2] Ross, "Introduction," xxix.
[3] Associated Press, "The Muslim Hajj Pilgrimage in Numbers," *Inquirer*, September 2, 2017, http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/927487/muslim-hajj-islam-statistics.
[4] Mattersindia.com, "75 Million Attend Ujjain's Kumbh Mela," *Matters India*, May 23, 2016, http://mattersindia.com/2016/05/75-million-attend-ujjains-kumbh-mela/. The location of the Kumbh Mela is celebrated once every three years on a rotational basis between four locations: Haridwar, Ujjain, Nashik, and Praya. (modern Allahabad). The Ardh Mela, or "half Mela" is celebrated at the halfway point between Kumbh Melas in Allabad and Haridwar (six years after the Kumbh Mela is celebrated at these locations), with a Great Kumbh Mela occurring every 144 years at Prayag. For more information see: Krishnapillai Shadananan Nair, "Role of water in the development of civilization in India–a review of ancient literature, traditional practices and beliefs," *The Basis of Civilization – water Science? Proceedings of the UNIESCO/IAHS/IWHA Symposium* (Rome, IAHS Publications, 2003), 165.
[5] Office du Tourisme de Lourdes, "History," *Lourdes: Info Tourism*, 2017, https://www.lourdes-infotourisme.com/web/EN/394-history.php; Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 45.
[6] For a comprehensive list of the modern routes see: Alex Simon, "Camino Routes," *Camino de Santiago: The Pilgrimage Routes to Santiago de Compostela*, 2018, http://santiago-compostela.net/routes/.
[7] Emilio Estevez, *The Way*, dir. Emilio Estevez, (Filmax, Elixir Films, 2010).

pilgrims do so for explicitly religious reasons.[8] Given the increasing numbers of those engaging in pilgrimage, it is no surprise that it has come to the attention of contemporary researchers.

The common contemporary understanding of pilgrimage, both popular and scholarly, is grounded in physical mobility. As noted by Connie Hill-Smith in *Cyberpilgrimage: A Study of Authenticity, Presence and Meaning in Online Pilgrim Experiences*, modern forms of non-locative pilgrimage, such as internet driven cyberpilgrimage,[9] are often regarded with suspicion. "[The reluctance to accept cyberpilgrimage] suggests a view that experience should be physically grounded to be considered authentic[10] and therefore ratifiable and deserving of similar benefit [to traditional physical pilgrimage]".[11] This viewpoint suggests that the legitimacy of pilgrimage is somehow connected to the physical body of the pilgrim travelling to a geographically sacred space. Viewing pilgrimage in such a way ignores the multitude of non-locative[12] practices associated with such a spiritual exercise.

I. Thesis Statement

In this thesis I will address the absence of non-locative journeys, a lacuna in scholarly pilgrimage typologies. I will also propose a point of clarification that will facilitate inquiry into

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[8] For more information see Rubén C. Lois-González and Xosé Santos, "Tourists and pilgrims on their way to Santiago. Motives Caminos and Final Destinations," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 13, no. 2 (2015): 149-164. It is beyond the scope of my thesis to discuss the relationship between secular or religious pilgrimage and tourism. For more information on this subject see: Linda Kay Davidson and David M. Gitlitz, "Motives," in *Pilgrimage: from the Ganges to Graceland: and Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002) 404-407; William Cavanaugh, "Migrant, Tourist, Pilgrim, Monk: Mobility and Identity in a Global Age," *Theological Studies* 69, no. 2 (2008): 340-356; Noga Collins-Kreiner, "The geography of pilgrimage and tourism: Transformations and implications for applied geography," *Applied Geography* 30, no. 1 (2010): 153-164.

[9] Cyberpilgrimage, as defined by Hill-Smith is any form of sacred travel which uses the internet as primary vehicle to visit a sacred center virtually. Connie Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online Pilgrimage Experience," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 6 (2011): 237.

[10] It should be noted that "authentic", as used by Hill-Smith, seems to be used in lieu of "legitimate", although the term is never defined by the author. For a similar use of this term and description see Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) 66-68.

[11] Connie Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: A Study of Authenticity, Presence and meaning in Online Pilgrimage Experiences," *Journal of Religion and Pupular Culture* 21, no. 2 (2009): 3. A similar point is raised by Mark MacWilliams in his attempt to demonstrate internet pilgrimage as a legitimate form of sacred journeying. See for further information: Mark MacWilliams, "Virtual Pilgrimage to Ireland's Crough Patrick," in *Religion Online: Finding Faith on the Internet*, eds. Lorne L. Dawson and Douglas E. Cowan (New York: Routledge, 2004) 223-238.

[12] This type of pilgrimage is also referred to as imaginary, mental, or spiritual pilgrimage. For more information see Lutz Kaelbel, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 693-695. For the purposes of my thesis the term spiritual and non-locative will be used interchangeably to indicate this practice. Non-locative will be used to underline the potential problem with the pilgrimage typologies of Victor Turner and Edit Turner, and John Eade and Michael Sallnow, in that they draw upon locative sacred journeys, and avoid confusion when discussing the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

both locative and non-locative pilgrimage practices. This development will go through three stages. First, I will present the text *Die Sionpilger* as an example which describes a non-locative pilgrimage which has historically been understood as comparable to – if not more beneficial than – locative pilgrimage. Second, I will describe the foundational pilgrimage typologies of Victor Turner and Edith Turner, and John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, and I will propose a clarification of the role of the pilgrim through the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Third, I will bring *Die Sionpilger* into conversation with the Turners', and Eade's and Sallnow's typologies, as clarified through Merleau-Ponty. By proceeding in such a way, it is my goal to see if it is possible to use these typologies to discuss instances of non-locative pilgrimage.

II. Methodology

In approaching my thesis topic, I began by considering how non-locative pilgrimage practices were being examined within pilgrimage studies. Of specific interested to me was if any historical instances of sacred journeys were being discussed or if this was a new, technologically driven, phenomenon. It became evident that non-locative pilgrimages had roots in late-medieval European pilgrimage practices, such as those described in Felix Fabri's *Die Sionpilger* (1492). Interestingly, this text, although mentioned in anthropological articles on pilgrimage, is often only described in historical terms. I propose an interdisciplinary approach – which includes historical, anthropological, and philosophical elements – to examine how modern pilgrimage typologies may discuss non-locative journeys, such as *Die Sionpilger*, to allow for discussion of the sacred journeys of today's would-be pilgrims.

i. Previous research

a. Finding a historical example of non-locative pilgrimage

Scholarly discussion of non-locative pilgrimage practices is currently focused around the authenticity of virtual, or cyber-, pilgrimage. These forms of travel, which utilize the internet as primary vehicle to visit a sacred center virtually, [13] are being examined in terms of their legitimacy as described by anthropological understandings of pilgrimage, specifically that of Victor Turner and Edith Turner. It is through the work of Connie Hill-Smith and Michael

[13] As defined by Hill-Smith in "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online," 237.

Xiarhos that I learned of *Die Sionpilger* initially as an authoritative historical example of a pilgrimage text written specifically for use in non-locative travel.

In "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online Pilgrimage Experience," Connie Hill-Smith builds upon the research of Mark MacWilliams, Christopher Helland, and Heidi Campbell, to evaluate whether virtual (cyber) pilgrimages might be considered as authentic, or legitimate, as physical/bodily/locative experiences. Hill-Smith's exploration of *Die Sionpilger* is limited to using it as a historical instance of non-locative pilgrimage as commensurable to locative journey.[14] She does not analyze Fabri's text, nor is it brought into conversation with the modern understandings of pilgrimage presented in the article itself. Hill-Smith limits her use of *Die Sionpilger* to its use as an example of legitimized "imaginative pilgrimage".[15]

In "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," Michael Xiarhos likewise argues for the legitimacy of non-physical forms of pilgrimage. [16] Like Hill-Smith, he mentions many instances of non-locative pilgrimage but does not explore any one of them in depth. *Die Sionpilger* itself is described briefly. Xiarhos, drawing on the work of Kathryne Beebe, discusses the reason why the nuns of Medingen and Medlingen requested such a work be created. "They [the cloistered sisters] wished to be there in the most real way possible … they wanted to use the experience [of Fabri's physical journey] to create a different but still authentic pilgrim road."[17] Although he establishes that the journeys within *Die Sionpilger* were considered to be legitimate as pilgrimages, the questions of why and how they may be understood as beneficial were not broached. Like Hill-Smith, as Xiarhos's aim is to argue for the legitimacy of non-locative forms of pilgrimage travel, thus the mere existence of such a text is sufficient.

Although neither article discusses the journeys of *Die Sionpilger* in depth, they begin the process of bringing this text into conversation with anthropological understandings of pilgrimage, through describing these journeys as legitimate forms of sacred journey which should influence how we understand modern typologies. As I had found an authoritative

[14] Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online," 243-244.
[15] Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online," 243.
[16] Dependant on the example, Xiarhos utilizes various terms – such as non-physical, virtual, and mental – to indicate pilgrimage where the participant does not leave to quotidian to travel to a sacred location. Michael Xiarhos, "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," *Journal of Religion & Society* 10, no. 1 (2016).
[17] Xiarhos, "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," 5.

historical example of non-locative pilgrimage, in *Die Sionpilger*, I turned to see how this text has been examined.

b. Die Sionpilger as historical text

Current research on *Die Sionpilger* largely focuses on its historical significance and the text's linguistic/narrative approach. Two scholars, Albrecht Classen and Katherine Beebe, lead the research efforts on this text;[18] I will appeal to their work throughout this thesis. Although each is concerned with crucial features of Fabri's text, neither brings it directly into conversation with modern pilgrimage, as their concerns are historical in nature.

As a professor in German studies, Albrecht Classen is interested in *Die Sionpilger* as it addresses the "mental structures the author [Fabri] created in his reader[s'] minds".[19] This reader response approach yields interesting results, especially in terms of the interaction between the physical reality of the knightly pilgrims and the spiritual reality, revealed through the religious imagination, of the Syon pilgrims. This allows the Syon pilgrims to experience elements in the Holy Land which physical pilgrims could not such as having conversations with the Virgin Mary and the Syon pilgrim's witnessing of the events of the Passion narrative first-hand.[20] According to Classen, Fabri's use of the inclusion of further layers of spiritual journeys, which would be inaccessible to those who physically traveled to the Holy Land, points to his narrative understandings of his intended audience. Through Fabri's drawing on motifs present in "a variety of apocryphal texts" and an understanding of the Passion narrative present in texts such as Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi* and works of art such as those by Zwölf Meister thereby "amplify[ing] the traditional account of the New Testament", Classen summarizes that these themes would have made up part of the nun's spiritual landscape.[21]

[18] These are the two principal scholars in the literature written in English. There is much work written in German concerning *Die Sionpilger*, however these will not be used in this thesis due to my limited knowledge of the language and the unavailability of translations.
[19] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 111.
[20] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 122-123. I will return to these episodes below and describe them in depth.
[21] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123. Classen does not indicate which apocryphal texts may have influenced Fabri.

Similarly, the work of historian Kathryne Beebe focuses on the reconstruction of the world of Felix Fabri. Her primary concern is to "understand … who these audiences were; how Fabri approached them in his writings; and how they received and read his pilgrimage accounts".[22] *Die Sionpilger* is generally considered alongside the devotional works of *die deutsche Mystik* tradition.[23] Beebe seeks to move past this category in order to acknowledge "the part enclosed Dominican women played in commissioning, copying and transmitting Fabri's work, we … come to a better understanding of the primary spiritual purpose of the enterprise".[24] As it was written with this audience in mind, *Die Sionpilger* features many elements which speak directly to their spiritual needs.

In the cases of both Classen and Beebe, the central concern is historical in nature: the emphasis is placed upon reconstructing the spatiotemporal context of Fabri and the nuns of Medingen and Medlingen through various reader response techniques. Their focus is not on the journey described in *Die Sionpilger* and what it could mean for non-locative pilgrimage but rather on the text itself, the culture which produced it, and how it would have been understood by its intended audience. Classen's and Beebe's historical insights are invaluable as, when placed into conversation with the anthropological insights of Hill-Smith and Xiarhos, they allow for discussion of *Die Sionpilger* as a non-locative pilgrimage text. As such, this thesis will take an interdisciplinary approach to the subject to fully examine Fabri's text and its potential interaction with modern pilgrimage typologies.

ii. The current study

a. Die Sionpilger: a test case

In order to verify the suitability of contemporary pilgrimage typologies to speak of non-locative journeys, one such journey must serve as a model. The fifteenth-century text *Die*

[22] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 1.
[23] It is beyond the scope of my thesis to discuss the connection of *Die Sionpilger* with the devotional works of *die deutch Mystik*. For a brief overview see Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrimage and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's 'Die Sionpilger'," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 25, no. 1 (2008): 48-49.
[24] Kim M. Philips, "*Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)*," review of *Pilgrim & Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* by Katheryne Beebe, *American Historical Review* 131, no. 1 (2016): 316.

Sionpilger by Dominican friar and pilgrim Felix Fabri[25] (1441-1502), presents an ideal test case. Not only does it recreate the pilgrimage experience for those unable to leave their quotidian lives but is one of the most detailed examples of a non-locative pilgrimage guide book.[26]

The text was written in 1492 at the behest of the observant reformed women's houses of *Medingen* and *Medlingen* in the province of Ulm (in modern Germany).[27] The cloistered sisters wanted a detailed first-hand account of the pilgrimage journey to the three major Christian destinations of the time: Rome, Santiago, and Jerusalem.[28] They requested the text also include information on how to obtain indulgences, a partial or total remission of the recipient's sin. [29] Within the completed work, Fabri describes three pilgrimage journeys – one on each route, with his hometown of Ulm serving as start/end point – and detailed instructions for how a non-locative, narratively driven, pilgrimage should be undertaken. Referred to as Syon pilgrims, [30] those who engaged in this practice of pilgrimage used daily readings to virtually travel pilgrimage routes without leaving their quotidian lives. They would gain the same amount, and sometimes more, indulgences than the knightly pilgrims, those who physically travelled to the holy centers.[31]

Preference will be given to the section of *Die Sionpilger* which describes the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (*Jerusalemfahrt*). I do this because, although Fabri wrote about journeys to Rome and

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[25] Born Felix Schmid. Weiland Carls, "Felix Fabri – Leben und Werk," in Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, Vol 39 of *Text des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit,* trans. Wieland Carls (Berlin: Enrich Schmidt, 1999), 53. Although he is also referred to in some works under the nominative form Faber, I will be using the name Fabri, as it is how the author refers to himself within the work. See for original text Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, Vol 39 of *Text des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit,* trans. Wieland Carls (Berlin: Enrich Schmidt, 1999); For full explanation of debate over Fabri name, see Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 59, footnote 1.

[26] Kaelber, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 693.

[27] The province of Ulm is located in modern day Germany. Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 1; Kathryne Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 39.

[28] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42.

[29] An indulgence is a partial, or total remission, of the recipient's sins gained by performing particular rituals or prayers, often in precise locations, in Catholic tradition. An indulgence grants absolution from a specific amount of penance that would otherwise be performed during an individual's life or in the afterlife. For more information see: Elvio Ciferri, "Papacy and Pilgrimage," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 483; Jessalynn Bird, "Indulgences," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 278.

[30] Also referred to as the "Daughters of Syon". Albrecht Classen, "Late Medieval German Pilgrimage Narratives," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 115. This group is sometimes referred by scholars as "Sion pilgrims". Here and throughout I will be using the term Syon as it is the term used by Fabri himself.

[31] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42-44.

Santiago, Jerusalem was the only location of the three to which he physically travelled.[32] Direct translations of the text will be provided when possible. I will draw on the work of pioneering historians Albrecht Classen and Kathryne Beebe, including their English translations of Weiland Carls's annotated rendering of the aforementioned text from Swabian into High-Medieval German.[33]

b. Selecting pilgrimage typologies

Modern pilgrimage studies had its beginnings in the seminal work of husband and wife anthropologists, Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978). As noted by anthropologist Simon Coleman, "[researchers] who embark on the study of pilgrimage almost always start out debating with the pronouncements of Victor [and Edith] Turner, whose framework they invariably employ as a point of departure".[34] As such the Turners will also serve as a point of departure for a typology of pilgrimage which may be useful in discussing non-locative pilgrimage.

The Turners present a typology of pilgrimage that is often referred to in academic literature as the *communitas* model.[35] This model reflects ethnographer Arnold van Gennep's work on rites of passage among tribal societies.[36] The Turners claim that Christian pilgrimages, like rites of passage, take place in three parts. First, pilgrims leave their quotidian environment to journey towards a predetermined sacred place.[37] Second, pilgrims journey towards a sacred center. During the journey pilgrims purportedly experiences *communitas*, that is intimate communion

[32] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher,* 79-85.
[33] In his annotated translation, Carls draws upon all four extant manuscripts of *Die Sionpilger*: Ulm, Stadtarchiv, A [5925] (former shelfmark: Cod. U 9727) (1493); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliohek, Cod. Theol. et phil. 4° 143 (1494); St Petersburg, Eremitage, Inv.-Nr. 169562 [earlier, Berlin, Königliches meuseum] (1494); and Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. 413 (Hübl 248), ff. 3^{r}-479^{r} (1495). For description see Weiland Carls, "Edition der *Sionpilger*," in Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, Vol 39 of *Text des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit,* trans. Wieland Carls (Berlin: Enrich Schmidt, 1999), 63-65.
[34] Christian Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrims in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 5 as cited in Simon Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage? Communitas, Contestation and Beyond," *Anthropology Theory* 2, no. 3 (2002): 356.
[35] Although referred to by its most predominant feature, the Turners' typology should not be reduced to just this element.
[36] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, "Introduction," in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 9.
[37] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 6.

with fellow travelers.[38] Once pilgrims reach their destination, it is common for them to engage in ritualized encounters with the holy figure associated with the site.[39] Third, pilgrims return to their everyday lives purportedly transformed by the journey.[40]

A second generation of pilgrimage scholars emerged in response to the Turners' theory, most notably catalyzed by anthropologists John Eade's and Michael Sallnow's *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (1991). Creating a "significant impact on pilgrimage studies in the 1990s,"[41] they critiqued the Turners view of *communitas* as being overly utopian in nature and not reflective of the reality of what happens at sacred centers.[42] Eade and Sallnow posit that the geographic location itself does not contain a universal meaning, but rather becomes the site of differing and sometimes contested meanings. As such, in academic literature it is referred to as the contestation model.[43] For Eade and Sallnow, the sacred center is a "religious void" which figures of authority and pilgrims alike imbue with their own meanings. Their typology proposed a new understanding of pilgrimage and the interplay among pilgrims, sacred sites, and the narratives associated with them.[44]

The typologies proposed, both by the Turners and by Eade and Sallnow, are grounded in observations of the practices performed during locative pilgrimages. The Turners carried out ethnographic research at various sacred locations associated with the Roman Catholic faith. Eade's and Sallnow's typology draws upon the ethnographic research of a group of scholars who gathered at an interdisciplinary conference on pilgrimage at the Roehampton Institute of Higher Education (now University of Roehampton), in July 1988.[45] As such, neither typology directly addresses non-locative pilgrimage.

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[38] Edith Turner, "Pilgrimage: An Overview," in *Encyclopedia of Religion* Lindsay Jones (ed.) 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Refference USA, 2005): 7146
[39] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 11.
[40] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 15.
[41] John Eade, "Introduction to the Illinois Paperback," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. John Eade and Micheal J. Sallnow (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013/1991), xiii.
[42] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 5.
[43] Similar to referring to the Turners typology as *communitas*, although referred to by its most predominant feature, Eade's and Sallnow's typology should not be reduced to only this element.
[44] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 9.
[45] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 1.

Although not explicitly stated by the Turners, the physical act of geo-spatial movement is central to their understanding of pilgrimage.

> Pilgrimage may be thought of as extroverted mysticism, just as mysticism is introverted pilgrimage. The pilgrim traverses a mystical way; the mystic sets forth on an interior spiritual pilgrimage. For the former, concreteness and historicity dominate; for the later, a phased interior process leads to a goal beyond conceptualization.[46]

Through its juxtaposition, pilgrimage is understood as a primarily physical act, as it is the external experiential manifestation of the interior unknowable divinity present in mysticism.[47]

Within the work of Eade and Sallnow, the focus is likewise on the physical performance of pilgrimage. For example, in describing how pilgrimage centers are locations of contestation, they allude to the multitude of meaning brought to Jerusalem: a physical geographic location. The city is home to locations of religious significance for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.[48]

Eade and Sallnow also give great attention to the role of healing pilgrimages – both in the penitential sense whereby the pilgrims are forced to travel to atone for past crimes,[49] and in journeys to shrines frequented for physical healing. How the authors explore the latter demonstrates that non-locative pilgrimage is simply not within the scope of their research. "The physical body and its imperfections thereby become the focus for meanings which constitute the pilgrims as a social body – a transient community of sick and healthy travelers."[50] The journey they described is a locative one. When discussing the healing shrine of Lourdes, in France, Eade and Sallnow make note of the Hospitaller, whose function is to facilitate the bathing of pilgrims.[51] In their discussion, there is no mention of those who cannot leave their quotidian lives to travel to Lourdes nor of the measures undertaken to transport the healing powers of the shrine

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[46] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 33.
[47] Interestingly the understanding of mysticism used by the Turners is in keeping with the Medieval understanding of the term, in reference to the unknowability of the Divine. It is outside of the scope of my thesis to discuss this distinction or its interaction with the research of the Turners. For more information see: Denys Turner, *The Darkness of God: Negativity in Christian Mysticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[48] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 13.
[49] It is outside of the scope of my thesis to discuss this form of pilgrimage travel in the depth deserved. For further information see: Martin Leigh Harrison, "Penitential Pilgrimage," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 501-503.
[50] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 17.
[51] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 18.

to these individuals. As noted by Leigh Ann Craig, in *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*, the practice of object making pilgrimage fills this negative space. From late antiquity onwards, pilgrims have created third-class relics through placing objects into contact with holy items or places, so as to share their healing properties upon the return home. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the relics trade was lucrative at least for this, if not any other reasons.[52] "Would-be pilgrims could thus expect to accrue some of the benefit[s] of a bodily visit to a shrine through their interactions with objects which had either been sent to a shrine with another pilgrim or purchased at the shrine itself."[53] Lest this be thought of as merely a practice of the past, as recently as September 7th, 2017, *The Cedar Rapids Gazette* reported on the phenomenon of mourners creating tertiary relics by touching items to a vial of blood of the late Pope John Paul II.[54] Although this practice occurs at pilgrimage locations such as Lourdes,[55] Eade and Sallnow do not mention it within the formulation of their typology.

As neither the Turners nor Eade and Sallnow address non-locative pilgrimage practices, it is possible to mistakenly reduce their typologies as applicable only to locative journeys. However, a clarification of the nature of the pilgrim will allow for *communitas* and contestation models to address non-locative pilgrimage.

c. What is a pilgrim?

In this thesis I will clarify two of the foundational typologies in pilgrimage studies in order to address their neglect of non-locative pilgrimage. To do this I will draw on the work of philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty.[56] In *Phenomenology of Perception*, he presents a

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[52] Leigh Ann Craig, "'That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility:' Women and Non-Corporeal Pilgrimage," in *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 234-5.
[53] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 235.
[54] Makayla Tendall, "Local Catholics Emotional in Honoring Relic from Late Pope John Paul II," *The Gazette*, September 7, 2017, http://www.thegazette.com/subject/life/people-places/local-catholics-emotional-in-honoring-relic-from-late-pope-john-paul-ii-20170906.
[55] A google search for "Lourdes holy water for sale" yields over 437,000 results. For an example of holy water for sale see: Catholic Gift Shop Ltd., "Holy Water from Lourdes," UK company no. 884705 (Catholic Gift Shop Ltd), last modified 2017, https://www.catholicgiftshop.co.uk/holy_water_gifts.
[56] In doing so, I am building upon the incite of the interaction between Merleau-Ponty and pilgrimage in Sara Terreault, "Introduction," *The Pilgrim Body: An Anatomy of Christian and Post-Christian Intentional Movement* [special edition], *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 7, no.1 (2019). https://arrow.dit.ie/ijrtp/vol7/iss1/.

phenomenological understanding of human beings as neither reductively material nor essentially intellectual/spiritual; rather he uses the term "*living body*" [*le corps vivant*] to represent the holistic, experienced reality of being human.[57] In using this term, Merleau-Ponty rejects the notion that human experience is bifurcated into a dualistic Cartesianism, suggesting rather that it arises in the interaction of the human person as mind-body unity with the world.

> [T]he psycho-physical event can no longer be conceived after in the manner of Cartesian physiology or as the contiguity between a process in itself [perception through the body] and a *cogitatio* [the process of the mind]. The union of soul and the body is not established through an arbitrary decree that united two mutually exclusive terms, one a subject and the other an object. It is accomplished at each moment in the movement of existence.[58]

Merleau-Ponty states clearly that both the cognitive and physical dimensions of human beings' function not as dichotomous elements, but rather as a complementary whole which allows for the subject to move through and understand the world. Yet this is not enough within itself, as the subject is also not simply a passive observer of the world but one which acts within it.[59] As such, those who engage in pilgrimage, whether locative or non-locative, do so actively as holistic individuals who are both mind/spirit and body.

d. How to talk about non-locative practices

In suggesting a clarification through the work of Merleau-Ponty, it is not my aim to contradict the work of the Turners nor of Eade and Sallnow, as they have set the groundwork for this field of inquiry. As discussed by anthropologist Simon Coleman in *Do You Believe in Pilgrimage? Communitas, Contestation and Beyond*, "[b]oth *communitas* and 'contestation' have proved exceptionally good tools for scholars to think with"[60] however, neither are exhaustive

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[57] Merleau-Ponty also uses the term *le corps propre*, which is often translated by the same phrase in English translations. Jennifer Bullington, "The Lived Body," in *The Expression of the Psychosomatic Body from a Phenomenological Perspective* (New York: Springer, 2013) 25, footnote 7.

[58] [L]*'événement psychophysique ne peut plus être conçu à la manière de la physiologie cartésienne et comme la contiguïté d'un processus en soi et d'une cogitatio. L'union de l'âme et du corps n'est pas scellée par un décret arbitraire entre deux termes extérieurs, l'un objet, l'autre sujet. Elle s'accomplit à chaque instant dans le mouvement de l'existence.* M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945) 105 in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald A. Landes (New York: Routledge, 2012) 91. Although Landes does not provide the original French version that he is translating from, I will include the original French text throughout.

[59] Bullinton, "The Lived Body," 30.

[60] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 363.

pilgrimage typologies. Although there may be periods of *communitas* and/or contestation in pilgrimage experiences, they are neither inevitable nor constant, nor are they necessarily overt in nature.[61] As such, I suggest a clarification which would allow for these instances, while not limiting discussion to locative pilgrimage practices alone.

According to Coleman, anyone attempting to define pilgrimage "should not assume that over time we shall collectively achieve an ever more precise and universally applicable set of criteria with which finally to pin down 'the' activity of pilgrimage". [62] I acknowledge that this thesis does not constitute a universalizing typology which can thoroughly account for all instances of pilgrimage. Nor is it my aim to discredit any forms of meaningful journey that may not be described by the typologies used.[63] I propose that the typologies of the Turners and of Eade and Sallnow are useful in discussing pilgrimages in an inclusive way, both locatively and non-locatively. I do not propose a definitive typology of pilgrimage; rather I seek to open a practical space for further scholarly conversation about non-locative forms of pilgrimage.

III. Overview

Introduction: Can Foundational Pilgrimage Typologies Describe Non-Locative Journeys?

1. *Die Sionpilger*: A Non-locative Case Study

Chapter One will focus on the test case *Die Sionpilger* and its historical background. First, I discuss the historical context of the work. This will include the pressing spiritual desire among fifteenth-century Christians to visit the locations of salvation history, the inability of most in the Christian West to journey to Jerusalem, and the problematic political state of the region during this time. These three reasons form the basis for why the nuns of the reformed houses of *Medingen* and *Medlingen* requested that Felix Fabri write them a text for traveling non-locatively. Second, I present the journey described in *Die Sionpilger*, as a basis for a non-locative pilgrimage practice and situate it within Fabri's literary corpus. I will include how this journey is constructed, intended to be performed, as well as the benefits the Syon pilgrims were understood

[61] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 359.
[62] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 362.
[63] I do this in keeping with the two cautions Coleman raises "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 363.

to receive. Although conceived as different from physical travel, non-locative pilgrimage was not only understood during this period as legitimate, but sometimes preferable to locative practices. Through description of *Die Sionpilger*, I will place the text into conversation with pilgrimage typologies in chapter three.

2. Seminal Pilgrimage Typologies Clarified

Chapter Two will discuss seminal pilgrimage typologies and set up their characteristics for comparison with the pilgrimage described in *Die Sionpilger*. First, I describe Victor and Edith Turner's model of *communitas*. As they laid the groundwork for modern pilgrimage studies, the Turnerian typology is an important starting point for assessing whether such understandings of pilgrimage may be used to discuss non-locative practices. Second, I describe John Eade's and Michael Sallnow's contestation model. Since the contestation typology was critically proposed as an alternative to *communitas*, it is a valuable second way of understanding pilgrimage. Third, I consider the phenomenological contribution of philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty in order to clarify the role of the pilgrim, and to allow for both *communitas* and contestation models to be used for locative and non-locative practices of pilgrimage. Finally, I list the key elements of each typology. These aspects will be used to discuss the journey undertaken by the Syon pilgrims in chapter three.

3. Characteristics of Non-locative Pilgrimage: *Communitas*, Contestation, and *Die Sionpilger*

Chapter Three will bring the pilgrimage typologies into conversation with *Die Sionpilger* to assess whether the *communitas* and/or contestation models are able to address some elements of this journey. There are four salient elements to the Turnerian typology. First, a pilgrimage consists of three clearly delineated phases: leave-taking, journeying, and re-aggregation. Second, the pilgrim elects to engage in traveling and is not compelled to do so. Third, while traveling, pilgrims experience episodes of *communitas*, which may be *spontaneous, normative*, or *ideological* in nature. Fourth, the pilgrimage culminates in a sacred encounter, which the pilgrim has been previously prepared for, both consciously and unconsciously, through an increase of religious symbolism as s/he nears the sacred center. I then examine the typology proposed by Eade and Sallnow through their two central elements. First, there are instances of contestation,

either overt or implicit, at the sacred center. Finally, if there are multiple meanings, they can be explained through the triad of person, place, and text. I will not be looking for *Die Sionpilger* to fit either pilgrimage typology, but rather will aim to examine what elements of these understandings may be useful for discussing such a journey.

4. Critiques and Considerations: *Communitas*, Contestation, and Die *Sionpilger* in contemporary research

Chapter Four will examine the critiques of the typologies proposed by the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow. Through this exploration the weaknesses of each understanding of pilgrimage will be presented and analyzed. I will then discuss how they have been criticized in the study of cyber-pilgrimage. Finally, I will discuss how these critiques shaped my research and discuss the limits of this thesis.

Conclusion – Non-Locative Pilgrimage Typologies: Past, Present, and Future

Chapter One – *Die Sionpilger*: A Non-Locative Case Study

The desire to journey on pilgrimage in spite of the inability to leave one's quotidian life is not only a modern phenomenon, since historically only a minority of individuals had both the means and ability to travel in this way. For this reason, I will consider a text which was used to facilitate pilgrimage for those who could not leave their daily environment: *Die Sionpilger* by Dominican Friar Felix Fabri. Although itineraries and pilgrim diaries were likely used to engage in non-locative journeys, *Die Sionpilger* provides the most complete example of a text written for this express purpose.[64] As such, it will serve as an ideal case study and may be used to analyze the suitability of *communitas* and contestation to discuss non-locative journeys.

Although *Die Sionpilger* contains three separate pilgrimages, I will focus principally on the journey to the Holy Land as depicted in *Jerusalemfahrt* (journey to Jerusalem). Not only is it a foundational pilgrimage in Latin Christendom, as it is home to the numerous locations mentioned in the Bible, it is also the only location visited by Fabri, in 1480 and 1483, for this express purpose.[65] Although Fabri did visit Rome and parts of Italy in 1476 on ecclesiastical business, where his experiences undoubtedly shaped the *Romfahrt* (journey to Rome), he did not travel explicitly for the purpose of pilgrimage.[66] In addition, no evidence exists that would suggest Fabri ever traveled on the *Santiagofahrt* (journey to Santiago de Compostela). His recounting of this journey was likely based on the writings of other pilgrim diaries, a common practice at the time.[67]

I. Problematic Pilgrimage

As with any aspect of religious activity, a variety of political forces shape the practices of pilgrimage. When considering the reasons why *Die Sionpilger* was produced, in the late fifteenth-century, three interrelated factors become evident. First, there is a deep-seated need within Latin Christendom to witness the locations of salvation history. Second, the political state of Jerusalem during this period made it a problematic pilgrimage destination. Third, issues

[64] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 327.
[65] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 1.
[66] Herbert Wiegant, "Felix Fabri. Dominikaner, Reiseschriftsteller, Geschichtsschreiber. 1441/42-1502," in Robert Uhland (ed.), *Lebensbilder aus Schwaben und Franken,* vol 15 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), 3 in Wieland Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," in Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 24.
[67] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 24.

surrounding cost, gender, and progressive cloisterization created an inability to travel to the Holy Land at will, or sometimes at all. For these reasons, and their desire for a first-hand account, the sisters of Medingen and Medlingen requested Felix Fabri write a text for non-locative pilgrimage.

i. Desire to witness Jerusalem

Jerusalem has always held a special place in the spiritual landscape of pilgrimage in Christianity. From the second century CE onwards, Christians have been drawn to this location in search of experiencing, in some part, Christian salvation history.[68] The journey to Jerusalem allowed early Christians to enter into a liminal space where divine and material reality meet, as to "draw the soul back into communion with the Divine".[69] This impetus may be seen in one of the earliest Christian pilgrimage accounts, that of St. Paula the Elder (c. 385), who visited Jerusalem with her friend and confessor St. Jerome. The account describes Paula's reaction to seeing the purported location of Jesus' death. She "threw herself down in adoration before the cross as if she could see the Lord himself hanging from it".[70] For Paula, it was important that she inhabit the physical space where the scriptural event occurred. In doing so, she engaged with salvation history first-hand, and communed with the divine within this sacred space.

Along with the incentive for pilgrims to travel to Jerusalem to experience Christianity's salvation history, pilgrims were equally motivated by the desire to receive indulgences. An indulgence grants absolution from a specific amount of penance that would otherwise be performed during an individual's life or in the afterlife, in purgatory.[71] This practice began in 1091 when Pope Urban II granted a partial indulgence for those who helped to rebuild the

[68] Jenn Cianca, "Written by the Body: Early Christian Pilgrims as Sacred Placemakers," in *The Pilgrim Body: An Anatomy of Christian and Post-Christian Intentional Movement* [special edition], *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 7, no.1 (2019). https://arrow.dit.ie/ijrtp/vol7/iss1/.
[69] Kathryne Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 59.
[70] Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (New Jersey: Hidden Spring, 1975/2003), 125.
[71] Jessalynn Bird, "Penance," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 500; Jessalynn Bird, "Indulgences," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 278. For discussion on the variety of depictions of purgatory during the Medieval period see: Jessalynn Bird, "Purgatory," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 591-592; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, University of Cicago Press, 1986).

Norman monastery of St. Autreberthe de Pavilly.[72] The following year, Pope Urban II offered a plenary indulgence for those who fought for the "liberation" of the Holy Land in the first crusade.[73] A plenary indulgence was highly sought-after, as it would do "away with the need for penance for a lifetime".[74] With increased interest in participating in the crusade and the new pan-European Camino de Santiago, it is possible that the pilgrimage to Rome declined slightly throughout the twelfth and thirteenth century. As a response to this shift, promises of indulgences for engaging in pilgrimage increased, culminating in the plenary indulgence offered by Pope Boniface VIII in the Jubilee of 1300 for visiting Rome.[75] By the time Fabri traveled to the Holy Land in the late fifteenth century, partial indulgences were available for performing specific actions at numerous locations in Jerusalem.[76] The reason pilgrims traveled was not only for personal spiritual experience, but as a way to gain indulgences and therefore reduce, or eliminate, the need for later penance in this life or in the afterlife.

ii. Problematic pilgrims

By the end of the fourteenth century, pilgrims traveling to far-off locations, especially women, were negatively stereotyped. Pilgrimages themselves were viewed as being "possibly [spiritually] unnecessary, involv[ing] expense and sometimes physical if not moral danger".[77] Simply going on pilgrimage did not indicate any inherent moral superiority. Felix Fabri notes that on one of his pilgrimages to the Holy Land that

> [s]ome nobles [who were part of his traveling party] were *led by vanity* to write their names, with the symbols of their birth and peerage, on the walls of the church [of the Holy Sepulchre], and painted their coat of Arms thereon or pasted up papers on which these matters were inscribed on the walls of this and

[72] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 43-44; Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 201.
[73] Ciferri, "Papacy and Pilgrimage," 484; Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 200.
[74] Ciferri, "Papacy and Pilgrimage," 484.
[75] Deborah J. Birch, "The Thirteenth Century Revival," *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1998), 187-201 in Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 8; Webb, "Indulgences and Jubilees," 64.
[76] All locations, along with the amount of indulgence are indicated within *Die Sionpilger*, with different size crosses to indicate the amount of indulgence received. For an example see: Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42.
[77] Dee Dayas, "Medieval Patters of Pilgrimage: A Mirror for Today," in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, eds. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004) 101.

> other churches. Some of them carved their names with iron chisels and mallets on the pillars and marble slabs.[78]

Other activities attributed to pilgrims on their journey included, but were not limited to, sexual promiscuity, excessive drinking, playing cards, dancing, and singing secular songs.[79] As such, any individual who requested leave to engage in pilgrimage might be met with some level of suspicion.[80] The would-be pilgrim may intend to engage in the aforementioned acts or simply wished to leave the responsibilities of everyday life.[81] It was not uncommon for pilgrims to be accused of the sin of *curiositas*, or a "needless examination of worldly things which do not help one attain salvation".[82] These potential spiritual dangers of engaging in pilgrimage were especially of concern for women as they were believed to be more inclined to misbehavior then men, as they were more "feeble willed".[83] In fact, a woman asking to go on pilgrimage may be interpreted by her superiors as unconsciously yearning towards sin.[84]

Given the understanding of a would-be pilgrim as would-be sinner, it is unsurprising that travelers were required to obtain special permission to embark upon the journey. When men left on pilgrimage, they were required to seek leave from their spiritual superiors and, in the case of travel to Jerusalem, permission of the Pope himself.[85] Women were required to do the same as their male counterparts, but also to obtain permission from their legal guardian when applicable,

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[78] Emphasis mine. Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Audrey Stewart, vol. 7 of 13 (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1897), 86 in Francis Edward Peters. *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*. (Princeton, Jew Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 444. Here and elsewhere it should be noted that it was not possible to obtain original segment of *Evagatorium* as citation not provided in Stewart and only certain segments of the original were translated as noted in: Jean Meyers, "Les voyages de Frère Félix Fabri en Orient (1480-1483). Project de traduction et de réédition du texte latin," *Traditions et réceptions de l'Antiquité* 1, no. 1 (2005): 276.

[79] Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy* Matrons, 2; Carls, "Überlegungen zu einer Textgruppe," 31; Sarah C. Hopper "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered," *Mothers, Mystics and Merrymakers: Medieval Women Pilgrims* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2006), 73.

[80] Hopper, "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered," 73-75.

[81] Dayas, "Medieval Patterns of Pilgrimage," 101.

[82] Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 21.

[83] Leigh Ann Craig, "Women Pilgrims," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 827; Leigh Ann Craig, "Introduction," *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 2; Bird, "Indulgences," 676; Hopper, "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered," 76-77.

[84] Craig, "Women Pilgrims," 827.

[85] Dorothea R. French, "Felix Fabri," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 216.

that is, either their father or husband.[86] Regardless of the hesitancy towards permitting women to travel, it is known that some did engage in such journeying. Fabri himself writes of seven women who traveled with his party to Jerusalem.[87] They were "stronger than men and braver than knights" and seemed to display stronger abilities than he was accustomed to seeing from women, prompting him to wonder "[w]hence, however, could power have come to weaklings, and strength to women, save from Him who hath chosen the weak things of the world to unfound the strong?"[88]

Although it was possible to gain travel permission to Jerusalem once in a pilgrim's lifetime, a second trip was largely unheard of, and requests for such a journey were carefully scrutinized.[89] Fabri notes that in requesting his second voyage to the Holy Land, "it was a serious matter for me to ask leave for so long and so unusual a wandering, and it appeared almost impossible for me to obtain it".[90] Due to the limited number of Papal permissions granted, by the late fifteenth century there were only two major sailings from Venice to Jaffa per year.[91] This was not the only hurdle to be faced by pilgrims as Jerusalem itself was not friendly to Latin visitors.

iii. Real Jerusalem, real problems

Although many Christians wished to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, those who were able to do so faced a number of difficulties. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the Holy Land was controlled by the Ottoman Empire.[92] The sultan, Al-Ashraf Khalil, used his new power in the region to promote Muslim devotion to Jerusalem, as well as to monitor and restrict Latin pilgrimage. As the Ottomans made their presence felt, Latin pilgrimage decreased. Touristic pilgrimage in the

[86] Lutz Kaelber, "Contested Pilgrimage," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 131.
[87] Craig, "Women Pilgrims," 828; Julie Anne Smith, "Pilgrimage of Nuns," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 555.
[88] *Istae autem sunt ferreae, cunctis militibus fortiores … Sed unde fragilibus fortitudo, mulieribus robur, nisi ab eo, qui infirma mundi eligit, ut confundat fortia qui praetulit eas viris, ne quis glorietur de sexu, de fortitudine*. Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti: Peregrinationem* Cunradus Deitericus Hassler (ed.) Vol. 3 of 3. (Stuttgartiae: Sumtibus Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis, 1879), 79-80 in Craig, "Women Pilgrims," 828.
[89] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 25; Sarah C. Hopper, "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered," 74.
[90] Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, 3 in Hopper, "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered," 74; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 25.
[91] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 6.
[92] Albrecht Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine: Felix Fabri's *Sionspilger* – Late-Medieval Pilgrimage Literature as a Window into Religious Mentality," *Studies in Spirituality* 15, no. 1 (2005): 110.

region, however, increased overall as a result of travel to Palestine among the Venetians, Arabs, and Turks.[93] As mentioned above, by the late fifteenth century, travels from the Latin Empire had been reduced to two major sailings from Venice per year.[94] These voyages were similar in nature to touristic expeditions today. Differing prices were offered for differing length of travel; for example, if a pilgrim chose to continue to Sinai, Cairo, or Alexandria after Jerusalem there would be extra cost. In addition, full arrangements would be made in the event of death.[95] These voyages were usually organized by Venetian agents who had control of travel in the Eastern Mediterranean.[96]

Upon reaching Jaffa, entry port for the Holy Land from Venice, all Latin pilgrims had to provide proof of papal permission before being allowed to disembark from the ship.[97] Once landed, travelers were required to spend their first night under guard in squalid conditions in a nearby cave, filled with human excrement, and were required to pay extortive fees to be allowed to the privy.[98] Pilgrims were then presented with the "Instructions to Pilgrims" by the Franciscan Father Guardian who was appointed by the Pope as a Muslim-certified protector of the Holy Land.[99] Latin pilgrims were to follow the rules set up by his text or face unnamed dire consequences. These rules required pilgrims to remain unarmed, to stay with their government sanctioned guides, to accept any asses or donkeys assigned to them without complaining or haggling, and accept verbal and physical abuse without retaliation. In addition, pilgrims must not wear Muslim attire, enter mosques, tread on Muslim graves, mock Muslim prayer posture, ogle Muslim women, jest with Muslim men, drink in public, or laugh amongst themselves.[100] Fabri notes that it was common for Latin Christians to be given broken-down donkeys and asses to ride, be victim to gang thefts even while under the protection of their guides, be verbally

[93] French, "Felix Fabri," 216; Dorothea R. French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies: Felix Fabri's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1483," *Pilgrimage Travelers to the Holy Land*, eds. Bryan F. LeBeau and Menachem Mor Studies in Jewish Civilization 7 (Omaha: Creighton University Press, 1996), 172.
[94] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 6.
[95] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 22.
[96] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 324.
[97] French, "Felix Fabri," 216.
[98] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 173.
[99] French, "Felix Fabri," 216; French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 169-170.
[100] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 169-170.

assaulted by the local population, and in one instance physically harassed to the point of not being able to continue the journey.[101]

In addition to constant public humiliation, Latin pilgrims were the target of many marketing scams. During the late medieval period it was common for pilgrims to return with relics from holy sites. These items, which had come into contact with the physical body of a holy figure associated with the locations visited, were believed to carry some of the divine blessing of the associated figure.[102] As noted by Fabri, it was not uncommon for false relics to be sold to the unvigilant traveler: "these infidels know our ardent desire for the possession of relics and therefore set out for sale wood said to be part of the Holy cross, and nails and thorns and bones and many other things to the same kind, to delude the unwary and cheat them out of their money".[103] Given the importance of such items, this practice would have been deeply spiritually harmful to Christian pilgrims.

As part of the sultan's mandate to reduce Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, measures were taken to reduce the allure of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The sultan knew that this location was the main draw for Latin Christian travelers as it was the purported location of the empty tomb of Jesus. He ordered the construction of two minarets, towers in which a muezzin calls Muslims to prayer, in the church's vicinity. As Dorothy French notes in "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies: Felix Fabri's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1983", "[t]here is no question that the minaret physically and audibly dominated the greatest Christian holy place in Jerusalem as it was intended to do".[104] In addition to the visual and auditory domination of the area, access to the Holy Sepulchre was extremely limited. The sultan sold the rights of control to the building to certain Muslims who chose when and how pilgrims might access the premises. Those who wished to enter were only allowed to do so at inconvenient hours and under humiliating circumstances.[105] Fabri notes that during his pilgrimages, he and his companions

[101] Fabri notes a young man is forced to abandon the pilgrimage after being physically molested, possibly sexually. Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings*, 229-230 in French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 173-174.
[102] Michelle Suer, "Relics," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 598.
[103] Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri,* 576-577 in French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 175.
[104] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 175.
[105] French, "Felix Fabri," 217.

were only allowed to enter the church at sundown, two by two, after paying a fee and were locked in the building until the following sunrise.[106] He states that he was so humiliated that "[w]e went by them with shame and blushing, because it is a great confusion that Christ's faithful worshippers should be let into Christ's church by … blasphemers".[107] Although within the church itself pilgrims were mostly at ease, they were constantly reminded of other groups competing for the space as the sultan had sold rights to specific parts of the Holy Sepulchre to competing Christian groups.[108] Of particular frustration to Fabri, the Catholic Church was the last allowed to buy any space in the building and was charged the most.[109]

Even if would-be Latin pilgrims had the means to travel to Jerusalem in the fifteenth century, the trip would be arduous and expensive. From the first night in Jaffa to their last day in the Holy Land, their movements would be restricted, they would be required to pay a multitude of exorbitant fees and fall victim to harassment and embarrassments of all kinds. Although the city was the principal goal for the Latin Christian pilgrim, the reality upon arrival was to be faced with "Jerusalem as to a heathen city".[110]

iv. Pilgrim options for those who cannot travel

By the late medieval period a variety of practices emerged which allowed those who could not travel to gain the benefits of pilgrimage. Three general categories of non-locative practices emerged: vicarious pilgrimage, object making pilgrimage, and spiritual pilgrimage. Each of these had its benefits and was preferable depending on the would-be pilgrim's means and spiritual needs.

Vicarious pilgrimage is when the sacred journey is performed by an individual to accrue the benefits of the pilgrimage for someone else. By the later middle ages it was considered spiritually effective to have another travel in this way for one's benefit.[111] By the fifteenth

[106] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 176.
[107] Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings*, 341-342 in French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 176.
[108] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 176-177.
[109] French, "Pilgrimage, Ritual, and Power Strategies," 176-177.
[110] *Iherusalem as ÿnn ain haidnische statt*. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 83 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190.
[111] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 222; Diana Webb, "Indulgences and Jubilees," *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), 68.

century this practice was considered perfectly normal, in part owing to the understanding that a crusader's vow may be transferred to someone else and considered just as effective as if the person who took it went to the Holy Land on Crusade.[112] Although done in instances where the would-be pilgrims would not be able to leave their quotidian lives, evidence of vicarious pilgrimages is difficult to locate as they would have largely been verbal arrangements.[113] For example, Margery Kempe (c. 1373-1438) records in her spiritual autobiography that when leaving for Palestine, the Bishop of Lincoln "gave her twenty-six shillings and eight pence to buy her clothes with, and to pray for him."[114] Although this is not a formal instance of vicarious pilgrimage, through being prayed for at a Holy site the Bishop of Lincoln would have been understood to accrue some of the benefits of Kempe's efforts in undergoing her journey. Her account is the only record of this interaction, since no formal documentation was produced, as was most likely the case with many instances of vicarious pilgrimage requests.[115]

This practice was also performed post-mortem as a way for the deceased soul to move from purgatory to heaven as a result of the indulgences received by his/her proxy-pilgrim.[116] In a study of wills made between 1309 and 1530 in German-speaking cities, by Harmut Bettin and Dietmar Volksdorf, it was found that pilgrimages were mentioned in two-hundred and twenty out of the one-thousand and seventeen texts analyzed. These either indicated that the writer had participated previously in a pilgrimage or that such a journey should be taken in their memory.[117] Within their study, Bettin and Volksdorf do not differentiate between the two uses of the term. Although it is clear that post-mortem vicarious pilgrimages were present, the frequency is not

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[112] Johnathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), 298 in Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 223. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe the function of the Crusades in terms of pilgrimage. See for more information: John Gordon Davies *Pilgrimage Yesterday and Today: Why? Where? How?* (London: CSM Press ltd., 1988), 17-18; Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 194-206; Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage," *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 no. 3: 157-168.

[113] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 223.

[114] As suggested by Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 299; Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Anthony Bale (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 36.

[115] Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 299.

[116] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 225; Webb, "Indulgences and Jubilees," 68.

[117] Harmut Bettin and Dietmar Volksdorf, "Pilgerfahrten in den Stralsunder Bürgertestamenten als Spiegel bürgerlicher Religiosität," in *Der Jakobuskult in Ostmitteleuropa: Austausch – Einflüsse – Wirkungen*, eds. Klaus Herbers and Dieter R. Bauer (Göttingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 2003), 231 footnote 1 in Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 228.

known.[118] Such practices were beneficial as the proxy-pilgrim's benefactor was understood to receive all indulgences and spiritual merit of the journey as if s/he had taken the voyage.

It was, however, quite expensive to employ an individual to travel in such a way. For example, in the fourteenth-century port city of Lübeck, in modern day Germany, a professional pilgrim could be employed to travel to Jerusalem for twenty to one hundred marks.[119] Similarly,"[t]he cost in Sudbury [in modern day England] to send a priest to Rome as a proxy pilgrim was 20 marks; by comparison, that same money would pay for eight years' worth of Masses to be said by a local priest".[120] As the saying of Masses in one's name would also lead to the accrual of indulgences and engaged much more in the communal remembrance of the deceased, many individuals opted for the latter and saw it as being more spiritually rewarding post-mortem.[121] Vicarious pilgrimages allowed for those who could not leave their quotidian lives to obtain all the indulgences associated with the journey through their proxy pilgrim. As they were expensive, however, they were not available to those without the means to sponsor them.

Object making pilgrimages were performed from late antiquity onwards and presented itself as a much more affordable option. As mentioned previously, this is produced when a pilgrim creates a third-class relic, through placing objects into contact with holy items or places or returning with objects from holy sites as to share their healing properties with those who cannot travel. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the relics trade was lucrative for this, among other reasons.[122] "Would-be pilgrims could thus expect to accrue some of the benefit of a bodily visit to a shrine through their interactions with objects which had either been sent to a shrine with another pilgrim or purchased at the shrine itself."[123] Felix Fabri himself notes, in *Evagatorium in*

[118] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 228
[119] There still exists one hundred of such contracts from this period. Paul Riant, *Expéditions et Pèlerinages des Scandinaves au Temps des Croisades* (Paris: Imprimerie de Ad. Lainé et J. Harvard, 1865), 381 in Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 225.
[120] Peter Northeast and Heather Falvey (eds.) *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury 1439-1474* (New York: Boyden Press, 2001), number 73, 105, 194, and 288 in Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 228.
[121] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 228-229.
[122] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 234-235.
[123] Craig, "'That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 235.

Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem (circa. 1480-1483),[124] that many of his company were carrying objects for others to be used in such a way. He describes that "the poorest of our company … had many precious jewels which had been lent to me by my friends, patrons, and patronesses, in order that I might touch them to the relics and holy places to which I came, and bring them back to them, receiving a reward for so doing".[125] Although some cost was incurred by contracting someone to bring their object to a holy location, it was much more affordable than funding a proxy-pilgrim. Upon the item's return, the owner received the benefits associated with the object, as it was now a tertiary relic in terms of blessings, including healing.[126] This type of pilgrimage exchange did not aid in the accrual of indulgences, due to the object's transformed nature as relic.[127]

Spiritual pilgrimage is the act of meditatively visiting a pilgrimage site which may be facilitated through texts or images. From very early in Christian pilgrimage tradition there has been an attempt to transmit some of the essence of the experience to those unable to travel to holy sites. For example, Egeria[128] wrote a letter, in the late fourth or early fifth century, to her "sisters" detailing her experiences in the Holy Land, including the celebration of Holy Week in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was done to share her journey with those who were unable to travel with her. In one passage Egeria promises to send more letters of her travels, "[a]nd if after this I am yet in the body, and am able to see any other places, I will either tell it to

[124] This text will henceforth be referred to as *Evagatorium*. I do this in keeping with Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 76. Although referred in the original manuscript as "*Felicis Fabri ord. Predicatorum Evagatorium seu duplex peregrinatio Hierosolymitana*". For more information see: Felix Fabri, *Les errances de Frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte (1480-1483)*, ed. and trans. Jean Meyers and Nicole Chareyon, vol 1 of 3 (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 2000-7), XX.

[125] *Ego enim fui minimus, et pauperior in nostro societate, et tamen multa preciosa clenodia habui, quae mihi collata fuerant ab amicis et fautoribus et fautricibis meis, ut reliquias ad quas venirem et loca sancta cum eis contingerem, et eis pro munere reportarem.* Fratris Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti: Peregrinationem,* ed. Cunradus Deitericus Hassler, Vol. 2 of 3. (Stuttgartiae: Sumptibus Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis, 1879), 94; Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, 93 in Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 236.

[126] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 235-236; Eric Johnson, "Interaction with Relics," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 288. This practice has its roots in the New Testament accounts of a woman which was healed by touching Jesus' cloak (Matthew 9:20-22), by Peter's shadow (Acts 5:15-16), and via a handkerchief which had be touched by Paul (Acts 19:11-12) as listed in Suer, "Relics," 598.

[127] Craig, "That You Cannot See Them Comes Only from an Impossibility," 240.

[128] Egeria may be found referred to as Etheria or Aetheria in various texts.

your affection in person ... or in anywise".[129] Egeria was writing in a style known as an *itineraria*, where locations and events are listed in a log with short descriptions and were designed primarily to give future pilgrims a road map of how to navigate between one sacred location and another.[130] In many cases, much like Egeria, "the authors of itineraries assume that the visitor will benefit spiritually, and that the *readers* of the texts will similarly profit. If one is unable to see the holy places personally, it will do to relive mentally the venerable myths of both Testaments."[131] Before the fifteenth century, these texts typically did not represent actual pilgrimages, in the way guidebooks do today, but were rather a retelling of well-known salvation history as initially described in the New Testament and the writings of the Church Fathers.[132]

However, it progressed into something much more personal as the genre of the spiritual guidebook emerged. This allowed the author to be less an objective third-person narrator and more a "knowledgeable layman" who presented his or her first-hand experiences. Such an account may or may not have agreed with the biblical account, but always referred to it.[133] These tended to place emphasis on geography, physical distances between locations on the route, housing situations, language issues, and more importantly, descriptions of individual churches, shrines, and religious sites commemorating the life and passion of Jesus.[134] For example, Fabri's second pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1483-84) resulted in the production of two such guidebooks. Fabri's *Die Sionpilger*, which is described below, and fellow pilgrim Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Periginatio in Terram Sanctam*.[135] Breydenbach's work, first published in Mainz in 1486, was the first travel guide to contain accompanying illustrations.[136] He commissioned

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[129] Etheria, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, trans. M.L. McClure and C.L. Feltoe (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919) 44. Original Latin text not provided by author. *Si autem et post hoc in corpore fuero, si qua praeterea loca cognoscere potuero, aut ipsa praesens, si Deus fuerit praestare dignatus …* Egeria, *Itinerarium Peregrinatio* <www.thelatinlibrary.com/egeria1.html>.
[130] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 41; Davies *Pilgrimage Yesterday and Today,* 19-20.
[131] Renna, "Jerusalem in Late Medieval Itineraria," 119-120.
[132] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 12-14.
[133] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 15-17.
[134] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 110.
[135] Breydenbach originally asked Fabri to be co-author on this work. Fabri refused however as he was working on his own texts concerning the experience (*Evagatorium, Pilgerbuch,* and *Die Sionpilger*). For more information see: Kathryne Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. Hanna Vorholt, Galit Noga-Banai, and Bianca Kühnel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 410.
[136] Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye," 409; Eric White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 508.

artist Erhard Reuwich to join his group, on pilgrimage, and record what he saw in woodcuts.[137] Some of these were geographical in nature such as a six leaf woodcut depicting the Holy Land, with Mecca in the east, from Damascus to the Pyramids of Giza, with a chorographic depiction of Jerusalem itself.[138] Other images focused on the exotic encounters pilgrims to the Holy Land would have such as, "depictions of Saracins, mounted Janissaries, a Jewish money lender … diagrams of exotic alphabets, [and] several indigenous animals".[139] Attention was also given to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with images provided for both the interior and exterior of the building.[140] Finally, an image of a unicorn was proved as a depiction for Jesus himself, the reason for which the pilgrim traveled to the Holy Land.[141] Through Reuwich and Breydenbach's choice of what images to include in the texts final form, the concerns of the time are clearly seen. In addition to holy topography images of the exotic physical reality were included. These would not have a basis in the New Testament nor in the tradition of the Church Fathers but rather represent their own experiences as "knowledgeable laymen". The appeal of such texts was the accurate representation of the pilgrimage journey for those unable to travel themselves.[142]

v. Changing religious ideals

For the sisters of Medingen and Medlingen who were under the spiritual care of Felix Fabri, there was no way to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the fourteenth century, a trend within Latin Europe had emerged. An anti-clerical sentiment spread among the general population as the Catholic Church began to come under their scrutiny.[143] Of specific concern was the increasing laxity of monastic orders.[144] In response to this thrust, widespread reforms took hold throughout the late-fourteenth and fifteenth century, focused on a rejection from the world's vanities and return to apostolic ideals.[145] The reform generated spread across Europe and

[137] Beebe, "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye," 409; White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," 508.
[138] White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," 508. See Appendix A for woodcut.
[139] White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," 508. See Appendix B for woodcuts.
[140] White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," 508. See Appendix C for woodcuts.
[141] White, "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," 508.
[142] Beebe states that this is also prompted by an increased interest in the physical world during this period but does not go into great detail on this subject. For more information see: Beebe "The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye," 410.
[143] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 109.
[144] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 10-12.
[145] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 10-12.

included Dominican, Cistercian and Franciscan variations.[146] Although all groups lived this ostensible return to central values in differing ways, they were all joined together in "cooperation, friendship, and reform ... throughout southern Germany".[147] Within the movement, not only was there a focus on the "cultivation of a personal, interior spirituality"[148] for those within religious orders, but also for the laity.[149] Reform ideologies included the enclosure of women's houses so as to be separated from the outside world. This was understood as being more important than the keeping of apostolic poverty.[150] Although enclosed, these houses were in fact far from cut off from the outside secular world and other houses.[151] This is evident through the vast communication network that formed, which precipitated manuscript copying and exchange.[152] By the late fifteenth century, Fabri's hometown of Ulm was home to four reformed women's houses.[153] The last to be reformed were Medingen and Medlingen; these only became cloistered lay communities in 1467 and 1468 respectively at the behest of Count Ludwig von Bayern-Lanshut.[154]

Although understood as being spiritually beneficial, being enclosed did come with drawbacks. Primary among the negative effects, was the inability to travel on pilgrimage so as to not break the vow of *stabilitas loci*.[155] Not only was this implicitly understood by the nuns but was also stated outright in the papal bull *Periculoso* (1298) in which Pope Boniface VIII explicitly forbade nuns from leaving their cloister.[156] The nuns of Medingen and Medlingen were faced with a conundrum. They felt the spiritual need to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but lacked the means and permissions to do so.

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[146] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 9.
[147] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 13.
[148] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 97.
[149] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 97.
[150] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 13.
[151] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 13.
[152] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 13.
[153] Third order of St Francis (f. sometime after 1229) and the Poor Clares of nearby Söflingen (f. c. 1237) in addition to Medingen and Medlingen. Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 9.
[154] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 14.
[155] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 23; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 114.
[156] Smith, "Pilgrimage of Nuns," 554; Hopper, "The Holy, the Mystic and the Cloistered,"*75*.

vi. Felix Fabri

In order to both experience the geography of sacred scripture and to accrue the indulgences that a pilgrim would receive for this journey, the sisters approached their spiritual superior Father Felix Fabri. He had partaken in two pilgrim journeys to the Holy Land and had written multiple sermons and texts based on these experiences.

His first journey to the Holy Land in 1480 resulted in the production of *Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein* (1480-82), a rhymed poem and the shortest of Fabri's pilgrimage works. [157] The only extant copy of this manuscript is a translation into the Alemannic dialect made by Frater Johannes Dillinger in 1482, now preserved in Munich, Germany.[158] The poem consists of one-thousand and sixty-four lines of rhymed verse. It was written as to "honour the lay noble companions of his first pilgrimage".[159] He highlights his patron for the journey, Georg von Stein, and his knighting in the Holy Sepulchre.[160] As mentioned above, it was common for a member of the pilgrimage group to write concerning the journey as such a pilgrimage text of this nature to thank his benefactor.

Fabri's second journey to the Holy Land in 1483-84 resulted in the production of three texts: *Evagatorium, Pilgerbuch,* and *Die Sionpilger*.[161] Each was written for a specific audience and with differing content. Although all three share common elements, they do not recount any event verbatim and sometimes explain situations differently dependent upon Fabri's target audience.[162]

Evagatorium (1484 – 1488) recounts the events which Fabri had experienced in the Holy Land during both of his pilgrimages. Before leaving on his second journey, Fabri promised his Dominican brothers at Ulm to keep an exact record of everything which occurred.[163] It is composed of twelve *tractati*, divided into two parts of six *tractati* each.[164] The first part recounts

[157] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 75.
[158] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 75-76; Carls, "Felix Fabri – Leben und Werk," 59.
[159] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 76.
[160] *Dô ward der edel Jörg vom Stein* [sic] */ recht, redlîch ritter gschlagen, Got geb im glick vnd hoil*. Felix Fabri *Bruder Felix Fabers gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein*, ed. Anton Birlinger (Munich: E. A. Fleischman, 1864), 20 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*,76.
[161] Here I will speak concerning the first two as *Die Sionpilger* will be my concern for the remainder of the chapter.
[162] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 78. The difference between texts will be discussed below concerning *Die Sionpilger*'s description of the Dome of the Rock and the Holy Sepulchre.
[163] French, "Felix Fabri," 215.
[164] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 76.

Fabri's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The second contains the rest of his journey, to Sinai, Egypt and his return to Ulm. The last of the *tractati,* titled *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensis*, recounts the history of Swabia and was also circulated as a standalone text.[165] It is known that this text was in production for at least four years as Fabri begins the text with a letter to his brothers dated 1484, and later remarks upon an event, commenting that he is writing in 1488.[166] This text survives in two Latin manuscripts dating from 1488-9 and 1493-7 respectively.[167]

Pilgerbuch is a shortened vernacular version of many elements which appear in *Evagatorium*. It seems to have been completed soon after his return from his second pilgrimage in 1484, and before the final completion of *Evagatorium*. The exact year of its creation is unknown. Although the year of 1484 appears within the incipit of the Häberlin manuscript from Ulm, it does so as an indication of when the physical journey occurred and not the date of the text's creation.[168] *Pilgerbuch* survives in four extant manuscripts; Ulm (1494), Kalocsa (date unknown), Berlin (1522), and München (17th or 18th century).[169] It was written for the noble patrons whom he accompanied to the Holy Land in 1483-4 and funded his journey.

Described on his tombstone as *predicator famosus*,[170] famous preacher, Fabri was a popular and charismatic teacher and spiritual leader. According to his own account, before leaving on his second pilgrimage, "those who came to hear Fabri preach in convent church … wept at the news of his departure".[171] Not only was Fabri able to produce such a text, given his experience as pilgrim and preacher, but he also found himself with an ideal audience for its reception.

vii. Requesting the means for non-locative travel

The sisters of the Dominican lay reform convents of Medingen and Medlingen came from the same social sphere of the nobility as the pilgrims who employed Fabri to journey to the Holy Land as their spiritual guide.[172] As such, they were fully literate and familiar with a variety of

[165] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 76; French, "Felix Fabri," 215.
[166] For the later date see Fabri, *Evagatorium II*, 248: Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 75.
[167] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 77.
[168] For a full description concerning problem dating this text see: Carls, "Felix Fabri – Leben und Werk," 59-61.
[169] Carls, "Felix Fabri – Leben und Werk," 59.
[170] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 4.
[171] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 7.
[172] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 96.

spiritual texts and exercises.[173] With this background, it was unsurprising that they requested Fabri write a first-person account of his travels so that they "may receive, through contemplation, the spiritual benefits real pilgrims gained".[174] According to the foreword of a 1495 copy of *Die Sionpilger* manuscript, Fabri's initial response was "no".[175]

This was perhaps unsurprising as Fabri himself had built his knowledge of the Holy Land, as was common at the time, through the reading a multitude of itineraries and pilgrim diaries. These accounts were the reason for which Fabri sought to go on his second pilgrimage as his first did not conform to the events described. Fabri believed that his first voyage was "imperfect, superficial, irregular and confused".[176] As a result, he gathered and studied all the available itineraries that he could, including those by St Jerome, Burchard, Arculf, Ludolph von Suchem, as well all the stories of the crusades, pilgrim tracts, and descriptions of the Holy Land.[177]

As Fabri had based himself upon such texts, when the sister of Medingen and Medlingen asked him to write an account, he suggested they read Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*. This proposal was utterly rejected by the sisters who wanted an account of "his [Fabri's] pilgrimage in all the outer rough way of life from one days' journey to another"[178] to the Holy Land, Rome and Santiago de Compostela.[179] Specifically, they wanted details of Fabri's travels, especially the knowledge of what indulgences were available and under what conditions. He produced a text "particularly useful for those wishing to use it as an aid for contemplation – but contemplation more in tune with late-medieval affective piety".[180]

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[173] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 110. It is suggested by Beebe that perhaps the sisters were even more spiritually learned than Fabri's Dominican brothers for whom he wrote *Evagatorium*. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this subject in depth. Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 45-48.
[174] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 39-40.
[175] This document also known as manuscript V (held in Vienna). Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 40.
[176] French, "Felix Fabri," 215.
[177] French, "Felix Fabri," 215; Thomas Renna, "Jerusalem in Late Medieval Itinerary," *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land,* eds. Bryan LeBeau and Menachem Mor. Studies in Jewish Civilization 7 (Omaha: Creighton University Press, 1996) 122.
[178] *Sein bilgerfart indem aüssern raüchen wandel von ainer tagraiß zu der andern*. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 529 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 39.
[179] Fabri, *Die Sionpilger,* 529 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 2008; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 110.
[180] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 110-111.

II. *Die Sionpilger*

The text produced from this request was *Die Sionpilger*, a spiritual guide to three pilgrimages from Ulm to the Holy Land, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela. It was written in vernacular Swabian like his *Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein* (1480) and intended for spiritual use like his *Evagatorium* (circa. 1480-1483).[181] Although *Die Sionpilger* contains some elements of these works including experiences of sacred journeys, it never replicates these accounts verbatim.[182] The dissimilarity between *Die Sionpilger* and its predecessors lies within its focus on the performance of mind and body in re-enacting Fabri's pilgrimage instead of simply reporting the events which occurred.[183] The author's central goal was to enable a predominantly female audience – especially those in the convent – to experience, both the blessings and dangers of pilgrimage without leaving their quotidian lives.[184]

Due to its target audience, *Die Sionpilger* differs greatly from other pilgrimage texts, even among those designed to facilitate non-locative practices. Fabri includes entertaining details and personal reflections, not only of sacred places but of the "exotic Eastern Mediterranean world".[185] He "includes elements of hagiography, itinerary, relic and indulgence lists, history, sacred history, natural history, theology, fables, travelers' tales, and sermons".[186] Not only did Fabri want to impart upon his readers the exotic and sacred nature of these far-off places, but to do so in a wholly verifiable way. For example, after explaining the severity of a storm at sea, he states, "he who went on the sea knows it".[187]

This is only one of the ways in which Fabri tried to optimize the non-locative pilgrimage experience for his audience. He does so by how the pilgrimage is constructed for the would-be pilgrim to follow, how the Syon pilgrims travel with the knightly pilgrims, and how extra benefits are enjoyed by non-locative pilgrims.

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[181] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 116-117.
[182] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 79.
[183] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 116-117.
[184] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 9.
[185] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 41-42; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 114.
[186] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 80.
[187] *Aber der das mer gebrucht hat. dem ist es kuntlich*. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 105 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 120.

i. Preparations for leaving: The 20 rules

Die Sionpilger begins with a series of twenty rules which the would-be non-locative pilgrims had to follow before and during their journey from Ulm to Jerusalem and back.[188] The rules set up a program for journeying which could be easily integrated into the nun's everyday cloistered life.[189] Through setting up these rules, Fabri frames the pilgrimage as one which is both similar to and different from that taken by the knightly pilgrim.[190]

He underlines at many points in the rules how those who go on non-locative pilgrimage are to be held to the same standard as knightly, that is locative pilgrims. The Syon pilgrim should understand their journey as no less difficult than that of the knightly pilgrims.[191] Before embarking on their pilgrimage, the Syon pilgrim must "undertake his journey with the knowledge and permission of his superiors and with the permission of his confessor"[192] unless the superior considers non-locative pilgrimage to be foolish.[193] Should the later be the case, the would-be pilgrim might travel with the permission of Fabri himself as alternate spiritual authority.[194] Similarly, before engaging in spiritual journey, the Syon pilgrim must confess, write a will, and receive the Lord's Supper.[195] These actions are similar to how the knightly pilgrims prepared to physically leave their quotidian life.

While traveling on pilgrimage, the Syon pilgrims are advised that they must travel in the same way as the knightly pilgrims. Like the knightly pilgrims they were to travel, as much as possible, in groups separated by sex.[196] In the ideal situation, the knightly pilgrims were also

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[188] The same rules were also required for the other pilgrimages to Rome and Santiago. It is not whether the sisters would be expected to perform the actions prescribed physically, or if it was sufficient to do so spiritually. It is also unclear how many Syon pilgrims actually observed these rules. Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 34.
[189] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 208.
[190] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115.
[191] Rule 2 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 31.
[192] *Die X regel ist … Also sol der Syon bilgrin sin fart vnderstan mit wissen vnd erlaubung sines oebren. vnd mit verwilgung sines bicht vatteres.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 80 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 51; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 195.
[193] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 15; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 31; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116.
[194] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 196.
[195] Rule 16 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 32.
[196] Rule 17 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 32 and Rule 5 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116; Kaelbel, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 694.

divided in such a way, however, it was not always possible to maintain gender separation at inns and sacred centers.[197] During the pilgrimage, the Syon pilgrims were to carry a cross as a symbol of their commitment to the voyage, as the knightly pilgrims would. While secular pilgrims were instructed to wear a necklace with the symbol, monastic travelers were to keep it hidden underneath their cloaks.[198] Similarly, they were not to deviate from their pious ways while engaging on this pilgrimage,[199] and were to treat any interruption in their journey in a similar way to the knightly pilgrims: as if s/he had been struck by illness or delayed by unfavorable weather.[200]

Of utmost importance, the Syon pilgrims were to experience the various difficulties undergone daily by the knightly pilgrims. Part of the way Fabri transmits the change in the voyage's conditions is to ask the Syon pilgrims to look ahead, at the end of each day, to the next to gauge its challenge and to prepare for it psychologically.[201] The difficulty of the day is reflected in the scope of the psalms to be recited by the Syon pilgrim. In the event s/he is illiterate and cannot read the psalms, s/he should ask a fellow pilgrim to describe the difficulty of the day. S/he should then say the appropriate amount of *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias* to reflect the day's challenge.[202] Lay non-locative pilgrims may also choose to give alms or food to a penniless pilgrim.[203] Through following these steps, the Syon pilgrims progress on their daily journey in a way similar to their knightly pilgrim counterparts.

Within the twenty rules, Fabri also points out how the Syon pilgrims are held to a higher standard and see the Holy Land in a "purer" state than the knightly pilgrims. Syon pilgrims have the advantage over knightly travelers in that they will not be tempted to violate the commandments of the faith while engaging in sacred journey; these include listening to masses

[197] Alexandra Cuffel, "Gender Segregation," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor et. al. (Boston: Brill, 2010), 231.
[198] Rule 4 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 43; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190. Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 20; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116.
[199] Rule 8 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30.
[200] Rule 15 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 32; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 117.
[201] Rule 12 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 42-43; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 31.
[202] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 40; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 189.
[203] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 31; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 1

and observing fasts.[204] In addition, they are expected to act in a more spiritually meritorious way than the knightly pilgrims. Fabri observed, in his travels, that physical pilgrims tended to "give a bad [Christian spiritual] example. By playing cards, dancing, and singing worldly songs".[205] The Syon pilgrim does "not have any excuse for any laxity or shortcomings" while on the journey, and are expected to not engage in such spiritually harmful activities.[206]

As they traveled in the spirit, the Syon pilgrims were not subject to the inconveniences that knightly pilgrims encountered. According to Fabri,

> [t]he knightly pilgrim journeys to Jerusalem as to a heathen city, but the Syon pilgrim arrives in Jerusalem as in a Christian city … [The Syon pilgrim] travels in the Holy Land where he will, without care, and remains as long as he likes in the Holy Sepulchre, in Bethlehem, in Nazareth, and wherever he wishes in the Holy Land.[207]

As the Syon pilgrims experienced the Holy Land in a purer, more Christianized, state they also received more indulgences from the experience. Fabri was unable to directly guarantee that the non-locative pilgrims would receive indulgences, a practice common in spiritual pilgrimage writings.[208] He states that "the Syon pilgrims can only hope that God will grant him the grace and the indulgence for his efforts".[209] The locations where indulgences would be received by physical pilgrims, were indicated in *Die Sionpilger* along with the amounts one would receive as a Syon pilgrim.[210] Although not guaranteed, there is a suggestion that any indulgence the Syon

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[204] Rule 7 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115-116.
[205] Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 80 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116; Kaelber, "Contested Pilgrimage," 694.
[206] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115.
[207] *Der Ritter belgrin zúch gen Iherusalem as ÿnn ain haidnische statt Aber der Sÿon bilgrin kumpt gen Ihrusalem as ÿnn ain cristenliche statt … [der Sÿon bilgrin] gat im hailigen land vmb wa er will · aun sorg · vnd belibt so lang es im eben ist im hailigen grab · Ze bethleem · ze nazareth · vnd wa im wol ist im hailigen land.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 83-84 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 44; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190-191.
[208] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 23; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115.
[209] *Bleibt dem 'Sionpilger' nur zu hoffen, daß ihm Gott ebenfalls die Gnade und den Ablaß für seine Bemühungen gewährt.* Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 29. Translation mine
[210] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 44-45; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116.

pilgrim accrued from the non-locative voyage would be of greater value, as it was God and not the Pope or bishops which granted it.[211]

Throughout the twenty rules, Fabri sets up a journey which not only mirrors that of the knightly pilgrim, but also requires more of the Syon pilgrim. The dual role of the spiritual journey to Jerusalem – as one which is journeyed with the physical pilgrims as well as going beyond it – is further reinforced through the daily voyages.

ii. Traveling with the knightly pilgrims

The journey to Jerusalem begins in Ulm, as did Fabri's own physical pilgrimage.[212] Although remaining in their quotidian environment, throughout their pilgrimage, non-locative pilgrims are taken through the journey to and from Jerusalem through a series of daily meditations. Unlike in other guided pilgrimage texts, no dates indicated but rather the days are counted beginning with the first day of departure from Ulm.[213] Over the course of two-hundred and eight days, the Syon pilgrims travel from Ulm to Venice, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Alexandria before returning to Ulm.[214]

It is made clear that the Syon pilgrims are to emulate the actions and experiences of their physical counterparts whenever possible. For example, upon seeing the Holy Land, the knightly pilgrims mark their arrival through "singing religious songs that the narrator identifies as dawn songs ('*tagiß*')".[215] Similarly, the Syon pilgrims are encouraged to imitate this experience through "singing the same songs, [and] kneeling down for prayer".[216] Following the non-

[211] Fabri, *Die Sionpilger,* 79 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 43; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 29: Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115-116; Kaelbel, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 694.
[212] Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 86 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 113.
[213] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 179.
[214] Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 24; Kaelbel, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 649. Fabri notes that this is shorter than the two hundred and eighty-nine days required by knightly pilgrims to perform the same journey. The difference in length is due to the Syon pilgrims not being inhibited by unfavorably weather conditions and other sources of delay which the knightly pilgrims faced. Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 25.
[215] This probably alludes to secular songs in this period. Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 120.
[216] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 120.

locative pilgrimage, the Syon pilgrims are constantly instructed to emulate what occurs to the knightly pilgrims, even while remaining in their quotidian space.

Fabri depicts not only the gentle elements of the pilgrimage experience. Included in *Die Sionpilger* are also "rough" and sometimes unsettling experiences to which the knightly pilgrims were subjected. These elements were presented as having specific spiritual purpose as they provide the Syon pilgrims with an opportunity to experience the physical pain required as sacrifice towards the benefits of the pilgrimage.[217] The difficult events which the knightly pilgrims endured were recounted so that the Syon pilgrims might meditate upon them and fully embody their experience.[218] For example,

> On day 27, the Sion pilgrims suffer a strong wind that turns into a thunderstorm and blows the ship to and fro. The pilgrims have great angst [*angst*], become dizzy [*sÿschwindlig*] and even become so ill that they retch [*vnd erbrechen sich*]. They fear for their lives, afraid that they will die and be put in a sack weighted with sand, and then be tossed into the sea (as shipboard burials were indeed performed at this time), there to be devoured by giant sea-fish … 'Therefore,' says Fabri 'the pilgrims have a woeful, difficult night upon the water, keeping vigil by whichever saint whose day it happens to be.'[219]

It was insufficient for the Syon pilgrims to simply read and understand the knightly pilgrims' circumstances. Fabri actively encouraged them to physically embody the experience, as to feel seasick and fearful for their wellbeing, and to pray to a saint for their safety.

At times, both the Syon and knightly pilgrims are told to meditate upon scriptural events. While in Jerusalem, Fabri focuses on locations of Christ's life and passion as well as those associated with Jesus' disciples.[220] Both physical and non-locative pilgrims are asked to contemplate on specific sacred sites which are tied to Christian salvation history so as to "grasp their inner truth".[221] For example, Fabri states "the pilgrims [both Syon and knightly] meditate

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[217] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 191.
[218] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 118.
[219] *Darumb haben die bilgerin ain trurige scheri nacht vff dem wasser bÿ denen hailigen der vff das maul ist.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 98 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 191. Partial text included by author. Full text reads: *vnd warden siech · das etlich sterben · die neet man in ain linlachen · vnd henck in ainen sack mit sand an die fieß · vnd versencktz in das mer Da fressen sÿ die grossen merfish … Darumb haben die bilgerin ain trurige scheri nacht vff dem wasser bÿ denen hailigen der vff das maul ist.*
[220] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 120.
[221] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 124.

upon these serious matters while looking upon the Mount Olive, the Vale of Josephat, and the Vale of Hinnom, and the Dead Sea".[222] In certain instances these sections are punctuated with instructions for non-locative pilgrims to refer to passages in Fabri's earlier works, *Pilgerbuch* and *Evagatorium*, for more detailed description of what the knightly pilgrims saw.[223] For example, when the knightly pilgrims arrive in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, "[w]hat the Holy Sepulchre looks like is described clearly by f.f.f. [Father Felix Fabri] in his *Evagatoi des um* [*Evagatorium*]. Go over and read it".[224] Fabri's intention was to have the Syon pilgrims fully experience the holy sites in Jerusalem, even if through reference to descriptions in his other works, just as the knightly pilgrims did and to contemplate the divine reality of these locations.

In order to deepen their spiritual understanding in certain situations, Fabri sometimes adds extra information to the narrative of *Die Sionpilger.* Unlike in his other descriptive accounts, the hole of purgatory, located in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is described in a uniquely spiritual way. In both his other pilgrimage accounts, it is mentioned how "simple people say you can hear cackling".[225] However in *Die Sionpilger*, this location is described such that:

> In the chapel there is a stone for holy water built into the wall, and when someone puts his head into it then he hears a great roaring and a mournful rumbling, as if he could hear lamentation and wailing from many wailing and shrieking people. It is said that the crying out and wailing is that of the wretched souls in Purgatory beseeching the pilgrims for help. Therefore, one should pray there for the souls with the psalm *De profundis clamavi ad te, et cetera.*[226]

As opposed to its description in *Pilgerbuch* and *Evagatorium*, the Syon pilgrims are implored to pray for the wailing souls they hear. This deviation further reflects the text's central focus as a

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[222] *Denen ernstlichen sachen synnent die bilgrin nach in dem an sehen. des oelbergs. des tals Iosaphat. Vnd des Iehenna tals. vnd des todten mers.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 125 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 124.
[223] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 47; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 122-125; Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 29.
[224] *Wie aber das hailig grab vnd stett ain gestalt haben has beschribt klerlich ·f·f·f· in sinem euagatorium da gang vber vnd liß.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 117 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 123. See also Appendix B for depiction of the Holy Sepulcre.
[225] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 121-2.
[226] *In der capell ist in die wand eingemurt ain wÿchwasser stain · vnd wenn ain mentsche sin höbt dar in stoßt • so hoert er ain groß getaß · vnd ain grißgramen · as horti er klag vnd Iamer · von vil wainenden vnd schrienden Da sagt man das gerieff vnd klag sÿ der ellenden selen in dem fegfeúr · zü den bilgrin vmb hilff · Darumb bitt man da fúr die selen mit dem psalmen · De profundis clamaui ad te et cetera*. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 115 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 121-122; Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 45.

highly spiritual in purpose.[227] The difference in the journey is not indicative of two completely unrelated pilgrimages but rather of two distinct experiences occurring alongside each other.[228] Not only are the Syon pilgrims embodying the physical journey of the knightly pilgrims but they are also experiencing the spiritual reality of the sacred spaces which their counterparts would not be able to access.

iii. Traveling apart from the knightly pilgrims

In addition to undergoing the same experiences as the knightly pilgrims, the Syon pilgrims were also subject to an additional layer of spiritual journeying. As with the example at the Hole of Purgatory, it occurred at times in tandem with their knightly counterparts, while not at others. On the sixty-fourth day, there is a whole chapter of *Die Sionpilger* intended for the 'free' Syon pilgrims only, as opposed to the 'imprisoned knightly pilgrims'.[229] This chapter re-enacts the events of the passion narrative and places the Syon pilgrim in the events of salvation history that were of central importance to Fabri's understanding of the Holy Land. As noted by Albrecht Classen in "Imaginary Experience of the Divine", this part of the narrative likely informed by Passion literature such as Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi*, art such as the paintings by *Zwölf Meister*, and traditional accounts with which the spiritual pilgrims would have been familiar.[230]

During the account of the Passion narrative, the Syon pilgrims are urged to act as spiritual witnesses. They begin by witnessing Pontius Pilate condemning Jesus to death. "When he [Pilate] washed his hands he thought that he would be innocent of Christ's death. And the Jew said: His blood is upon us, etc. Then the pilgrims sing the responsory".[231] The narrative intensifies as the Syon pilgrims witness the crucifixion of Jesus. Here they are asked to interiorly picture in the fullest sense the scene being described.[232] "While He [Jesus] prayed they threw

[227] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 46-47.
[228] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 191; Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 45-6.
[229] These terms are referred to in the text as '*Frien bilgrin syon*' and '*gefangnen ritter bilgrin*' respectively. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 119 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 121.
[230] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.
[231] *Vnd do er die hend wuosch. vnd maint er wer vnschuldig an dem todt cristi. vnd die iuden sprachen. Sanguis eius super nos et cetera. Da singendie bilgrin das Responsorium.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 129 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 122-123.
[232] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.

themselves upon Our Lord and attached Him to the cross like a lamb on the butcher's table".[233] After witnessing Christ's death the Syon pilgrims are asked to join the Virgin Mary as she buries him. "Again, Mary forces her way into the tomb and embraces her most Beloved Son and kisses Him, and only grudgingly leaved Him again. But since she really cannot stay, she allows them to take her out of the tomb".[234] This section of the text ends with Mary awaiting Jesus' resurrection from the dead.[235] From here onward, the Syon pilgrims meet the Virgin Mary on many occasions while in the Holy Land.

At many points along the journey the Syon pilgrims are allowed to enter into dialogue with the Virgin Mary. For example, on day sixty-nine they beseech her to "help [them] to understand the hidden divine secrets".[236] To this she replies that "[a]s God has chosen me to manifest His secrets through me, so God selects certain people to whom He reveals the secrets, especially those who imitate me as much as they are capable of".[237] Through this statement, the Syon pilgrims are to imitate the Virgin Mary in all things but especially on their journey. In one such discourse on day ninety-eight, she even identifies herself as a pilgrim, much like the sisters, "so be informed that from my early youth until the day of my death I have been a pilgrim and have wandered from one place to another full of love. But I did this without digressing into the world and without losing my self-concentration".[238] As mentioned previously, the Syon pilgrims were not to deviate from their pious ways, nor were they to be tempted by worldly pleasures while traveling, unlike how the knightly pilgrims were known to have actually acted while on their

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[233] *In dem gebett fielen sy trutzlich den herren Ihesum an. vnd wurffend in vff das crutz. as ain lemlin vff den metzbanck.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 132 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.
[234] *Aber Maria tringt bald in das grab. vnd vmbfacht iren aller liebsten sun. vnd kust in. vnd schaidt sich fast vngern da von Doch so sy da nit mag herren. so laßt sy sich heruß fieren. Vnd dar nach so nement die knecht der herren stangen vnd habel.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 134 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.
[235] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.
[236] *Wer gibt vns ze verstan die verborgnen goeliche haimlichkait Ach soeten wir wirdig sin.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 155 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.
[237] *As mich got hat vß erwelt. ze wircken in mir sin haimlichkait. Also erwelt im got ettlich lut vß. denen er offnet die haimlichkait Vnd besonder der die sich mir glichen nach irem vermugen.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 155 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.
[238] *sond wissen das ich von Iuget vff bis an den tag myner verschidung bin ain bilgrin gewesen vnd bin vil lyplich vmb von aim ourt zuo dem andernn gegangen. Doch aun wytschwayffung vnd aun verzyttung mins gemuets.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 203 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.

journey.[239] As such, the Virgin Mary serves as the role model for how the spiritual pilgrims are to behave through their journey.

Through the extra layer of spiritual journey, the Syon pilgrims have more locations opened to them than the knightly pilgrims. For example, the Syon pilgrims can go wherever they would like, without restriction.

> In the Holy Land he [the knightly pilgrim] must follow the heathen [guides] wherever they go and must leave many holy sites unvisited. And he cannot freely visit the holy grave, instead only once the heathens have unlocked it for him. Yet, they do not allow him to stay there for long, and rush him away, and so he leaves the Holy Land again … [A]ll this does not affect the Sion pilgrim who is free of all troubles caused by the Saracens and traverses the Holy Land whenever he wants to go without any worries[240]

Similarly, the Syon pilgrims had access to locations they would not have been able to enter physically. This was particularly valuable to women as many sacred locations in Jerusalem were male-only spaces, into which they would not be allowed to enter.[241] For example on the *Romfarht* this is made explicit: "[i]n the church is also St John's chapel into which *no woman dare enter*. However, the pope has given a dispensation for the Syon pilgrims [to enter]".[242] It is unclear if the Pope actually gave dispensation, or if Fabri is using his narrative authority to grant such permission.[243] In either instance, the effect was that the Syon pilgrims were allowed access to every sacred center in a way in which they would not have been permitted if visiting the physical location – whether due to the political situation or church authorities – and thus to gain the associated indulgences and spiritual benefits.

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[239] See Rule 8 and 9 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30.
[240] *Vnd im hailigen land muoß er ziehen wa die haiden hin wend. vnd vil hailiger stett lassen vnbesuocht. vnd in das hailig grab mag er nit gan so er will. aber so im die haiden vff schliessen Do last man in nit lang an ainem ort. aber flux ylt man mit im dar von. das er wider vß dem land kum … Die all nichtz bekimrent den Syon bilgrin. Der fry vnd ledig staut von aller beschwerung der Sarracenen Vnd gat im hailigen land vmb war er will. Aun sorg.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 84 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 118; see for another example access to the Holy Grave Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 113 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 121.
[241] Bird, "Indulgences," 676.
[242] *In der kirchen ist auch Sant Iohannes cappell in die kain frow dar gaun Aber der baupst dispensiert mit den Syön bilgrin.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 324 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 51.
[243] Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 51; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 195; Kealber, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 694.

III. *Die Sionpilger* – Summary

In writing *Die Sionpilger* Fabri aimed to rectify certain issues that his reading audience faced in their inability to travel to the Holy Land to experience locations of Christian salvation history and gain the indulgences associated with them. He did this through setting up a journey which would allow the sisters of Medingen and Melingen to voyage in spirit, along with their physical counterparts, and to perform the pilgrimage in daily segments without leaving their cloistered lives. In addition to journeying with the knightly pilgrims, the Syon pilgrims experience a deeper spiritual reality unavailable to their physical counterparts such as at the hole of purgatory or in the conversations with the Virgin Mary.

In visiting the Holy Land in this way, spiritual pilgrims see Jerusalem in its 'purest' state, as envisioned by the Catholic Church. They are not subject to "Conflicts with evil Christians, Turks, Saracens, and Arabs who demand toll and cause problems".[244] It is a way of embarking on pilgrimage without being exposed to the physical dangers of traveling during this time while accruing all the spiritual benefits of bodily journey.[245] This pilgrimage may also be repeated as many times as the Syon pilgrim desired without any barriers, as long as they received the permission of their superiors.[246] Although indulgences were not explicitly promised, there was the potential to gain richer rewards as a Syon pilgrim as their benefits came from God and not Church authorities. For the Syon pilgrims, *Die Sionpilger* represented not only a way to go on pilgrimage but the ideal way to engage in this practice.

Die Sionpilger presents an authoritative example of a spiritually beneficial non-locative pilgrimage practice. It is therefore an ideal test case for seeing if modern pilgrimage typologies are useful in describing this type of sacred journey. Before such an examination may be undertaken, a discussion of the typologies of Victor Turner and Edith Turner, and John Eade and Michael Sallnow is needed.

[244] *Vnd beschwerung boeser cristen vnd der dircken. sarracenen. araben. mit zoell. vnd vnbillichait.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 83 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 117.
[245] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 115.
[246] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 117.

Chapter Two – Seminal Pilgrimage Typologies Clarified

Modern pilgrimage studies had its beginnings in the seminal work of husband and wife anthropologists, Edith Turner and Victor Turner, with their publication of *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978). A second generation of pilgrimage scholars emerged in response to the Turners' theory, most notably catalyzed by anthropologists John Eade's and Michael Sallnow's *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (1991). Given their place as seminal typologies within the field of pilgrimage studies, they are an ideal starting point in discussing non-locative pilgrimage journeys.

In this chapter I will outline both *communitas* and contestation theories. Once this is done, I will use the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty to clarify the phenomenological nature of the pilgrim, thus solidifying the ability of these typologies to describe non-locative pilgrimages. According to Simon Coleman, both understandings of pilgrimage are useful but incomplete; rather, they are complementary to one another. Drawing on this, in this chapter I will consider the central elements from each typology in order to bring them into conversation with the journey framed by *Die Sionpilger*.

I. The Turners: The Emergence of Pilgrimage Typologies

Within their foundational work, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, Victor Turner and Edith Turner present a typology of pilgrimage which reflects ethnographer Arnold van Gennep's work on rites of passage among tribal societies. In *Les Rites du Passage*, van Gennep describes how men in "ancient and tribal societies conceptualized and symbolized the transitions men have to make between well-defined states and statuses", most notably that which signified the shift from boyhood to manhood.[247] The Turners propose that Christian pilgrimages tend to follow much the same pattern as these rites. For them, the pilgrim journey occurs within three distinct steps which are delineated by the culture in which it is performed.[248]

[247] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 2.
[248] Edith Turner, "Preface to the Paperback Edition," in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), xxiv.

First, the pilgrim leaves his/her quotidian environment to journey towards a sacred space. This location typically is identified before departure as a site of importance to his/her religion or culture. In leave-taking, the pilgrim is stripped of his/her social standing within their home community and becomes equal with fellow journeyers. Pilgrimage destinations, also referred to as sacred centers, are locations out there, that is, outside of the pilgrim's quotidian reality.[249] According to the Turners, these sites are typically associated with any of the following: a sacred image of a divine figure or cultural story; apparitions of the divine figure; the birthplace or locations of defining life events; or the grave of a holy person.[250] Sacred centers are locations of spiritual magnetism where miracles are said to have occurred and indeed continue to happen. Thus, the pilgrim's faith is strengthened and his/her eternal salvation better assured through interaction with the divine.[251] At the point of departure, the pilgrim leaves the familiar to enter a *liminoid*[252] state. The term *liminoid* is utilized in this instance to indicate that pilgrims choose to engage in pilgrimage. This is in contrast to the term *liminal* which is indicative of practices that are religiously or socially compelled, as in the case of van Gennep's rites of passage.[253] In both liminal and *liminoid* states "the normal does not apply. It is a kind of crack between the worlds, like the looking glass world of Alice."[254] As how the journey will unfold is unknown, the *liminoid* is not only a transition but is also the potentiality of "what may be".[255] By choice, the pilgrim enters a state of "betwixt and between", being neither at home nor at the sacred center.[256] They are "on the way".[257]

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[249] Edith Turner, "Pilgrimage: An Overview," in *Encyclopedia of Religion* Lindsay Jones (ed.) 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005): 7145. It should be noted that the Turners' main research focus was on Catholic pilgrimages in Latin America and Europe. Michael A. Di Gionvine, "Pilgrimage: Communitas and contestation, unity and difference – An introduction," *Tourism* 59, no. 3 (2011): 252.
[250] Turner, "Pilgrimage: An Overview," 7145.
[251] Turner and Turner, "Introduction,"6.
[252] *Liminoid* is related to the *liminal* in that the former is the voluntary entering into a betwixt and between state through the active choice of the participant. See for full description: Victor Turner and Edith Turner, "Introduction," 35. An exception to this would be the penitential pilgrimages of the Medieval period. For more information see: Martin Leigh Harrison, "Penitential Pilgrimage," 501-503
[253] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 9.
[254] Ross, "Introduction," xxx.
[255] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 3.
[256] This is further reflected in the etymology of the term 'pilgrimage'. From the Latin *peregrinatio* and cognate to the Greek *xeniteia*, the term originally meaning foreign travel, sojourning in a foreign land, and/or exile.
[257] Matthew Anderson, *Something Grand* (Montreal: Matthew Anderson, 2012).

Second, the pilgrim journeys towards the sacred center. During this process of movement, the pilgrims become conscious of the "awareness of temporary release from social ties".[258] It is during the act of meaningful movement that the pilgrim purportedly experiences *communitas*[259] or intimate fellow-feeling with fellow travelers as "commonplace social distinctions disappear, and individuals relate to each other as equals".[260] The disappearance of hierarchy during pilgrimage travel allows for meaningful communication between those who may not be able to communicate thusly in the everyday, hierarchical, community structure. It is experienced directly on the journey as a "strong and sudden feeling of being unique yet equal part of the human race".[261]

According to the Turners, *communitas* may appear in three distinct forms. The first, *spontaneous* or *existential*, exists in spurts along the journey and is characterized by its nature as defying volitional construction.[262] The second, *normative*, attempts to codify or formulate "a system of ethical precepts and legal rules" which arise out of the original experience of *spontaneous communitas*.[263] This may be seen in examples of structured pilgrimages which are planned by religious groups.[264] The third, *ideological*, is the implementation of the precepts codified in *normative communitas* within the social structure of daily living. Within the new social structure there is the expectation of, and planning for, *spontaneous communitas* to occur.[265] According to Edith Turner, this remembered state may prompt changes such as becoming a "sect, then church, then a prop for a dominant political system, until *communitas* resurges once more, emerging from the spaces of freedom often found in [the] betwixt-and-between".[266] The latter two forms of *communitas* are generated from a remembering and an attempt to recreate the initial feeling of spontaneous fellow-feeling.

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[258] Turner, "Pilgrimage: An Overview," 7146.
[259] Not to be confused with community. Di Gionvine, "Pilgrimage," 250.
[260] Ross, "Introduction," xxx.
[261] Edith Turner, "Rites of Communitas," in *Encyclopedia of Religious Rites, Rituals and Festivals* Frank A. Salamone (ed.) (New York: Routledge, 2004), 97 in Di Gionvine, "Pilgrimage," 250.
[262] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, "Appendix A: Notes on Processual Symbolic Analysis," in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 252.
[263] Turner and Turner, "Appendix A," 252.
[264] Di Gionvine, "Pilgrimage," 248.
[265] Turner and Turner, "Appendix A," 252.
[266] Turner, "Rites of Communitas," 98 in Di Gionvine, "Pilgrimage," 253.

As pilgrims reach the sacred center, they are exposed to increased and intensified symbolism representative of the traditional socio-religious structure. Their once free state increasingly becomes circumscribed by "symbolic structures [such as] religious buildings, pictorial images, statuary, and sacralized features of the topography".[267] These sacred symbols become increasingly frequent in order to prime the pilgrim for an encounter with the "culturally defined experiences of the founder and of those depicted as standing in some close relationship with him [or her]".[268] The Turners note that the accumulated fatigue generated from long distance travel, away from the quotidian, leaves pilgrims in a state when they are vulnerable to such cultural symbolic encoding.[269] Once pilgrims reach their destination, they often engage in a ritualized encounter with the associated figure and may experience *communitas* with the figure itself.

Third, pilgrims return to their quotidian environment, ostensibly changed. They return to a modified position within the social hierarchy reflective of their status as pilgrims. Their shift in communal status does not come in the form of increased economic prosperity, as quite the opposite tends to occur, but rather in spiritual capital. Within the Christian community the returning traveler is regarded as having progressed spiritually through the experience of the pilgrimage's hardships, and through direct contact with the holy.[270] In addition, pilgrims often report that they have been changed by the experience either spiritually, emotionally, or psychologically.

When looking for the Turnerian typology in relationship to any pilgrimage journey, four key elements emerge. First, the voyage should take place in three overarching phases: the leave-taking (corresponding to van Gennep's "preliminaire"), the journey ("liminaire"), and the return ("post-liminaire"). Second, pilgrims choose to engage in pilgrimage to a sacred center known to them through their religio-cultural tradition. Third, while on the journey itself pilgrims should experience *communitas* in one or more of its forms: *spontaneous*, *normative*, or *idealized*. Fourth, when nearing the sacred center there should be a greater number of symbols associated with the pilgrim's religious tradition. Upon reaching the sacred center the pilgrim has an experience of encounter with the divine.

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[267] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 10.
[268] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 10-11.
[269] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 11.
[270] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 15.

II. Eade and Sallnow: A Typology of Contestation

It is important when considering the foundational typology of the Turners, to also present their critics. The most influential among those who critiqued the Turners typology were John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow in their *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (1991). Within the introductory chapter to this collection of pilgrimage conference papers, Eade and Sallnow propose that the main problem with the Turnerian model is that *communitas* presupposes a Marxist/utopian reality where all pilgrims discuss and work towards one idealized worldview.[271] They agree with Glenn Bowman in that the Turners have essentially separated pilgrimage studies "from the constraints of history and society and [presented *communitas*] as a transhistorical and omnipresent archetypal form".[272] The reality of pilgrimage, as described by Eade and Sallnow, is that rather than promoting states of *communitas*, pilgrimages constitute journeys of contestation.

According to contestation theory, instead of one unifying discourse, pilgrimages are made up of many competing meanings associated with the sacred location.[273] For example, drawing on the work of Bowman, on a macro level the city of Jerusalem is home to sacred centers for the faith traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.[274] At the micro level, specific locations are imbued with meanings that may be based on denomination divisions, owing to their "entrenched understanding of the sacred".[275] Whereas for Greek Orthodox pilgrims, the geographic location may not be as important as the icons contained at the site, for Roman Catholics the geographic location is important "in that it is illustrative of a particular biblical text relating to the life of Jesus [or a particular Saint]".[276] In addition, within a denomination, multiple meanings may often emerge, the most obvious of these being the different meanings and motives among the pilgrims visiting the shrine and the people who maintain and care for the area. Officials tending the sacred center are charged with "protect[ing] sacred objects and areas from those not specifically

[271] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 5.
[272] Glenn Bowman, "Theoretical Itineraries Towards an Anthropology of Pilgrimage," in *Dimensions of Pilgrimage An Anthropological Appraisal*, ed. Makhan Jha (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1985), 3 in Eade "Introduction to the Illinois Paperback," xii.
[273] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 5.
[274] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 6.
[275] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 13.
[276] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 14.

validated by the shrine authorities".[277] Pilgrims, on the other hand, often "do not appear to have the same notion of the vulnerability of the sacred" and disagree with officials as to who may enter the sacred center and how.[278] For example, John Eade's research at the Lourdes shrine points out how "pilgrims are … able to wield their own power to pursue ritual practices in defiance of the wishes of shrine officials".[279]

Not all conflicts are overt in nature, where the disagreement between groups is seen. Simon Coleman notes that instances of conflict may be implicit in nature. For instance, the sick who travel to Lourdes do so "according to their own designs" which may be in conflict with the official discourse of the shrine authorities.[280] As pilgrims would not necessarily express these interior reasonings and beliefs, they do not conflict openly but still exist in opposition to the narrative others at the sacred site. In this way "individuals or groups take account of but do not necessarily specifically interact with each other."[281] This allows for divergent meanings of the sacred center without any visible contestation between groups.

As there is no universal meaning for any sacred center due to the multitude of meanings given by differing groups, Eade and Sallnow posit that the geographic location itself does not carry any inherent meaning. Rather, it functions as a "religious void" in which figures of authority and pilgrims alike attribute their own meanings. Using the previous example, the city of Jerusalem does not contain inherent characteristics which dictate its suitability as a sacred center for Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. Rather, its importance is in the location's ability to function as a vessel into which all agents, whether religious official or pilgrim, can pour in their "hopes, prayers, and aspirations", to accommodate diverse "meanings and understandings". [282] In addition to the location's capacity to absorb these meanings, it must also be able to "reflect a multiplicity of religious discourses".[283] For Eade and Sallnow, it is the location's lack of inherent

[277] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11.
[278] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11.
[279] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11.
[280] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11.
[281] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 359.
[282] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 15.
[283] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 15.

meaning which allows it to reflect a plethora of meanings; this makes it ideal as sacred center. As a result, "there is no [one single universal concept] of 'pilgrimage', only pilgrimages".[284]

This is not to imply that there is no typology proposed by Eade and Sallnow. In addition to their contestation model, they argue that pilgrimages are constituted be three factors: persons, places, and texts.[285] As noted by Coleman, and confirmed by Eade in the "Introduction to the Illinois Paperback", these sources are not defined by Eade and Sallnow in *Contesting the Sacred*. Later, Evgenia Mesaritou, Simon Coleman, and John Eade contended that these three factors "may involve forms of ideologically charged framing, editing, concealment, revelation, and so on, through which different and often competing accounts of pilgrimage journeys, destinations, and experiences are produced".[286] The factors of persons, places, and texts are a way of communicating the variables which interact to form a complex web of interconnected and competing meanings at any sacred center.

When considering Eade's and Sallnow's typology in relationship to any pilgrimage journey, it may be summarized as containing two elements. First, there are multiple meanings present within the pilgrimage itself, with special attention given to the sacred site. These instances of contestation may be explicit or implicit in nature. Second, the differences of meanings generated may be described through the triad of peoples, places, and texts.

III. Merleau-Ponty: The Embodied Pilgrim

In considering the suitability of the *communitas* and contestation typologies to discuss non-locative pilgrimage practices, the lacuna of non-locative journeys must be addressed. Without clarifying this silence, it is possible to reduce this type of sacred journey to only those which involves physical leave-taking.[287] The clarification required is present in the form of the ontology of the human person as described by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961). Throughout his

[284] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 360.
[285] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 9.
[286] Evgenia Mesaritou, Simon Coleman and John Eade, "Introduction: Guiding the Pilgrim," *Tourist Studies* 16, no. 1 (2016): 5.
[287] This tendency towards reducing pilgrimage to locative journeys is discussed in Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: A Study of Authenticity," 3.

career, he consistently wrote against the tendency to bifurcate the human person into physical and intellectual processes and the privileging one over the other.[288]

i. The history of modern phenomenology

Prior to discussing the phenomenological understanding of the human person, as per Merleau-Ponty, his sources must be briefly considered. Merleau-Ponty's initial interest in phenomenology was sparked upon discovery of the late thought of Edmund Husserl, from a 1939 article in *Revue internationale de philosophie*.[289] This work prompted Merleau-Ponty to visit the newly established Husserl Archive at the Catholic Université of Louvain[290] where he studied Husserl's later works, most of which had not been published previously. Husserl, along with his student and critic Martin Heidegger, would become the basis from which Merleau-Ponty drew his phenomenology.

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) is considered the founder of the modern phenomenological movement.[291] He wished to offer a new starting point for Western philosophy while incorporating elements from earlier traditions.[292] Husserl was reflecting upon the epistemological concern of the turn of the century, as expressed by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: how can we say to know anything about reality?[293] For Hegel, and for Husserl in turn, the answer was to appeal to knowledge as it is perceived through the senses, both as explained by the sciences and as experienced in "one's immediate awareness and consciousness".[294]

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[288] For a full description Merleau-Ponty's writings against Intellectualism see: Eric Matthews, "Embodiment," *Merleau-Ponty: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 38-42.
[289] Eric Matthews, "Phenomenology," *Merleau-Ponty: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 5.
[290] The Catholic Université of Louvain, which Merleau-Ponty visited, is now known as Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.
[291] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 5; It should be noted that the term *phenomenology*, was used as early as 1765 but not in a well-defined way. Joseph Kockelmans, *Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl and its Interpretations* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 24 in Clark Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology: Conceptual Framework," *Phenomenological Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1994), 26; David Woodruff Smith, "Phenomenology," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Phylosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2018 edition, < https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/phenomenology>.
[292] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 5.
[293] George J. Marshall *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Perception* (Milwaukee, Marquette Press, 2008), 48.
[294] Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 26.

As Husserl states, phenomenology must begin with an emphasis on human subjectivity as it encounters objects through the bodily senses.[295] "Ultimately, all genuine, and, in particular, all scientific knowledge, *rests on inner evidence*: as far as such evidence extends, the concept of knowledge extends also".[296] In order to collect this information, the individual must direct their consciousness towards an object of study, referred to as "intentionality of consciousness".[297] From this first-person perspective, phenomenology may be understood as "the science of the essence of consciousness".[298] Its goal is not to describe what exists, but rather an "understanding that grasps the meaning of what we know."[299] These meanings are generated through the interaction between the individual's consciousness and the world.[300]

Through his understanding of phenomenology, Husserl presents as its ultimate goal transcendental knowledge, or "knowledge of the Absolute".[301] He states that one should aim to uncover the "essences" of each concept. This should be done without the distractions of any concepts which correspond to the object unto itself.[302] In order to discover these "essences" the subject must engage in "*epoché*" (or "bracketing of existence"); from the Greek skeptic's notion of abstaining, or hold back, from belief or judgement.[303] Husserl believed that without this stepping back from preconceptions the observer would only be able to achieve a distorted view of the essence of the object: "the thesis of my pure Ego and its personal life, which is 'necessary' and plainly indubitable, thus stands opposed to the thesis of the world."[304] This means to break away from everyday judgements, understandings, and scientific knowledge of the object being attended to, in order to become aware of our direct experiences and the "meanings" given to the

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[295] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 5.
[296] Emphasis mine. Edmund Husserl, *Logical Investigations,* trans James N Findlay, vol 1 (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), 61 in Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 26.
[297] Husserl draws upon the work of German philosopher Franz Berntano (1837-1917) in his use of this term. Matthews, "Phenomenology," 6.
[298] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 6; Smith, "Phenomenology," <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/phenomenology>.
[299] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 49-50.
[300] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 50.
[301] Kockelmans, *Phenomenology*, 24 in Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 26.
[302] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 10-11.
[303] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 50; Matthews, "Phenomenology," 10; John Findlay, "Husserl, Edmund," in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Western Philosophy*, eds. Jonathan Rée and James O. Urmson, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005): 175-176; Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 33; Smith, "Phenomenology," <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/phenomenology>.
[304] Edmund Husserl, *Ideas*, trans. William R. B. Gibson (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1931) 144-145 in Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 33.

intentional object of study without any distortion.[305] When this process is achieved, it results in "phenomenological reduction" which Husserl contended would allow for the phenomenological process to come to a complete, transcendental understanding of the "essences" of an object.[306] More simply put, the object unto itself without the viewer's interference.

Another major influence on the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty is Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). As a student of Husserl, he was critical of transcendental phenomenology. Instead of his teacher's emphasis on conscious awareness leading to knowledge, Heidegger was more concerned about deriving meaning from the act of living in the world.[307] Through our very nature as limited beings, it is impossible to achieve status as transcendental subjects.[308] Humanity's finitude is not something which we can, or should attempt to, overcome as it is the essence of our characteristics as humans.[309] "*Epoché*" is impossible, according to Heidegger, as it requires a putting aside the very way in which humans come to understand the world. He states that the only way in which we may interpret the meaning of objects is through our concerns and associations with them as conscious beings. The subject will always be a part of his/her research through these interconnections.[310] Instead of attempting to section off such contextualizing elements, the subject should instead engage in the process of "*Dasein*"; an examination of how things appear to us in the course of our ordinary interactions.[311] Of central importance for Heidegger was that humans do not exist in a vacuum. We are constantly in the process of being-in-the-world. "We are a part of the world but a specific part as we are conscious."[312]

Merleau-Ponty builds upon Husserl and Heidegger. He presents them without any conflict in their understandings, as they are both sources of insight and not its ultimate arbiter.[313] "*Epoché*"

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[305] Findlay, "Husserl, Edmund," 175-176; Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 50; Matthews, "Phenomenology," 10; Moustakas, "Transcendental Phenomenology," 33; Smith, "Phenomenology," <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/ entries/phenomenology>.
[306] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 50-51.
[307] Tracy McConnell-Henry, Ysanna Chapman, and Karen Francis, "Husserl and Heidegger: Exploring the disparity," *International Journal of Nursing Practice* 51, no. 1 (2009): 8.
[308] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 51; Matthews, "Phenomenology," 11.
[309] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 51.
[310] McConnell-Henry, Chapman, and Francis, "Husserl and Heidegger," 8; Smith, "Phenomenology," <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/ entries/phenomenology>.
[311] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 12; Smith, "Phenomenology," <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/ entries/phenomenology>.
[312] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 12.
[313] Marshall, *A Guide to Merleau-Ponty*, 52-53.

appears in a different way than how it was presented by Husserl. Instead of an encouragement for the subject to become separate from all concerns and associations with an object, Merleau-Ponty suggests that s/he should relax this understanding to be able to approach "the sheer strangeness of the world".[314] In addition Merleau-Ponty extends Husserl's concept of the lived body and Heidegger's being-in-the-world, and in doing so aids in defining the would-be pilgrim.

ii. Turning to the living body

In his *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), Merleau-Ponty presents a phenomenological understanding of human beings as neither reductively material nor essentially intellectual/spiritual.[315] Rather, he used the term "*living body*" [*le corps vivant*] to represent the holistic, experienced reality of being human. With this term, Merleau-Ponty rejects that human experience is restricted to the process of the mind, the *cogito*, suggesting rather that it arises in the interaction of the human person as mind-body unity with the world "[t]he world is not what I *think*, but what I live".[316] As he points out it is not possible to experience the world through the process of the mind without having first experienced it through the perception of the body: "Thus, we must not wonder if we truly perceive the world; rather, we must say: the world is what we perceive".[317] The *living body* encounters the world through the senses, making meaning through acts of experiencing and understanding.[318]

Although it is through the human body that the world is perceived, this does not place it above intellectual processes. Rather for Merleau-Ponty, the physical and intellectual/spiritual aspects of the person are not two separate elements but rather work together. The *living body* is to be understood as abandoning this dichotomy altogether.

[314] Matthews, "Phenomenology," 17.
[315] I use the term intellectual/spiritual as Merleau-Ponty uses one term or the other, depending upon the context.
[233] *Le monde est non pas ce que je pense, mais ce que je vis.* Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, xi-xii in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, lxxx.
[317] *Il ne faut donc pas se demander si nous percevons vraiment un monde, il faut dire au contraire : le monde est cela que nous percevons.* Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, xi in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, lxxx.
[318] Bullington, "The Lived Body," 25-28.

> [T]he psycho-physical event can no longer be conceived after in the manner of Cartesian physiology or as the contiguity between a process in itself [the perception through the body] and a *cogitatio* [the intellectual process]. The union of the soul and the body is not established through an arbitrary decree that united two mutually exclusive terms, one a subject and the other an object. It is accomplished at each moment in the movement of existence.[319]

> Taken concretely, man is not a psyche joined to an organism, but rather this back-and-forth of existence that sometimes allows itself to exist as a body and sometimes carries itself into personal acts. Psychological motives and bodily events can overlap because there is no single movement in a living body that is an absolute accident with regard to physical intentions and no single physical act that has not found at least its germ or its outline in physiological dispositions.[320]

Through Merleau-Ponty it becomes clear that the intellectual/spiritual and physical dimensions of human beings function not as dichotomous elements, but rather as a complementary whole which allows for the subject to move through and understand the world.

What can be said of pilgrims as human persons is that they are constituted by the interplay between the physical body and the non-physical intellect/spirit. Further, as common with all the pilgrimage typologies treated here, the person is always situated within a specific historical context. "I am an intersubjective field, not in spite of my body and my historical situation, but rather by being this body and this situation and by being, through them, everything else".[321] As such pilgrims experience is likewise a mutual intertwining of physical and non-physical components of human being in relationship with the world. In this way, non-locative experiences

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[319] [L]*'événement psychophysique ne peut plus être conçu à la manière de la physiologie cartésienne et comme la contiguïté d'un processus en soi et d'une cogitatio. L'union de l'âme et du corps n'est pas scellée par un décret arbitraire entre deux termes extérieurs, l'un objet, l'autre sujet. Elle s'accomplit à chaque instant dans le mouvement de l'existence.* Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 105 in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 91.

[320] *L'homme concrètement pris n'est pas un psychisme joint à un organisme, mais ce va-et-vient de l'existence qui tantôt se laisse être corporelle et tantôt se porte aux actes personnels. Les motifs psychologiques et les occasions corporelles peuvent s'entre-lacer parce qu'il n'est pas un seul mouvement dans un corps vivant qui soit un hasard absolu à l'égard des intentions psychiques, pas un seul acte psychique qui n'ait trouvé au moins son germe ou son dessin général dans les dispositions physiologiques*. Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 104 in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 90.

[321] *Je suis un champ intersubjectif, non pas en dépit de mon corps et de ma situation historique, mais au contraire en étant ce corps et cette situation et tout le reste à travers eux*. Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la Perception*, 516 in Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 478.

may be understood equally as instances of pilgrimage. Although they are initiated through the intellect/spirit, they are actually experienced through the complementary of *living body*.

IV. Bringing Typologies Together

With the clarification of Merleau-Ponty, it becomes possible to use the typologies of the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow to treat non-locative pilgrimage. As discussed by anthropologist Simon Coleman in "Do You Believe in Pilgrimage? *Communitas*, Contestation and Beyond", "[b]oth *communitas* and 'contestation' have proved exceptionally good tools for scholars to think with".[322]

In bringing these ideas into conversation with the pilgrimage presented in *Die Sionpilger* I will not be looking for a perfect match with either understanding of pilgrimage. As Coleman notes, neither is an exhaustive pilgrimage typology. Although there may be periods of *communitas* and/or contestation in pilgrimage experiences, they are neither certain nor constant, nor are they necessarily overt in nature.[323] As this is the case for locative forms of pilgrimage, it logically follows that the same may be true in non-locative practices.

These typologies will therefore be placed into conversation with the journey prescribed by *Die Sionpilger* to see if some of the characteristics are apparent within the text. Although discussion will be limited, based on the availability of the English translations, it will be possible to generate an idea as to whether they may prove useful.

[322] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 363.
[323] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 359.

Chapter Three – Characteristics of Non-Locative Pilgrimage: *Communitas*, Contestation, and *Die Sionpilger*

Although the typologies by the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow are useful when discussing locative pilgrimage experiences, they were not proposed with non-locative journeys in mind. These theories were put forth after study of physical pilgrimages to sacred centers. When clarified through the phenomenological approach of Merleau-Ponty, it becomes clear that they may be used to discuss non-locative forms of pilgrimage as well. According to his phenomenology, the human person is constituted by an interplay of mind/soul and body in a way that defies hierarchical, dualistic separation. Although in non-locative forms of pilgrimage the pilgrims initial experience is mediated through the intellect/spirit, it is nonetheless the whole person who is undergoing the experience. As such, it is possible to examine non-locative forms of journeying for the characteristics of the foundational typologies proposed by *communitas* and contestation.

I will examine *Die Sionpilger* for six key elements: first, from the Turnerian typology, the three-phase structure of leave-taking, journeying, and reaggregation; second, the *liminoid* nature of choosing to engage in pilgrimage; third, the three forms of *communitas*; fourth, the increase in religious symbols as the pilgrim nears the sacred center and a ritualized encounter with a holy figure; fifth, from Eade and Sallnow, the existence of multiple meanings surrounding the sacred center; and finally, how the meanings generated may or may not be analyzed through the triad of persons, places, and texts. Through assessing whether any of these characteristics are indeed discernible within the text, I will be able to determine the suitability of the typologies of the Turners and of Eade and Sallnow for discussion of non-locative journeys.

I. Turnerian Typology

i. Three phases

The three-phase structure of leaving, journeying, and return as proposed by the Turners can be discerned in the journey of the Syon pilgrims. First, they prepared for their leave-taking. Prior to engaging in this non-locative journey, the would-be pilgrims obtained the permission from

their superiors.[324] This begins the separation of the Syon pilgrims from quotidian lives. In addition, they prepared wills, made their confessions, and partook of the Lord's Supper.[325] As mentioned above, these actions were taken by the knightly pilgrims as well. As the Syon pilgrims were not risking death on their journey, unlike their physical counterparts, the set of actions which they performed were largely symbolic. These actions function as a way of separating the Syon pilgrims from their everyday lives in a radical way, even though they do not physically travel and in many cases continued their daily responsibilities; this facilitated their understanding of themselves as being away from home.

Second, the Syon pilgrims performed the two-hundred and eight-day non-locative journey. This phase is bookended by the departure from, and return to, Ulm. The details of the journey will be discussed below as they relate to the other characteristics of the Turners' typology. Although the Syon pilgrims still operated within their quotidian environment, performed their everyday practices in addition to the non-locative pilgrimage, they nonetheless experienced themselves as being both at home and away. Understandings of time and space as flexible were prevalent in fifteenth century Europe. Building upon "[m]edieval beliefs about time, particularly the concept of *duratio*, or God's time" space and place become mutable and collapse "the boundaries of time, space, and gender".[326] As such it is entirely plausible for the Syon pilgrims to have understood themselves as both being in the Holy Land and in their daily environment. To symbolically solidify their understanding that they were no longer only within their quotidian life, Syon pilgrims were instructed to wear a cross while journeying.[327] Their change in social status to pilgrim was activated through this modification, similar to what is suggested by the Turners in that pilgrims shift to "[a] simplicity [or change] of dress and behavior", while journeying. [328]

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[324] Rule 10: "The tenth rule is … thus shall the Sion pilgrim undertake his journey with the knowledge and permission of his superiors and with the permission of his confessor" ; "*Die X regel ist … Also sol der Syon bilgrin sin fartvnderstan mit wissen vnd erlaubaung sines orben • vnd mit verwilgung sines bicht vatteres*" Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 80 in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 195.
[325] Rule 16 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30.
[326] June L. Mecham, "A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005), 153. It is beyond the scope of my thesis to discuss the theology behind this understanding. For further examples of such practices see: Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons,* 240-259.
[327] Rule 4 in Carls, Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 20.
[328] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 34.

Finally, the Syon pilgrims returned fully to their quotidian lives after the completion of their pilgrimage. As no known records exist of either the first-hand experiences of these pilgrims or any third-hand account of their journey, it is unknown if they understood themselves as having undergone a change in spiritual status. *Die Sionpilger* does indicate that the Syon pilgrims are able to receive indulgences through interacting with the Holy Land through their journey. In addition, any indulgences received would be of greater spiritual benefit than physical pilgrims, as it is God and not Church authorities who bestows it upon them.[329] It stands to reason that the community of the Syon pilgrims would have understood a shift in spiritual status due to the experience of the Syon pilgrims' journey and their accrual of indulgences.

ii. Liminal or *liminoid*?

One of the defining features of pilgrimage, as opposed to rites of initiation, is the fact that pilgrims choose to engage in the practice rather than it being imposed.[330] For the Syon pilgrims, there was a distinct need to experience the locations of salvation history, as described in Christian tradition, and to gain all associated indulgences. Although they felt this need, there is no indication that they were instructed to read such a text. Quite the opposite is indicated in *Die Sionpilger* as Fabri recounts that it is the sisters of Medingen and Medlingen themselves who requested the text be written. The only time he directly indicates who should or should not engage in this form of pilgrimage is when he is cautioning against the participation of those for whom either it would be a mere distraction from his/her spiritual responsibilities.[331] Instead of being a prescribed activity, it is discouraged under certain circumstances.

Other textual indicators suggest that the journey was selected on a voluntary basis by the would-be Syon pilgrims. For example, in the tenth rule, Fabri indicates that anyone intending to go on pilgrimage should "undertake his journey with the knowledge and permission of his superiors and with the permission of his confessor".[332] This indicates that it is not the superior or confessor who instructs pilgrims to embark, but rather the Syon pilgrims themselves who

[329] This is inferred through the wording of Rule 3 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 29.
[330] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 253-254.
[331] Rule 6 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30.
[332] *Die X regel ist … Also sol der Sÿon bilgrin sin fart vnderstan mit wissen vnd erlaubung sines obren. vnd mit verwilgung sines bicht vatteres.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 80 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 51; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 195

initiated the process. Although they desire to go on such a pilgrimage, they are not coerced to do so, and therefore by Turnerian definition their experience in *liminoid*.

iii. *Communitas*?

When discussing *communitas*, the limits of this thesis emerge. It is impossible to know if the Syon pilgrims experienced *spontaneous*, or *existential*, *communitas*. As there are no known texts written by the Syon pilgrims themselves, nor texts describing their journey, there is no data to confirm the experience of *spontaneous communitas* organically generated.

The type of *communitas* that is relevant to *Die Sionpilger* is what the Turners call *normative communitas*, that is an attempt to codify and preserve the ethics and rules which emerge in *spontaneous communitas*. This is done in many ways by Fabri, most notably through the twenty rules for how to engage in the pilgrimage. First, the Syon pilgrims are instructed to travel as a group as much as possible.[333] They are to do all readings and experience the journey together. This is further strengthened through the indication that illiterate pilgrims should ask fellow Syon pilgrims how difficult the day's travels are, as to know the appropriate amount of *Pater Nosters* to say.[334] Through traveling together, the Syon pilgrims would have shared experiences in a way similar to the knightly pilgrims. Although constructed through the rules set up by Fabri, the Syon pilgrims experience the journey in a way that is constructed to foster *communitas*. According to Edith Turner in *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, *communitas* may emerge in times of shared experiences: both positive and negative: "[C]ommunitas may be found when people engage in a collective task with full attention".[335] As the Syon pilgrims were embarking upon each day together it is possible that this type of unique fellow-feeling occurred.

It is not possible to say whether the rules generated by Fabri were used in the Syon pilgrims' quotidian lives to facilitate *spontaneous communitas*, as we have no texts either expressly delineating such a formulation, nor do we have writings forbidding it. As noted by historian Leigh Ann Craig, writings against a given activity provides negative evidence for such an

[333] Rule 17. in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 32: Rule 5 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 30; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190; Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 116; Kaelbel, "Spiritual Pilgrimage," 694.
[334] Rule 13 in Carls, "Pilgerfahrten – Texte zwischen Andacht und Abenteuer," 33; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 189.
[335] Edith Turner, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 3.

activity. For example, although very few first-hand accounts exist of women engaging in pilgrimage in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, nonetheless we know that pilgrimages by women occurred as they were "recorded in a variety of sources, and they [female pilgrims] were heartily reviled by critics".[336] Therefore, if the sisters of Medingen and Medlingen, or others who used *Die Sionpilger* to travel non-locatively, engaged the implementation of structural change in their daily lives, as per the Turners notion of *ideological communitas*, then texts detailing, supporting, or decrying such a project may exist. Since no such texts have come to light, I think it is unlikely that the Syon pilgrims would have engaged in *ideological communitas*.

iv. Divine encounter

According to the Turners, the journey of the pilgrims culminates in a ritualized encounter with a holy figure associated with a sacred center. This encounter itself is highly influenced by the socio-religious symbols which become increasingly frequent as the pilgrim journeys closer to the center. It is not possible to know if the Syon pilgrims experienced this increase in symbolism on their journey. Although it is possible that such a transition occurred, it is not evident within the sections of *Die Sionpilger* that have been translated into English and no research has yet been done that would suggest this.

The Syon pilgrims engaged in many encounters with the holy, in relationship with sacred centers. While in Jerusalem, the Syon pilgrims met multiple times with the Virgin Mary. During one such occasion she even identifies herself as a fellow pilgrim "so be informed that from my early youth until the day of my death I have been a pilgrim and have wandered from one place to another full of love".[337] This positions the divine as a fellow pilgrim and makes the Virgin Mary accessible to the Syon pilgrims, and thus allowed for the possibility of *communitas* with her.

Elements of the encounter with the Virgin Mary are ritualized in that they are built upon and retell well known narratives surrounding the death of Jesus. The Syon pilgrims witnessed the death and burial of Jesus from the point of view of his mother. This is reminiscent of the

[336] Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 10.
[337] *Sond wissen das ich von Iuget vff bis an den tag myner verschidung bin ain bilgrin gewesen vnd bin vil lyplich vmb von aim ourt zuo dem andernn gegangen.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 203 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.

traditional biblical account as well as contemporary Passion literature such as Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi* and art such as the paintings of *Zwölf Meister*.[338] It is possible that other elements of ritualized behaviour occur outside of the segment of translated text available. Further studies would be needed to explore this possibility.

Furthermore, the Syon pilgrims entered into dialogue with the Virgin Mary concerning sacred reality. While in Jerusalem, Fabri instructs the pilgrims, both knightly and Syon, to "meditate upon these serious matters while looking upon Mount Olive".[339] The Syon pilgrims did this, in part, through directly beseeching the Virgin Mary to "help [them] to understand the hidden divine secrets".[340] To this she replies that "God selects certain people to whom He reveals the secrets, especially those who imitate me as much as they are capable of".[341] Not only is this a direct response to what the Syon pilgrims' requested but indicates further communion with the divine if they emulate the Virgin Mary in their everyday lives. It can therefore be said that the Syon pilgrims did engage in a ritualized encounter with the divine.

II. Eade's and Sallnow's Typology

i. Contestation

When instances of contestation are considered in *Die Sionpilger*, both explicit and implicit forms become apparent. As discussed by Eade and Sallnow, explicit contestation occurs when divergent meanings come into open conflict at sacred centers. These may become apparent between people from different religious traditions or denominations, or among those performing various roles within the location itself.[342] In his critique of the contestation model, Simon Coleman notes that instances of conflict are not always overt but may be implicit in nature. In this way "individuals or groups take account of but do not necessarily specifically interact with

[338] Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 123.
[339] *Denen ernstlichen sachen synnent die bilgrin nach in dem an sehen. des oelbergs.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 125 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 124.
[340] *Wer gibt vns ze verstan die verborgnen goeliche haimlichkait Ach soeten wir wirdig sin.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 155 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.
[341] *Ze wircken in mir sin haimlichkait. Also erwelt im got ettlich lut vß. denen er offnet die haimlichkait Vnd besonder der die sich mir glichen nach irem vermugen.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 155 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 125.
[342] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11-15.

each other".[343] This allows for divergent meanings of the sacred center to occur implicitly, without any visible conflict between meanings.

The Syon pilgrims themselves did not – or should not have – experienced or participated in episodes of explicit contestation. According to Fabri, one of the principal advantages of engaging in non-locative pilgrimage is the avoidance of this type of contestation. At many points in *Die Sionpilger*, he mentions how the Syon pilgrims are not subject to "[c]onflicts with evil Christians, Turks, Saracens, and Arabs who demand toll and cause problems".[344] These groups have different understandings of the importance of Jerusalem, of who should be allowed into the city, and of how it should be experienced. Explicit contestation is encountered by the knightly pilgrims on a consistent basis. This leads Fabri to write that "[t]he knightly pilgrim journeys to Jerusalem as to a heathen city, but the Syon pilgrim arrives in Jerusalem as in a Christian city".[345] The Syon pilgrims do not experience explicit contestation directly, only through the retelling of the knightly pilgrims' experience. According to Fabri, one of the reasons that non-locative pilgrimage is more beneficial than physically visiting Jerusalem is because of the lack of explicit contestation.

What the Syon pilgrims experienced was implicit contestation, where multiple meanings around a sacred center exist, but do not explicitly enter conflict with one another. An example of implicit contestation can be seen in the encounter at the hole of purgatory in St. Helena's chapel in the Holy Sepulchre. For the knightly pilgrims, and in his account to his brothers in the *Pilgerbuch*, Fabri reports how "the simple-minded Christians say that one hears Purgatory crackling. But I believe that it is caused by the to-ing and fro-ing and talking in the church above".[346] In contrast Fabri explains to the Syon pilgrims that

[343] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 359.
[344] *Vnd beschwerung boeser cristen vnd der dircken. sarracenen. araben. mit zoell. vnd vnbillichait.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 83 in Classen, "Imaginary Experience of the Divine," 117.
[345] *Der Ritter belfrin zuch gen Iherusalem as ynn ain haignische statt Aber der Syon bilgrin kumpt gen Ihrusalem as ynn ain cristenliche statt.* Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 83-84 in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 44; Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 190-191.
[346] *Vnd sprechen die einfaltigen cristen / dz man da dz fegfúr hör brachlan / abere ich mein dz es sich von dem gan vnd reden dobna [droben] jm templels.* Felix Fabri, *Pilgerbuch*, Dessau, Stradtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, f. 52^{r} in Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 121.

> there is a stone for holy water built into the wall, and when someone puts his head into it then he hears a great roaring and a mournful rumbling, as if he could hear lamentation and wailing from many wailing and shrieking people. It is said that the crying out and wailing is that of the wretched souls in Purgatory beseeching the pilgrims for help.[347]

The same location holds two different meanings, one for each group. For the knightly pilgrims the hole of purgatory is a location emptied of spiritual meaning: the rushing sound is attributed to the movement of people and the shifting of air currents within the building. For the Syon pilgrims, the hole of purgatory is a passageway to Purgatory. For them, the rushing sound is the wailing of souls being purified for heaven. These different meanings do not explicitly conflict, and the groups are neither antagonistic toward each other nor in overt competition over the space itself. The knightly pilgrims have access to the geographical place while the Syon pilgrims have access to the spiritual location and do not come into open conflict.

ii. Person, place, text

When describing the instance of implicit contestation between the knightly and Syon pilgrims at the Hole of Purgatory, the triad of person, place and text proposed by Eade and Sallnow is useful in examining how each group understands the sacred site. In the case of the knightly pilgrims, they understand themselves as having exclusive access to the location: they are not aware of the Syon pilgrims, nor of the souls in Purgatory. Perceiving themselves as being alone within the space means that any noise emanating from the Hole of Purgatory must be caused by the natural phenomenon of human movement and the wind. Although St. Helena's chapel is a sacred place for the pilgrims, with its own spiritual importance, the hole itself is devoid of any external textual, or narrative, importance aside from that as source for holy water. The lack of spiritual meaning, for the knightly pilgrims, is further reflected in Fabri's statement that other unlearned groups "say you can hear cackling".[348] As they inhabit the physical location, the sounds emanating from the Hole of Purgatory is caused by natural phenomenon alone.

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[347] *Ist in die wand eingemurt ain wÿchwasser stain · vnd wenn ain mentsche sin höbt dar in stoßt · so hört er ain groß getaß · vnd ain grißgramen · as horti er klag vnd Iamer · von vil wainenden vnd schrienden Da sagt man das gerieff vnd klag sÿ der ellenden selen in dem fegfeúr · zü den bilgrin vmb hilff*. Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, 115 in Beebe 121-122 2014; Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 45.
[348] Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, 121-2.

Besides having a different interpretation of the Hole of Purgatory as sacred space, the Syon pilgrims understood that other groups – Fabri, the knightly pilgrims, and the souls of those in Purgatory – share the location with them. St. Helena's chapel is not principally a physical, geographic location but a spiritual place which functions as passage to Purgatory. This awareness was mediated by a textual/narrative framework, not only by Fabri describing the location but also by the common understanding of its nature as sacred center. Although the knightly pilgrims have access to the sacred center, as they are physically present within it, the Syon pilgrims are present in the spiritual reality of the locations. Although they are both theoretically sharing the same space, they derive different meanings largely owing to the registers to which each group has access.[349] The triad of person, place, and text is useful to consider the variance in understandings of the sacred space.

III. Can These Typologies Refer to Non-Locative Pilgrimage?

Through discussion of the elements that make up *communitas* and contestation, in the example of *Die Sionpilger*, there emerges both conformity to and distinction from the Turners', and Eade's and Sallnow's understandings of pilgrimage. As per the Turners, the Syon pilgrims ritualistically separated themselves from their quotidian lives to journey towards a sacred center. In accordance with the Turners' notion of *normative communitas*, during their pilgrimage they followed the ethics and rules set out by Fabri so as to generate experiences of unity and fellow-feeling. At the sacred center, the Syon pilgrims engaged in ritualized encounter and communication with the Virgin Mary, suggesting a liminal place and time between spiritual and earthly realities. Their journey ended with their return to their everyday lives potentially spiritually changed through the fellowship shared and the hardships endured on the journey, as well as a result of their exposure to the holy. The typology of Eade and Sallnow is useful in interpreting the pilgrimage described in *Die Sionpilger*, as the Syon and knightly pilgrims each attributed different meanings to certain sites: as evidenced by their understandings of the Hole of Purgatory. Further, the source of the divergent meanings may be attributed to different

[349] For a brief discussion on the differences of purpose between Fabri's differing retellings of the Hole of Purgatory see Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 46-47.

configurations of person, place, and text, the triad of sources proposed by Eade and Sallnow as constituent elements of pilgrimage.

On the other hand, it is impossible to say definitively whether certain characteristics of pilgrimage described by both the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow were part of the experience for the Syon pilgrims. For instance, lack of textual evidence means that neither *spontaneous communitas* nor spiritual transformation can be positively linked to the Syon pilgrims. In addition, the dearth of English translations of *Die Sionpilger* meant that I could not determine whether or not Fabri presented the Syon pilgrims with an increase in religious symbolism along the route. A full translation of the text would be required to make such a determination, as well as to examine whether and to what extent further instances of the six principal elements of foundational pilgrimage typologies might be argued for.

Though not exhaustive, the foundational typologies considered have proved useful for treating non-locative pilgrimage as exemplified with *Die Sionpilger*. Within this text, many elements suggestive of both the *communitas* and the contestation models are detectable. These typologies prove to be especially appropriate when the pilgrim is understood not as a dualistic being comprised of two disparate components, a mind and a body, but as an integrated being whose experience and understanding always necessarily involve the whole self in a mutuality of mind/body-in-the-world. In having a way to discuss non-locative pilgrimage in academic pilgrimage discourse, more of these experiences may be shared.

Chapter Four – Critiques and Considerations: *Communitas*, Contestation, and *Die Sionpilger* in Contemporary Research

Thus far, I have focused on the question of the value of foundational pilgrimage typologies in treating non-locative pilgrimage practices, using Felix Fabri's *Die Sionpilger* as a case study. In this chapter, I will turn to critiques of these typologies. Eade and Sallnow assessed the Turners' *communitas* model and in doing so proposed their own understanding of pilgrimage. Their typology, in turn, was critiqued by Simon Coleman and John Elsner. These criticisms have served to underpin the methodology for my thesis. For example, their shared charge of and warning against essentialism in the Turners work was the reason why I did not look for the pilgrimage described in *Die Sionpilger* to be exhaustively defined by conforming to either the *communitas* nor the contestation models. Rather, I sought to determine whether any of the constituent elements recognized within these typologies might be useful in analyzing the non-locative journey proposed by one specific historical text.

I drew upon the phenomenological insights of Merleau-Ponty in order to address a significant lacuna within these typologies. As the typologies were first generated to describe examples of locative pilgrimage, that is journeys undertaken by traveling bodily to a specific geographical location. As such, neither *communitas* nor contestation models explicitly address non-locative forms of travel. For some scholars, such as Mark MacWilliams, Connie Hill-Smith, and Michael Xiarhos the fact that these typologies are built upon physical journeys is viewed as problematic, as it reduces pilgrimage to locative travel. For this reason, I drew upon Merleau-Ponty's concept of human wholeness, expressed in his notion of *le corps vivant* to bridge the perceived divide between locative and non-locative pilgrimage, and to provide a key tool for assessing the suitability of foundational typologies for discussion of the journey delineated in *Die Sionpilger*.

Throughout this project, working with translations has presented some challenges. First, I found that occasionally the translators failed to indicate the precise location of the original text they presented in translation. One such example can be found in Donald Lande's translation of Merleau-Ponty's *Phénoménologie de la Perception* (1945). A second example can be found in how Audrey Stewart does not identify the original passages from Fabri's *Evagatorium* (circa. 1480-1483) and *Epistle Dedicatory* (1484) that he translated in *The Book of the Wandering of*

Brother Felix Fabri. Third, a full English translation of Fabri's *Die Sionpilger* has yet to be made. Fourth, and most importantly, I was restricted largely to research on *Die Sionpilger* in the English language due to my own limited understanding of the German language and the availability of these documents. [350] This German research would have aided in the further development of the history of the spiritual milieu in which it was produced and the linguistic devices Fabri utilized in its writing. Although some instances of these challenges were merely inconveniences to my study, others constitute necessary areas for future translation research.

Finally, opportunities for further theological and practical research abound. These include the need for full, better, annotated translations of Fabri's work to theological exploration of non-locative pilgrimages from the standpoints of Christianity as well as other religious and secular spiritualities, and then concretely, how these practices might be beneficially by would-be pilgrims today.

I. *Communitas* and Contestation: Responses

i. *Communitas*: Anti-hierarchical reality or metanarrative idealism?

With its publication in 1978, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* became the first anthropological take on the phenomenon of Christian pilgrimage. "[O]ne wonders why anthropologists have neglected such wealth [pilgrimage journeys] for so long."[351] In this watershed publication, the Turners became the starting point for all anthropological studies on pilgrimage. This was an alluring typology as through the phenomenon of *communitas* there appeared to be "a basis from which different religions can be compared".[352] It was seen as facilitating comparative research across traditions.

[350] There were many works which I was unable to use. Most notably Susanne Lehmann-Brauns' work on spiritual pilgrimage from the 12th - 15th centuries and Alev Cingoz's work on how spiritual pilgrimage in the 15th century informed the 20 rules. For more information see: Susanne Lehmann-Brauns, *Jerusalem sehen: Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2010); Alev Cingöz, *Die geistige Pilgerreisein 15. Jahrundert: Eine Betrachtung der 20 Regeln in Felix Fabris 'Sionpilger'* (Munich: GRIN, 20017).

[351] Daniel R. Gross, "'Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture,' review of *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* by Victor Turner and Edith Turner," *American Anthropologist* 82, no. 1 (1980):132.

[352] Gross, "Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture," 132.

Within the Turners' volume, not only are all the examples, which are examined in detail, of Christian origin, but they focus almost exclusively on Marian pilgrimages, with the exception of the chapter on St. Patrick's Purgatory in county Donegal, Ireland.[353] The Turners were practicing Catholics, and it can be argued that their construal of *communitas* has its roots in the Christian theological notion of *koinonia*. From its repeated use in the New Testament, *koinonia* indicates intimate participative spiritual fellowship within the Christian community.[354] It is therefore at least problematic that the Turners should suggest their typology as trans-religious in nature, for instance, in their discussion of the Hajj in the introduction of the volume.[355] Although potentially useful for comparative work, *communitas* as originally formulated does not account for the differences among faith traditions. As such, use of the theory requires careful awareness of its limitations as well as its utility,[356] so as not to remove journeys "from the constraints of history and society and [presented *communitas*] as a transhistorical and omnipresent archetypal form"[357] and place pilgrimage studies in a "straight jacket" through which, if accepted, further work is restricted.[358]

The "straight jacket" in which pilgrimage scholars find themselves is in the essentialist claim that spontaneous *communitas* is a universal pilgrimage component according to which "commonplace social distinctions disappear, and individuals relate to each other as equals".[359] Eade and Sallnow have interpreted the Turners' as claiming that throughout the liminal period – the second phase delineated by the Turnerian typology where the pilgrim moves to the sacred center – there is a supposed propensity towards *communitas*. They further argue that this presupposes an ostensibly Marxist/utopian reality where a homogenous, idealized worldview

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[353] Rudolf Rahmann, "'Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives,' review of *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives* by Victor Turner and Edith Turner," *Anthropos* 75 no. 5/6: 958

[354] The Gospel of John 17:21 presents a clear image of the intimacy implied by the unity of the Christian community, with each other and God, as indicated by the term *koinonia*. For fuller philosophical treatment of these terms see: Robert Esposito, *Communitas: The Origin and Destiny of Community*, trans. Timothy Campbell (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[355] As mentioned in Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 8, 28; Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 356.

[356] Gross, "Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture," 132.

[357] Glenn Bowman, "Theoretical Itineraries Towards an Anthropology of Pilgrimage," in *Dimensions of Pilgrimage: An Anthropological Appraisal*, ed. Markab Jha (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1985), 9 as cited in Eade, "Introduction to the Illinois Paperback," xii.

[358] Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims,* 5 as cited in Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage? Communitas, Contestation and Beyond," 356.

[359] Ross, "Introduction," xxx.

prevails.[360] According to their critique, if *communitas* occurs at all, it is only fleeting.[361] They ground their claim in their own research, including Eade's exploration of the dynamics operating at the Lourdes Shrine, in France, where pilgrim groups and Church officials compete for control over the meaning of and access to the sacred center.[362] A more sobering example, as described by Daniel R. Gross in his review of the Turners' book, is the case of two elderly pilgrims who were brutally assaulted in a church plaza while hundreds of other pilgrims looked on in Laza, Brazil. He recalls that, "[f]ar from *communitas*, what I found was a reflection of the pervasive dyadic patronage relationship important to the social structure of that region".[363]

What is interesting about the critiques presented by Eade and Sallnow, and by Gross is that they rest upon the supposed claim that *communitas*, specifically in its spontaneous form, must always occur within the liminal stage of a pilgrim's journey.[364] Although the Turners do indeed make a link between the liminal stage and the experience of *communitas*, during which pilgrims abandon their quotidian social status in favor of an equality among fellow pilgrims,[365] they do not characterize liminality as necessarily generating *communitas*. Although liminality provides a fertile ground from which *spontaneous communitas* may arise, it is neither a necessary component nor guaranteed to occur on any individual journey. Indeed, the Turnerian typology is often referred to as the *communitas* model, as I have done even in this thesis. However, by thus naming the typology, there is a risk of reducing the Turners' understanding of pilgrimage to this one central feature.

The understanding of pilgrimage as requiring the occurrence of *spontaneous communitas* is incongruent with the Turners typology, as presented in their introductory chapter. As pilgrimages are re-enacted by multiple participants they become a type of religious performance,[366] with an understood set of ethics and rules which are to be upheld (*normative communitas*). Pilgrims then walk routes framed by these prescriptions, which are expanded into changes in the social

[360] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 4-5.
[361] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 5.
[362] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 11.
[363] Gross, "Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture," 132. For full account see Daniel R. Gross, "Ritual and Conformity: A Religious Pilgrimage to Northeastern Brazil," *Ethnology* 10, no. 2 (1971): 144.
[364] Here I am elaborating on a point concerning the main reason scholars reject the Turnerian typology as found in Coleman. "Do you believe in Pilgrimage?," 359.
[365] Turner, "Pilgrimage: An Overview," 7146.
[366] For more information on how sacred centers become pilgrimage sites see: Cianca, "Written by the Body," 11-12.

structure of the traveling communities (*ideological communitas*) and those who work for support structures, such as hostels and sacred centers. Although *spontaneous communitas* may occur, as it is being promoted by *ideological communitas*, it is not necessary. It therefore cannot be claimed that *spontaneous communitas* must be present for the Turnerian typology to be utilized when discussing and analyzing a sacred journey, as there are many other features of this understanding of pilgrimage. If this typology is reduced to the occurrence of *spontaneous communitas* it is understandable that it may be seen as creating a false meta-narrative. I contend rather, in keeping with Simon Coleman's observations in the Turner's typology, that their understanding of pilgrimage is a tool for describing characteristics already present in examples of pilgrimage and not a model which universally describes sacred journeys. [367]

ii. Contestation: Breaking structural narratives?

In their critique of the Turners, Eade and Sallnow propose that instead of being locations of hegemonic meaning, sacred centers are spaces of contestation where multiple meanings clash and vie for control.[368] It acknowledges that there is much more occurring at sacred centers than an idealized unity among pilgrims, including competition among groups over the "true meaning" of holy spaces.[369] Among those in contention are those who live near and work at the sacred center itself, a group overlooked in much pilgrimage research.[370] Underpinning Eade's and Sallnow's typology is a Foucauldian "assumption that behind the cultural camouflage of specific instances of pilgrimage it will inevitably be possible to uncover power struggles and contested meanings."[371] Perhaps it is their own links to Marxism via Foucault or Foucauldian discourse, that also underpins their charge of Marxism against the Turners.

The main point on which Eade's and Sallnow's typology rests is the competition of multiple discourses at scared centers. The problem with such a foundation is that it may be used to discuss

[367] Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 363.
[368] Eade and Sallnow, "Introduction," 5.
[369] Mart Bax, "Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage," review of *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* by John Eade and Micheal J. Sallnow, *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 4 (1994): 939.
[370] Bax, "Contesting the Sacred," 939.
[371] Simon Coleman and John Elsner, "Contesting Pilgrimage: Current Views and Future Directions," review of *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* by John Eade and Micheal J. Sallnow, *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 3 (1991): 68.

any element of society, not simply pilgrimage.[372] Although this is potentially mitigated through their constituent triad of person, place, and text, the notion it is not used substantially in their work. Aside from the initial description in the introduction, the formula is neither developed further nor exemplified elsewhere in the volume, either by them or chapter contributors.[373] Although potentially a valuable tool, the triad of person, place, and text is underdeveloped and underused by Eade and Sallnow themselves, thus risking the reduction of their understanding of pilgrimage to the notion of contestation, which is itself a universalist claim, and which in any case is neither specific nor comprehensive enough to account for pilgrimage as a human phenomenon.[374]

Although contestation theory aims to avoid any universalization of claims in light of their charges against the Turners, Eade and Sallnow perhaps took on an impossible task. In his critique of Eade and Sallnow, Simon Coleman, points out how it is not possible to "discuss fluidity and/or role of the individual pilgrim without bringing some concept of structure back into the picture."[375] By stating that sacred centers are locations where multiple meanings come into conflict, the groups themselves come into question. Each agent which participates in contestation is part of "collective ideological constructions".[376] Further, through the characterization of sacred spaces as "religious voids", Eade and Sallnow might be charged a covert negative universalization.

The typologies of both the Turners and of Eade and Sallnow can be, and have been, reductively interpreted by critiques. Perhaps, following Coleman, a thorough non-essentialist and comprehensive examination of both typologies would be useful in order to create a more nuanced understanding of the diversity inherent in pilgrimage as a human endeavor. I hope that in some way, I have made a start towards this in my thesis. In light of the critiques of both typologies, I did not look for a perfect match between the journey framed by *Die Sionpilger* and either understanding of pilgrimage. Both the typology proposed by the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow were considered for all of their characteristics, not simply *communitas* and contestation.

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[372] Coleman and Elsner, "Contesting Pilgrimage," 69.
[373] Coleman and John Elsner, "Contesting Pilgrimage," 69
[374] This fact is conceded by John Eade himself in the forward to the Illinois paperback. Eade, "Introduction," xiv.
[375] Simon Coleman and Hildi Mitchell, "Bringing 'Structure' Back in," *Anthropology Today* 17, no. 4 (2001): 23.
[376] Coleman and Mitchell, "Bringing 'Structure' Back in," 23.

I examined if characteristics of both of these understandings would describe constituent elements found within the text, not necessarily as continuous elements but rather as instances.

II. *Die Sionpilger* as Pilgrimage Text – Returning to Previous Studies

Discussion of *Die Sionpilger* in relation to modern pilgrimage typologies is currently limited to case studies arguing for the legitimacy of virtual, or cyber-, pilgrimage.[377] Such work is sparse with very few writings on this subject. These largely build upon the initial insights of Mark MacWilliams in "Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet," who does not directly discuss *Die Sionpilger* but does highlight the implied physicality which may be attributed to the Turnerian pilgrimage typology. Connie Hill-Smith and Michael Xiarhos both wrestle with the apparent requirement that pilgrimage travel be locative by appealing to *Die Sionpilger* as a historical example of non-locative pilgrimage.

In "Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet," Mark MacWilliams argues that although the Turnerian understanding of pilgrimage is based in the physicality of the journey, many instances of internet driven pilgrimage conform to characteristics of their model. MacWilliams draws on the generalized critiques of Alan Morris:

> Anthropologists tend to pay far more attention to actual ritual goings-forth on sacred journeys in geographical space, but the other sorts of venturing towards ideals undertaken by humans are equally pilgrimages. It is, indeed, questionable to distinguish between terrestrial and "metaphorical" pilgrimages. The distinction portrays the earthly journey as somehow more real, when, in fact, most cultures subsume physical journeys and other questions into one more inclusive category: the spiritual life is pilgrimage, the ascetic learns to visit the sacred shrines in his own body, devotion is a journey to God.[378]

MacWilliams cites several instances of virtual pilgrimage, ranging from the written works of Egeria (4th c CE) to a "Virtual Hajj" site where anyone can take a tour through the Beliefnet.com website.[379] Even while not performing through bodily displacement, internet driven pilgrimages demonstrate many of the characteristics present in the Turners' typology such as being *liminoid*

[377] Cyberpilgrimage, as defined by Hill-Smith is any form of sacred travel which uses the internet as primary vehicle to visit a sacred center virtually. Connie Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: The (Virtual) Reality of Online," 237.
[378] Alan Morris, ed., *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 4 in Mark W. MacWilliams, "Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet," *Religion* 32 no. 4 (2002): 320.
[379] The "Virtual Hajj" is now defunct.

in nature, being anti-structural, and allowing users to engage in *communitas* with other participants.[380] Although he examines many instances of non-locative journeys, both historical and modern, he does not refer to *Die Sionpilger*.

The most integrated use of *Die Sionpilger* in the discussion of the Turners' understanding of pilgrimage, as mentioned previously, is presented by Michael Xiarhos in "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim". Much like MacWilliams, Xiarhos assumes that the Turnerian model is inherently physical in nature. He starts with the Turners' statement: "Pilgrimage may be thought of as extroverted mysticism, just as mysticism is introverted pilgrimage".[381] By way of which he reduces their view of pilgrimage to a fundamentally physicality. He writes that, "Turner and Turner argue essentially that pilgrimage is an experience in 'extroverted mysticism'. As the pilgrim walks a literal, tangible road, the act of walking is a test of physical endurance, tolerance, and mental strength".[382] Xiarhos argues ostensibly conversely that the interior transformative element of pilgrimage must not be minimized in that "[pilgrimage's] power to transform and its connection to mysticism all occur *within* rather than *without*".[383] Although the author presents this as a counterpoint to the Turners, it is not incongruous with their understanding. For the Turners, mysticism is an "interior process [which] leads to a goal beyond conceptualization" while pilgrimage is "concreteness and historic[ally] dominate[d]".[384] The principal juxtaposition for the Turners is not that of the locative nature of pilgrimage as *opposed* to mysticism, but rather that pilgrimage as commonly understood privileges the physical dimension as medium of divine transformation due to the sensibility and knowability of the body, route, and sacred place, whereas mystical contemplation as interior and spiritual privileges the insensibility and unknowability of the divine as transformative.[385] In Xiarhos, *Die Sionpilger* is cited as an example of transformative non-locative pilgrimage.[386]

[380] MacWilliams, "Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet," 324-325.
[381] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 33.
[382] Michael Xiarhos, "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," *Journal of Religion & Society* 10, no. 1 (2016): 1.
[383] Xiarhos, "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," 4. Emphasis author's.
[384] Turner and Turner, "Introduction," 33.
[385] It is beyond the scope of my thesis to discuss the Turners' understanding of mysticism. For a brief discussion see: Ross, "Introduction," xxxvii-xxxix.
[386] Xiarhos, "Authenticity and the Cyber Pilgrim," 4-5.

Interestingly, all instances of *Die Sionpilger* being used in relationship to modern typologies highlight the Turnerian understanding only. As *communitas* was the first typology proposed, it is unsurprising that this would serve as a point of departure for the new discussion surrounding internet driven pilgrimage. As mentioned above, Simon Coleman has noted that "[researchers] who embark on the study of pilgrimage almost always start out debating with the pronouncements of Victor [and Edith] Turner, whose framework they invariably employ as a point of departure".[387] Invariably, when *Die Sionpilger* is discussed, the discussion centers on whether or not the journey it prescribes fits the Turnerian mold rather than opening up to a subtler, more nuanced inquiry, into which elements of the model are, or are not, useful for the discussion.

My review of these instances of the use of *Die Sionpilger* in modern pilgrimage research shaped my methodology in three key aspects. First, in considering *Die Sionpilger* as a prescription for pilgrimage practice, I did not use *communitas* nor contestation as litmus test to assess its validity as pilgrimage, but rather I use the text as test case to assess the typologies' usefulness for describing non-locative pilgrimage. Second, although I began with the typology of the Turners, I also addressed the typology proposed by their main critiques, Eade and Sallnow. Finally, the perceived necessity of locative travel in pilgrimage needed to be addressed. It was the aspect with which MacWilliams, Hill-Smith, and Xiarhos struggled concerning non-locative practices. The question of non-locative journey and its legitimacy as pilgrimage was not addressed in the work of either the Turners or Eade and Sallnow. For this reason, it was important to define the pilgrim as a unified *living body*, through the use of Merleau-Ponty, to fully allow the typologies to be discussed in non-locative cases of pilgrimage.

All aspects of the methodology I adopted were generated from the current research, its lacuna and critiques. I began with the typologies proposed by the Turners, and by Eade and Sallnow. As to avoid either understanding of pilgrimage as being taken as a universal claim, I broke up each into its salient elements. In addition, I drew upon the phenomenological insights of Merleau-Ponty and his conception of the *living body* to allow for the typologies selected to speak of non-locative forms of pilgrimage. Although neither *communitas* nor contestation explicitly indicate the necessity of locative travel towards a sacred center, it has been implied previously through

[387] Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims*, 5 as cited in Coleman, "Do you Believe in Pilgrimage?," 356.

the fact that they draw upon physical manifestations of geo-spatial sacred movement. *Die Sionpilger* was selected as a test case as it is an authoritative example of non-locative practice. I broke with previous studies on the subject as I did not evoke this text as simply an example of non-locative practice but rather was interested in what occurs within the text and what this may imply concerning the experience of the Syon pilgrims. Through placing it into conversation with the salient elements of the pilgrimage typologies selected I found that both *communitas* and contestation were useful tools in discussing such a sacred journey.

Conclusion – Non-Locative Pilgrimage: Past, Present, and Future

I. Theoretical Possibilities

Due to the limitations of my thesis, additional research is needed to further explore how these pilgrimage typologies might be useful for examining *Die Sionpilger*. As mentioned above, a full translation of the text would be needed to accomplish this. Although I gave preference to *Jerusalemfahrt* because it was the only pilgrimage journey which Fabri personally undertook, a closer look at *Romfahrt* and *Santiagofahrt* would also prove valuable.

Similarly, research is needed to determine if the method I used in this thesis would indeed be useful in describing other non-locative pilgrimage practices. This may prove useful in discussing other historic instances, such as the non-locative pilgrimage around Weinhausen cloister (in modern day Germany) which recreates the Passion narrative; this journey is described in the late-fifteenth century manuscripts (MS 85 and MS 86).[388] Another interesting case study would be that of St Katherine's reformed Dominican convent in Augsburg, Germany. In 1487, the sisters were granted permission by Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92) to spiritually visit the seven churches of Rome and receive all indulgences associated with this act.[389] The question should not be if these journeys fit the mold presented in any given pilgrimage typology, but rather if the typology is suitable to treat these journeys of meaning.

II. Theologizing Non-locative Journeys

Die Sionpilger was not the first spiritual text to describe the importance of interior pilgrimage. It built upon a long tradition of Christians being understood as exiles traveling towards the heavenly Jerusalem.[390] In *The Life of* Moses,[391] Gregory of Nyssa (335-394) speaks of three stages of spiritual growth: the darkness of ignorance, spiritual illumination, and the

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[388] For details see: June L. Mecham, "A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Weinhausen," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).
[389] Marie-Louise Ehrenscherntner, "Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60, no.1 (2009):46.
[390] Dayas, "Medieval Patters of Pilgrimage," 94.
[391] Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, trans. Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Furguson (New York: Paulist Press, 1978).

darkness of contemplation on an unknowable God. The Christian's movement through these stages is shown through the allegory of the pilgrimage of Moses: encountering God on Mount Sinai through the burning bush, an obscuring cloud, and divine darkness, leading to the mystical realization that God cannot be seen. This metaphor was later used in the work of Augustine of Hippo (354-430), throughout his writings on the Christian spiritual life. This is most evident in *The City of God*, where he describes Christians as *peregrini*, or pilgrims, wandering the world for God.[392] The text which Fabri initially wished the nuns of Medingen and Medlingen to read, also describes the Christian spiritual journey in this way. Bonaventure's (1221-1274) *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* (*The Journey of the Mind to God*) explains how individuals travel towards God through contemplation of the world, the self, and the unknowable divine.[393] These texts, among many others, form the spiritual foundation on which Fabri is writing. Further research is needed in order to connect these foundational texts with the pilgrimage in *Die Sionpilger* and how they all may speak to our modern understanding of sacred travel.

A key reason *Die Sionpilger* functioned as a non-locative pilgrimage text was the Syon pilgrims' understanding of themselves as both fully in the Holy Land with the knightly pilgrims and fully at home in Ulm. A similar phenomenon has been recorded in internet driven online practices. Termed *co-location* by Connie Hill-Smith, it is the "mutualizing … between physically separate spaces".[394] It is currently used to describe the experience of engaging in religious services online.[395] Research is needed in order to clarify whether a similar phenomenon was in fact part of the experience of the Syon pilgrims and of other late-Medieval mystics. Should this be the case, then perhaps *Die Sionpilger*, as well as other contemporary non-locative pilgrimage texts, may be adapted in some form for modern spiritual use.[396]

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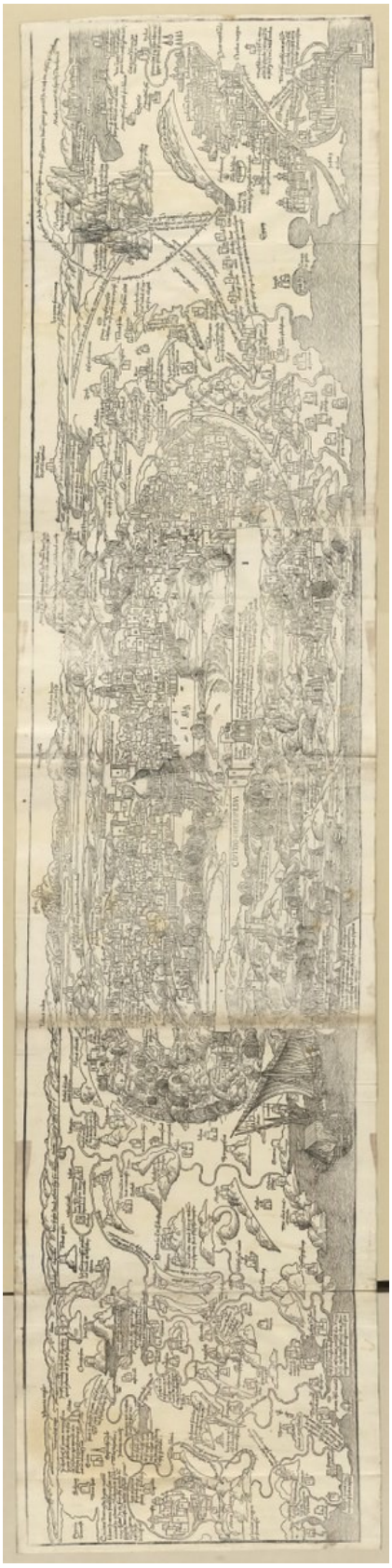
[392] For a full description of pilgrimage terms used in *City of God* see: Martin A. Classen, "'Peregrinatio' and 'Peregrini' in Augustine's 'City of God'," *Traditio* 46, no. 1 (1991):33-75.
[393] Bonaventure, *Journey of the Mind to God*, trans. Philotheus Boehner (Indiana: Hacket Publishing Company, Inc., 1990).
[394] Hill-Smith, "Cyberpilgrimage: A Study of Authenticity," 4.
[395] For more information see: Christopher Helland, "Digital Religion," in *Handbook of Religion and Society*, ed. David Yamane (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2016):177-196.
[396] In suggesting this I am thinking as well of online spirituality such as the virtual cemetery visits currently offered by I-Can Corp. For more information see: Asako Takaguchi, "Services allow for virtual grave visits," *The Japan Times*, October 4, 2014, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/10/07/national/services-allow-virtual-grave-visits/#.W8aB4mhKiUk.

Finally, research is needed concerning the non-locative, technologically driven, pilgrimages that individuals are engaging in today. All of the examples of sacred journeying described by MacWilliams, Hill-Smith, and Xiarhos could be examined. As most of the instances raised of internet driven pilgrimage are now defunct, with the exception of *Camino de Santiago 360°*, this would only be possible if based upon preserved backup copies of these experiences or first-hand accounts of those who have engage with these sources. Even if the *communitas* and contestation typologies do not prove useful in general, they will act to open the conversation to other understandings of pilgrimage. Similarly, historical examples of non-locative pilgrimage may be compared and contrasted with virtual pilgrimages to better understand their common features and how new journeys may be constructed for spiritual use. Relatedly, opportunities exist for cataloging and preserving the websites and computer programs which enable virtual pilgrimage. As new media is impermanent in nature, often owing to the cost of upkeep and maintenance in the face of server costs and changes in programing technology, these archival records would be useful to future research on the subject.[397]

In this thesis I examined whether the pilgrimage typologies proposed by the Turners, and Eade and Sallnow are useful tools treating non-locative practices as prescribed in Felix Fabri's *Die Sionpilger*. I recast the nature of the pilgrim according to Merleau-Ponty's notion of the human person as *living body*. It is my hope that through further research, new avenues in the critical examination of pilgrimage will open up, and new opportunities for modern use will emerge.

[397] For more information on preserving virtual worlds such as Second life, where users/pilgrims interact with the environment and each other see: Jerome McDonough et al. *Preserving Virtual Worlds Final Report,* Library of Congress' National Digital Information Infrastructure for Preservation Program (2010) http://hdl.handle.net/2142/17097; Megan A. Winget, "Videogame Preservation and Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 62, no. 10 (2011): 1869-1883. For more information on preserving internet websites see: Niels Brügger, "Web Archiving – Between Past, Present, and Future," in *The Handbook of Internet Studies* eds. Robert Burnett, Mia Consalvo, and Charles Ess (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2010): 24-42; Aïda Chebbi, "Archivage du web: quelques leçons à retenir," *Archives* 39, no. 2 (2007-2008): 19-46.

Appendix A



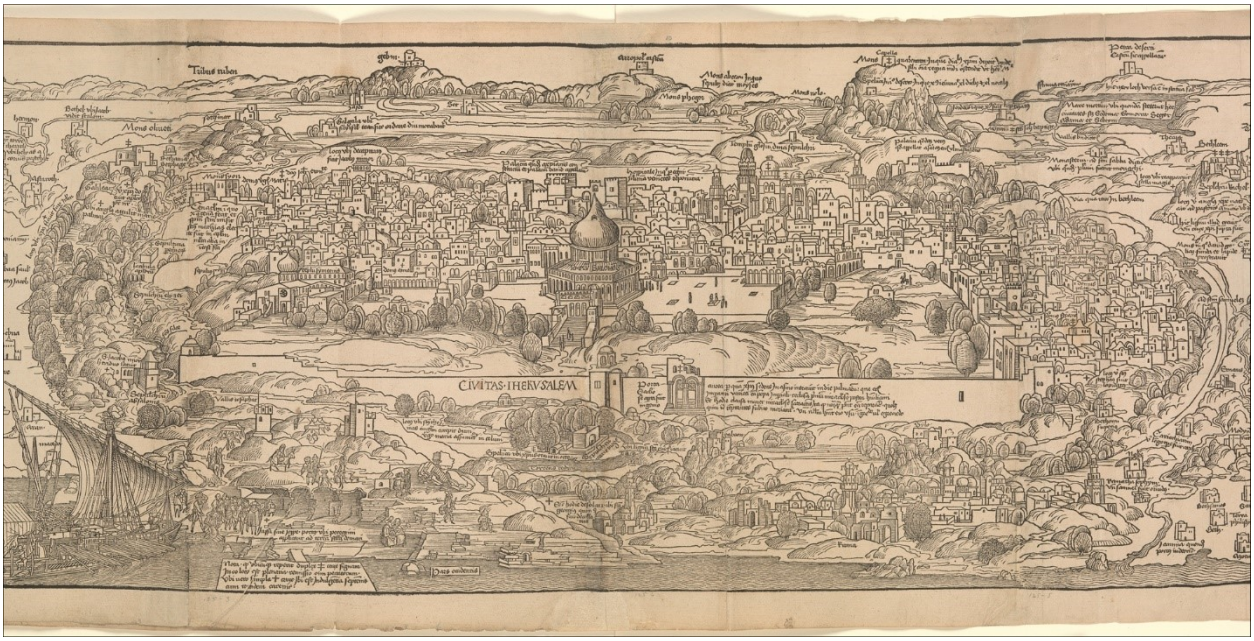
1. Panoramic view of the Holy Land by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), paste in between fol. 114v and fol. 115r.

Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

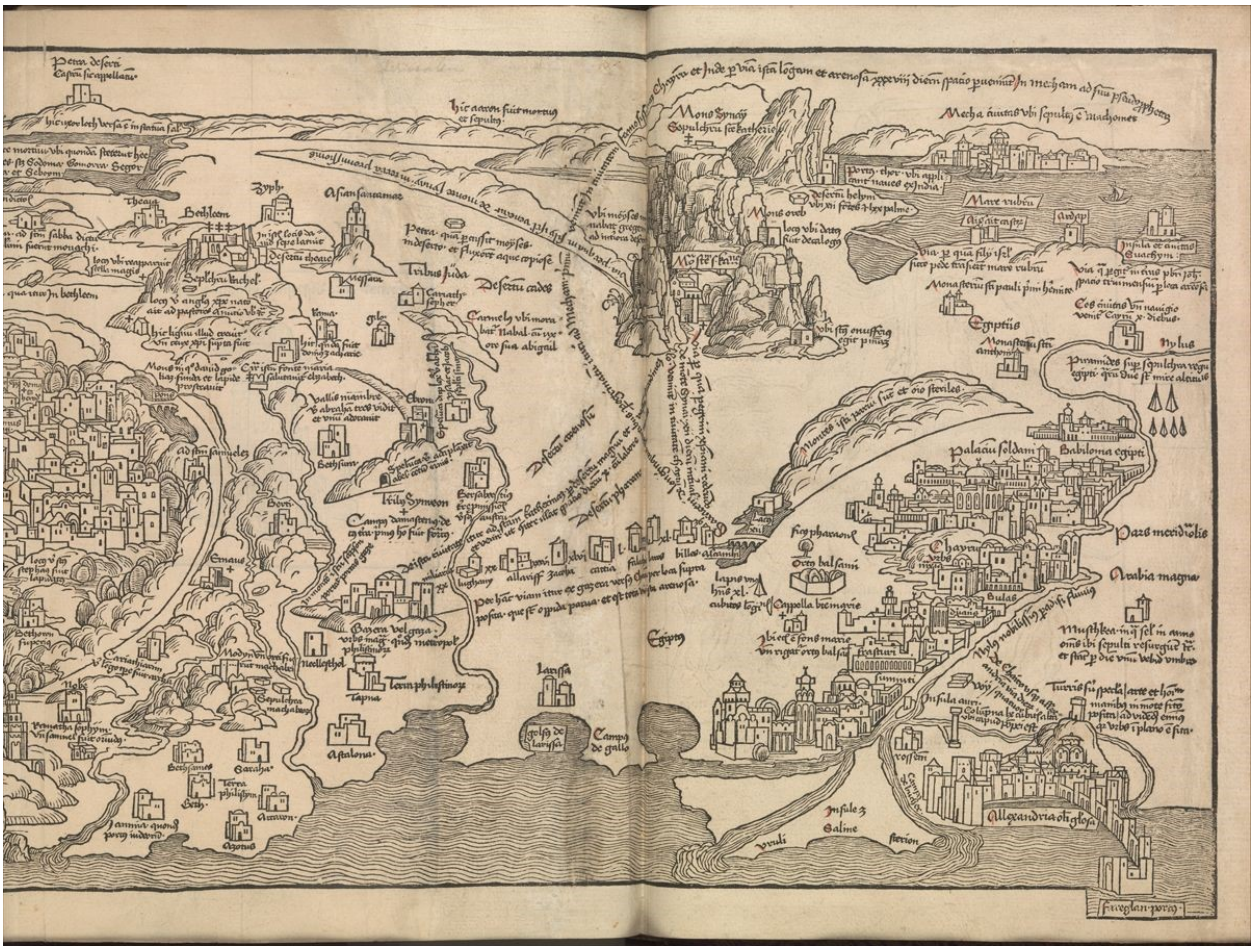
2. Left portion of panoramic view of the Holy Land by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), paste in between fol. 114v and fol. 115r. Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0



3. Center portion of panoramic view of the Holy Land (Jerusalem) by Erhard Reuwich

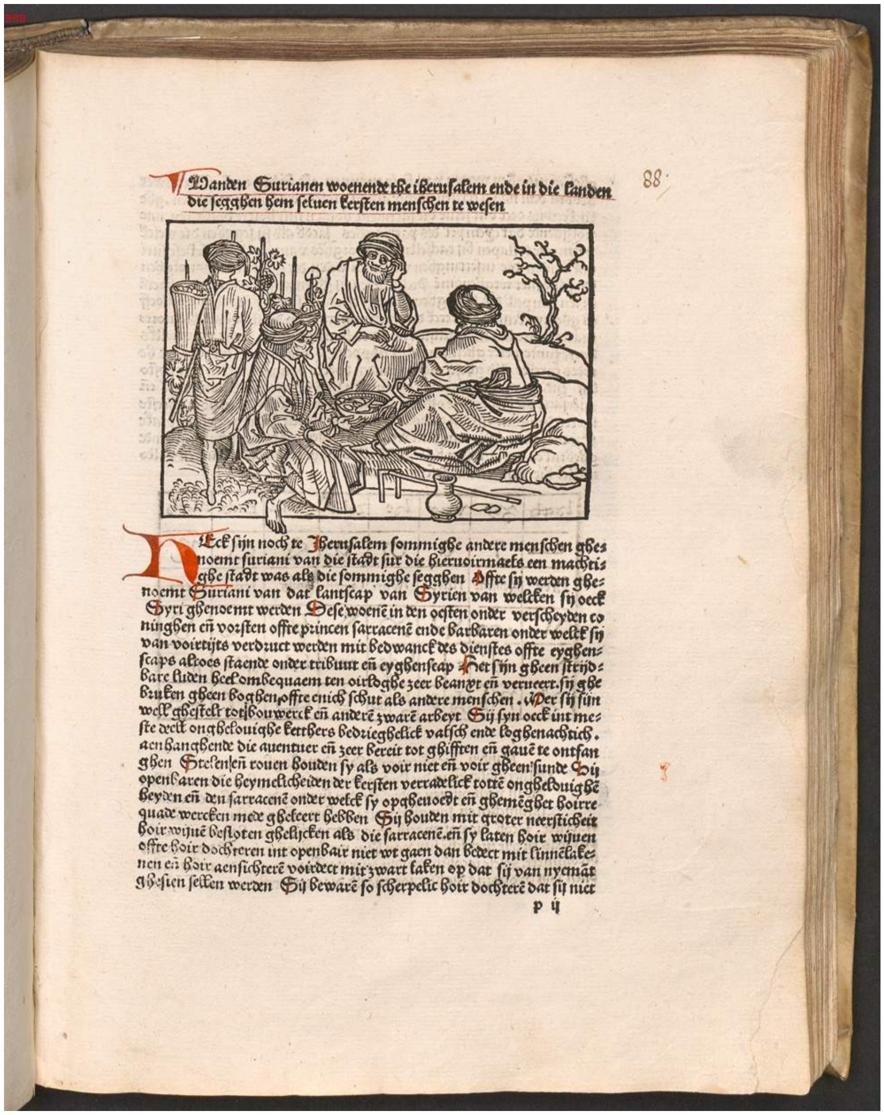
Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), paste in between fol. 114v and fol. 115r. Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0



4. Right portion of panoramic view of the Holy Land by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), paste in between fol. 114^{v} and fol. 115^{r}. Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Appendix B


88

Vanden Surianen woenende the iherusalem ende in die landen
die seggben hem seluen kersten menschen te wesen

Neck sijn noch te Iherusalem sommighe andere menschen ghe-
noemt suriani van die stadt sur die hieruoirmaels een machti-
ghe stadt was als die sommighe seggben Offte sij werden ghe-
noemt Suriani van dat lantscap van Syrien van welcken sij oeck
Syri ghenoemt werden Dese woenē in den oesten onder verscheyden co
ninghen eñ vorsten offte princen sarracenē ende barbaren onder welck sij
van voirtijts verdruct werden mit bedwanck des dienstes offte eyghen-
scaps altoes staende onder tribuut eñ eyghenscap Het sijn gheen strijd-
bare luden heel ombequaem ten oirloghe zeer beanxt eñ veruaert. sij ghe
bruken gheen boghen offte enich schut als andere menschen . Mer sij sijn
well ghestelt tot bouwerck eñ anderē zwarē arbeyt Sij syn oeck int me-
ste deel onghelouighe kettbers bedriegbelick valsch ende loghenachtich.
aenhanghende die auentuer eñ zeer bereit tot ghifften eñ gauē te ontfan
ghen Stelen eñ rouen houden sy als voir niet eñ voir gheen sunde Sij
openbaren die heymelicheiden der kersten verradelick tottē ongheldouighe
heyden eñ den sarracenē onder welck sy opghenoedt eñ ghemēghet hoirre
quade wercken mede ghekeert hebben Sij houden mit groter neerstichheit
hoir wijuē besloten ghelijcken als die sarracenē. eñ sy laten hoir wijuen
offte hoir dochteren int openbair niet wt gaen dan bedect mit linnēlake-
nen eñ hoir aensichterē voirdect mit zwart laken op dat sij van nyemāt
ghesien selken werden Sij bewarē so scherpelic hoir dochterē dat sij niet
p ij

1. Depiction of Saracens (Syrians) by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), f. 88[r]
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

Hier nae volgbet die figuer van enen Joede sittende bij syn woecherbanck.

Van den ioeden dier oeck veele te iherusalem woenen in desen tijden

2. Depiction of Jewish money lender by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), f.68^{v}.
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

ghesien moghen werden van hoir mannen als sij die oeck ghetrouwet hebben dan naden eersten nachte als sij malcander byslapen hebben .ghe lijckerwijs oeck dat selue die sarracenē houden mit hoirre docht.ren nae volghende dat exempel des patriarches Jacob als sij segghen die welck vermoede te slapen bij rachelem des morghēs vant hy lyam .Dese suri ani houden die insettinghen wijzen eñ zeeden der griecken eñ nauolghen den seluē niet wtghenomē Oeck hebben sij ghemeenlick een vanden hoerē in den tempell des heylighen graffs beslotē.eñ sij hebbē tot hoire behoeff eñ ghebruykenisse een kerck die ghetimmert is op die stede dair hieruoir maels sunte ian euangelisten moeders huus ghestaen heefft.voir welcks doere sunte peter ghestaen heefft cloppende doe hij wtgheleyt was wt he rodes carcker Als ghescreuē staet inden boecke vanden wercken der aposto len Int.xij.ca. Die surianē ghebruken in hoire weerlijcke omganck eñ auersacie die Arabysche offte Sarraceensche sprake Mer in hoir gheeste lijcken dinghen offte in gods diensten ghebruken sij die griecsche sprake Eñ die sommighe van hem weten eñ konnen die caldaysche sprake ende ghebruken die alst hem beliefft Welcks alphabetum ende letteren volco melick hier beneden nae bescreuen staen

heth	Zoy	waff	he	Dolath	gomal	Beth	aleph
heet	zemAc	Nun	Mym	lameth	kaph	Jodh	theth
Ov. o i e a	thaf	syn	res	koph	zsade	ffe	

Vanden Jacobiten ende hoire dwalinghen

TE iherusalez eñ in die landen woenen sommighe andere mēschen die in veell punten onderscheyden sijn vanden gricken eñ vanden latijnschen eñ sijn ghenoemt iacobite offte iacobini van hoiren Meyster Jacob die voirmaels eens patriarchs van alexandrien discī pell was.eñ dese menschē sijn van hem verleydt eñ mit veel dwalinghē becommert. Dese iacobite worden ouer veell iairen verleden te ban ghe daen van dyoscorus die hieruoermaels die patriarch was van Cōstan=

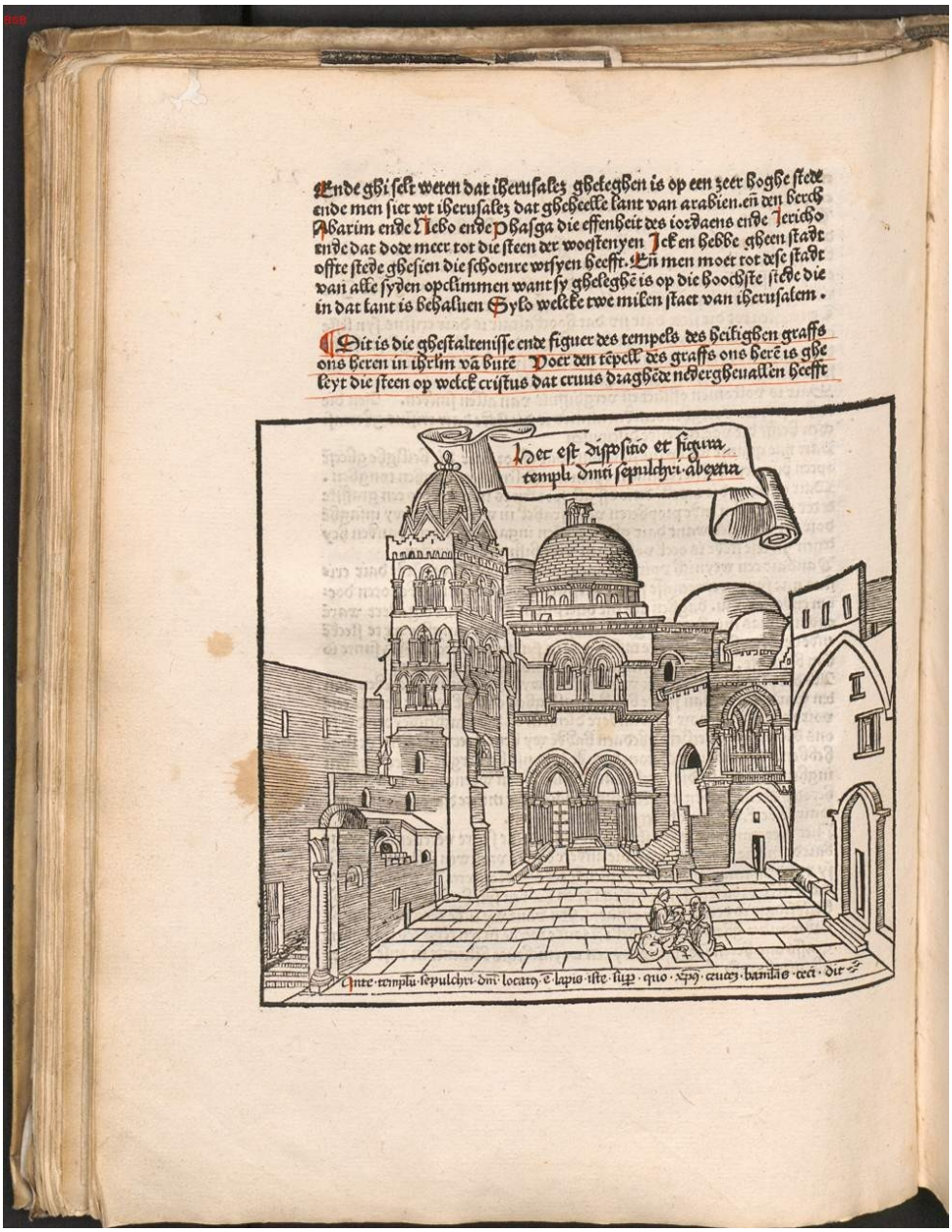
3. Chaldean alphabet by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), f.88v.
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

4. Depiction of Animals by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), f.22^{r}.
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

Appendix C



1. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), f.22v.
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

2. The Holy Grave - Interior of the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem) by Erhard Reuwich

Bernhard con Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz, 1486), fol. 52[r]
Source: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, Bayerische Saatsbibliothek.

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