

Authenticity and the Transformation of the Camino:  
An Analysis of Secular Pilgrimage in Contemporary Academic Literature

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**COMPULSORY DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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## INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimage, since its golden era in the Middle Ages, has undergone a revival in recent times; however, the current phenomenon is also undergoing a significant transformation. Not only are traditional sacred sites like Santiago de Compostela in Spain seeing an increase in numbers, but various other “secular” sites, for example, the World Trade Centre and celebrity graves, are attracting travellers who self-identify as pilgrims (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 445). Moreover, the recent upsurge cannot be simply divided on the basis of sacred versus secular destinations, many pilgrims visiting traditional sacred sites identify themselves as non-religious and reject religious identification and motivation. These non-religious forms of travel are termed “secular pilgrimage” by academic scholars of pilgrimage.

The focus of this thesis is an analysis and critique of contemporary research on secular pilgrimage.

A paradigm-shift is occurring in the study of contemporary pilgrimage whereby various disciplines, such as tourism studies, religious studies and geographical studies, are engaged in the study of the phenomenon. The “new paradigm” is moving away from an “old paradigm” that focused on the core religious nature of pilgrimage, and discovering new and examining aspects of pilgrimage (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 450). What can be discerned in this ongoing process is that in staking out a new and varied study field there is a tendency to unify the the object of study. When previously uncommunicative fields of study come together to examine the same phenomenon the academic instinct appears to look for the similarities in different phenomena in order to justify why these disparate phenomena are categorized under broad definitions. The result of this shift toward the inclusion and unification of the various fields of study with the newly discovered phenomena is the broadening of the definition of pilgrimage to incorporate many disparate forms of travel and the multiple motivations that initiate these journeys.

Scholars are arguing that the traditional definition of pilgrimage as religious journey is now insufficient to describe current phenomena. What is required is a broader definition that takes into account how pilgrimage, past and present, involves a variety of motivations, symbols, patterns of behaviour and contested meanings. In this shifting landscape, pilgrimage and its various motivations are no longer unique operative terms; pilgrimage and its religious connotations are relegated to a subset of “journeys of meaning” (Digance 2006, 36). Within this paradigm, difference, variety and categories are acknowledged, but ultimately deprecated while the similarities between phenomena are exaggerated. This tendency to devalue difference begs the question can travellers visiting, for example, the house where Shakespeare was born, Disney World, Graceland, Ground Zero, the Cathedral of Santiago, spiritual festivals or Rome as pilgrims? (Margry 2008, 18)

The academic description of this paradigm shift is called *dedifferentiation*. Within current research on pilgrimage there is a trend to dedifferentiate religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism whereby pilgrims and tourists are seen as “similar, if not one and the same” (Timothy and Olsen 2006, 6).

What I do agree with in contemporary literature on pilgrimage is that a change has taken place since the pre-modern religious beginnings of pilgrimage to its current secular form. This change has been described by theorists as the “inward turn”. Nancy L. Frey describes this turn as a “personal” sense of spirituality or “inner journeys of transformation” (Frey 1998, 33), while Taylor frames it as a turn to the self as moral source (Taylor 1989, 314).

What I am disagreeing with and critiquing in this thesis is the paradigm shift towards dedifferentiation in contemporary academic research on secular pilgrimage. I am critiquing the comparativism evident in contemporary literature which focuses on similarities and neglects difference. According to Robert A. Segal (2005, 1183) Jonathan Z Smith advocates a form of comparativism that includes both difference and similarity and supports the notion of difference as “the point of comparativism”. For Smith, classification is

linked to comparison (Segal 2005, 1181). It is by the comparison of similarities and differences that we can classify phenomenon, and my thesis will argue for the maintenance of distinct terms in the study of pilgrimage.

As stated above, although current literature acknowledges empirical differences such as behavioural patterns and modes of travel, even recognising motivational differences, it is not recognising the foundational differences between the different phenomena, which leads to unification at a semantic level. Those foundational differences will be at the level of moral force, the source of moral authority, either God or the self, and the relationships that these moral forces engender.

In this thesis, I will argue for a differentiation between religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism, as well as the validity of the concept secular pilgrimage, by looking at the foundational differences between traditional religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage and applying Taylor's theory of the retrieval of the moral force of authenticity to differentiate between secular pilgrimage and tourism. Although I acknowledge that there are various similarities between the different forms of travel, I argue that traditional religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism cannot be framed under an umbrella or universal concept or definition, because of foundational differences. In order to support this argument, I will compare the historical medieval context of religious pilgrimage with the contemporary context of secular pilgrimage by applying theories of secularisation by José Casanova and Charles Taylor.

Drawing on José Casanova's work on secularisation, and applying his theories to an exploration of the medieval religious context, I will demonstrate the foundational differences between medieval religious pilgrimage and contemporary secular pilgrimage. I will follow Casanova in his critique and acknowledgment of the secularisation theory by which he argues against theories that predict the eradication of religion, while also acknowledging the shift by which religion as all-encompassing reality has been replaced by a system of which it merely forms a part. I will also use Casanova's argument for the

necessity of understanding the religious in order to understand the secular to support my exploration of medieval religious pilgrimage in order to understand secular pilgrimage and the foundational differences between the phenomena (Casanova 1994, 20).

I will use Taylor's description of secularisation as search for authenticity to demonstrate how secularism has affected the nature of pilgrimage from its emphasis on salvation, sin, the afterlife and physical healing through divine contact to a notion of the journey inward, personal freedom and the search for meaning. I will also use Taylor's argument for a retrieval of the moral force of authenticity as method of distinguishing between the ideal and debased forms in order to argue for a differentiation between secular pilgrimage and tourism.

In order to focus the study, I will use the Camino to Santiago as case study to disclose the pre-modern pilgrim and their connection with a religious world order. Owing to the confine of this thesis I am using a well-known example of Christian medieval pilgrimage that has continued to this day and has adapted to the contemporary climate, which includes its current popularity amongst secular pilgrims, while also maintaining its identification with its religious heritage. The Camino is not well described as simply a "journey of meaning". I recognise the benefits of applying my theory to other forms of pilgrimage, both religious and secular, and to the question of tourist journeys; however, I will have to leave those studies for future work and hope my analysis benefits a renewed consideration of a differentiated field.

## 1. MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE

In this chapter I will explore medieval religious pilgrimage and the historical context in which the practice occurred by identifying and discussing various themes integral to the Western European medieval worldview and medieval pilgrimage. In this thesis these religious themes are compared with themes integral to contemporary secular pilgrimage. While acknowledging various similarities between traditional religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage, I will argue that there are foundational differences between the phenomena that not only legitimise the use of the concept secular pilgrimage, but also argues for a differentiation between religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage. My decision in exploring the medieval religious context of pilgrimage in relation to the current secular phenomenon is also informed by Casanova's argument for the interrelatedness of the religious and the secular (1994, 20), and that the secular cannot be understood without understanding it in relation to the religious.

In my argument for the distinct religious nature of medieval pilgrimage in relation to its contemporary secular form, I do not disregard the fact that there were also other motivations or interpretations of meaning forming part of medieval pilgrimage that were not always distinctively religious. What I am arguing for is that these motivations were secondary motivations and that the religious formed the foundational motivation and context of pilgrimage. This argument follows Peter Jan Margry's argument regarding motivation and pilgrimage that although one concedes that there can be many "secondary motives" for pilgrimage, such as nature, community and curiosity, goals such as the "the sacred, the religious, the cultus objects" count as the primary motives for what true pilgrimage is (2008, 29).

Additional to my critique of the differentiation trend in contemporary academic literature I am also addressing the ambiguous use of concepts such as "religious", "the sacred" and "spiritual" in contemporary literature. While tourism studies rarely provide a deep analysis of these terms, the debate on

what is meant by the “religious” is common in religious studies. According to Laurel Zwissler, it is natural that this tension would be carried over to the field of pilgrimage studies. Zwissler states how especially new and contemporary Pagan movements “frequently challenge traditional, Western definitions of religion as historical, staid, monotheistic, inflexible, hierarchical, and oriented toward collective, rather than individual, experiences” (2011, 331).

My argument in the thesis is not to contest that the meaning of “the religious” has undergone transformation since medieval times, but only to point to the distinct nature in which “the religious” was interpreted and lived in the context of medieval pilgrimage, and how different this nature is to the secular context of contemporary Western society. Margry, also in pursuit of a distinction between the concepts of religious and secular pilgrimage, defines “religion” as “all notions and ideas that human beings have regarding their experience of the sacred or the supernatural in order to give meaning to life and to have access to transformative powers that might influence their existential condition” (2008, 17). Appropriating this definition for pilgrimage, Margry defines pilgrimage as “a journey based on religious or spiritual inspiration, undertaken by individuals or groups, to a place that is regarded as more sacred or salutary than the environment of everyday life, to seek a transcendental encounter with a specific cult object for the purpose of acquiring spiritual, emotional or physical healing or benefit” (2008, 17). Although I agree with the intent of the definition in distinguishing between religious and secular pilgrimage, I would argue for an even more nuanced definition wherein concepts like “the sacred”, “meaning” and “spiritual” are explained. What is sacred and what is profane? What is the difference between religious and spiritual? Who decides what has meaning? And what constitutes as experience?

Although this thesis is not focusing on the definition of “religion”, entailing a different much bigger project, in this thesis “religion” or “religious” will be framed within its historical medieval context by identifying and discussing prominent themes in pilgrimage including an emphasis on external absolute divinity, the afterlife, the cult of relics, shrines as sacred spaces and the

miraculous and supernatural. In this thesis, these notions of the “religious” are brought into tension with notions of the secular, which when referring to pilgrimage, emphasizes the private inward journey, personal freedom in the life before death and a search for meaning and authenticity.

My motivation for using the Camino as study case includes its status as a pilgrimage with Christian medieval origins that has gained immense popularity amongst secular pilgrims in contemporary times. My motivation for using medieval pilgrimage as reference point in demonstrating the transformation of pilgrimage to its secular form is to understand how the beliefs and motivations of a religious act such as a pilgrimage are set by the beliefs, contexts and objects of worship as defined by medieval Christianity which dominates the frame of reference. To map some of these connections I investigate i) the development of the Camino dating back to the Middle Ages, but also ii) the status of the Middle Ages as a “golden era” in the history of pilgrimage, iii) the distinctive religious realm in which medieval society was structured, and finally, v) how pilgrimage is commonly defined as religious journey in contemporary academic literature – a definition that strongly relates to its medieval form.

Important to qualify, however, is the imbalance in the information available on medieval and current pilgrimage respectively. Primary resources or first-hand experience accounts of the journeys of medieval lay pilgrims are limited in comparison to the vast amount of information available through academic literature and internet blogs on the first-hand experiences of contemporary lay pilgrims.

Reasons for the limited amount of primary sources on medieval pilgrimage include the illiteracy of most lay people in medieval times. Most literature on pilgrimage was written by the educated, which mainly included monks, clergy and medieval scholars (Hall 1967, 7; Brooke and Brooke 1984, 9, 61). It has also been noted that even though more lay people, and thus pilgrims, became literate in the later Middle Ages, most pilgrims would not have much motivation to write

of their experiences, as pilgrimage was considered part of ordinary religious devotion (Hall 1967, 17).

Types of literature available on medieval pilgrimage include a book called a *libellus*. In medieval times, a *libellus* was created when a shrine was consecrated under the patronage of a saint. With the establishment of St James as the saint of the shrine in Santiago de Compostela, a *libellus* was created in the mid-twelfth century called the *Codex Calixtinus*. The *Codex* included a collection of i) “sermons, prayers, songs and hymns for the saint’s feasts”, ii) a narrative of “22 miracles performed by Saint James”, iii) “stories of the saint’s life and legends about the ‘translation’ of his body from Palestine to Galicia” and the discovery of his tomb, v) “a history of Charlemagne’s campaigns against the Moorish invaders in the eight century” and lastly vi) the Pilgrim’s Guide, which will be discussed at a later stage in the chapter (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 13).

Additional to studying the written accounts of medieval pilgrimage, scholars have turned to the study of the architecture, art works and interior furnishing of the many church buildings along pilgrimage routes that reflect, in part at least, what might have been the “attitudes, aspirations and fashions of medieval society” (Brooke and Brooke 1984, 63). While pilgrims could, for example, hear of the life and miracles performed by Saint James in liturgical celebrations through the reading of the *libellus*, these stories were also reflected in the “visual arts in stone sculpture, stained glass, painting and woodcuts” along the route (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 197). However, the knowledge that can be gained from medieval buildings regarding medieval religion remains limited as these buildings, which are part of the popular or formalized religion of this golden era of faith, do not necessarily reflect the unpopular religious attitudes of the time nor those in the society that did not follow any religious path (Brooke and Brooke 1984, 63). In this chapter, based on consultation with secondary sources on traditional medieval pilgrimage, as well as the 12<sup>th</sup> century Pilgrim’s Guide as primary source, I argue that Western medieval society, in general, can be argued to have been intensely religious (Casanova 1994,15).

### Definition: Pilgrimage

The English term “pilgrimage” has been used to describe a variety of forms of travel (Dietz 2005, 27; Zwissler 2011, 327). According to Dietz the use is characterized by a general inattention to what the meaning of the term or the “precise motivation” or “structure of the journey” entails (2005, 6). This, states Dietz, has also led to a distortion of the actual practice. The inattention, however, is not limited to contemporary confusion, but has been prevalent since its assumed origins in the early church and its subsequent existence as “a relatively unbroken and unchanging tradition, isolated from temporal and geographic cultural contexts” (Dietz 2005, 7).

Etymologically, the word “pilgrimage” is derived from the Latin word *peregrinus*, which means ‘foreigner’. *Peregrinus* is derived from *per* which means ‘through’ and *ager*, referring to a ‘field’ or ‘land’. The idea of a foreigner as well as “going through a field or land” thus resonates with the generally accepted definition of pilgrimage as a journey (Harpur 2002, 9), but not to any distinctive religious notion of travel. It is not sure what early medieval writers meant in their use of the word or when exactly the terms “acquired the meaning and connotations that now surround the word” (Dietz 2005, 27). Its meaning as “travel to holy places”, however, is said to have “appeared” in the seventh century (Dietz 2005, 27), though not as a physical journey, but as depicting the “allegorical journey of the Christian in the world” (Dietz 2005, 28). Today, although used to define various forms of travel, the term is generally associated with the “image” of “an organized religious journey to a particular holy place, the purpose of which is to be healed or absolves of sins” (Dietz 2005, 27). Contemporary academic literature commonly locates the definition of pilgrimage within its historical relationship with religion, as one of its oldest expressions or practices (Harpur 2002, 9). This definition commonly frames pilgrimage as being a spiritual or religious practice that involves a physical journey away from one’s home or the familiar to a place, commonly a shrine, that is perceived as sacred or out of the ordinary in order “to perform certain religious rituals” achieve spiritual

transformation, receive physical healing or in request of penitence (Harpur 2002, 9; Coleman 2006, 386; Rudolph 2004, 2).

Prominent pilgrimage theorists like Victor Turner have, in recent years, through the study of modern Christian pilgrimage, provided new theoretical frameworks through which pilgrimage was to be interpreted. According to Turner's framework the meaning of pilgrimage resided in its function of "breaking down social barriers" and "creating a sense of community"(cited in Dietz 2005, 29). These frameworks have sought to broaden the definition of pilgrimage, a trend in contemporary literature I am arguing against in this thesis. According to Dietz, this framework is based on an "ahistorical" approach focusing on modern pilgrimage which views pilgrimage "as a timeless, unchanging phenomenon with structure and rules that transcends particular historical contexts" (2005, 30). This critique is valid if one accepts that pilgrimage, as well as notions like the "sacred", as "all manifestations of knowledge", are "social constructions" and "cultural products" of a specific historical context (Murray and Graham 1997, 514). The argument surrounding the historicization of knowledge will not be engaged with directly here, but what should be noted is the tension between universal transcendent concepts, and empirically time-bound knowledge relating to a radical change in ontology and epistemological conditions from the medieval period. It seems contradictory that while contemporary literature rejects the ahistorical and unchanging nature of traditional religious pilgrimage, the recent turn towards historical and empirical studies has not resulted in an ever more nuanced understanding of difference.

In my argument for a differentiation between traditional religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage, I thus use a historical approach in analysing traditional religious and secular pilgrimage in their different historical and social contexts in order to argue against a universal concept that homogenises pilgrimage as general "journeys in search of meaning". In the next section of the chapter I explore the historical development of pilgrimage in medieval times in general as well as the development of the Camino specifically.

## Historical Development: Pilgrimage

Similar to the definition of the term pilgrimage, it is important to state that the origin of pilgrimage, as visitation to sacred places, cannot be limited to its history or definition as part of the Christian tradition, instead dating back to Pagan and Judaic cultures centuries *before* Christianity (Rudolph 2004, 2; Dietz 2005, 32).

Within the Christian tradition the origin of pilgrimage has been equally elusive. Scholars trace the phenomena back to the Old Testament journeys to Canaan, to the wise men visiting the baby Jesus in Bethlehem, to the spiritual wanderers of the apostolic era who sought to “imitate Jesus and the apostles” (Dietz 2005, 34) and finally to two centuries after Christ’s death when pilgrims started visiting tombs of martyrs as well as the sites where Jesus was crucified and buried (Rudolph 2004, 2; Harpur 2002, 9-11).

Dietz even distinguishes between various forms of religious travel, which he argues became prominent in the monastic era. These forms of religious travel included “spiritual wandering”, “conciliar voyages”, “exile”, “missionary expeditions” and, finally, the most popular form of religious travel, pilgrimage (Dietz 2005, 2, 24). Early Christian religious travel carried a distinctive “ascetic” quality and did not have as focus a “particular holy place”, but entailed a “practical way of visiting living and dead holy” and a “means of religious expression of homelessness and temporal exile” (Dietz 2005, 2-3). According to Dietz it was the harsh and dangerous conditions that created the “necessary context” for travelling and movement to “acquire religious and spiritual meaning” (Dietz 2005, 23).

With the Christianization of the Roman world after the fourth century, however, pilgrimages to sacred sites diverged and became much more prevalent (Harpur 2002, 9). “Site-specific” and “long-distance” pilgrimage developed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century with the “standardized” and “regulated” form of pilgrimage replacing “religious wandering” amongst the laity (Dietz 2005, 215; Ashley and Deegan 2009, 58). Pilgrimage reached a golden era in the Middle Ages with Jerusalem,

Rome and the Camino to Santiago being the most popular pilgrimages at the time (Ure 2006, 75; Aston 1993, 3). According to sources, as many as half a million pilgrims set out on the journey to Santiago every year between the eleventh and twelfth century (Rudolph 2004, 1).

### Origin: Camino to Santiago

Santiago de Compostela, a city in the northwestern part of a Spain, developed as a pilgrimage destination in the 11<sup>th</sup> century based on a tradition related to the burial place and apparitions associated with Saint James (Frey 1998, 8). The “Camino de Santiago” literally means “the way of St James” and consists of various routes from all over Western Europe leading towards Santiago de Compostela (5).

The story of St James dates back to the beginning of Christianity when James was chosen as one of the Apostles by Jesus (Luke 6:14 The New English Bible). According to scripture James was martyred and beheaded by Herod Agrippa (Acts 12:2 The New English Bible), though it does not state what happened to his remains or what his association was with the Iberian Peninsula (Ure 2006, 75). A “strong tradition” existed whereby St James was believed to have gone on a mission to Spain after the resurrection of Jesus (Ure 2006, 75), while texts dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century tell of Jesus sending James to the Iberian Peninsula to convert the West before his death in Jerusalem (Frey 1998, 9).

According to legend the return of St James’s remains to the Iberian Peninsula and subsequent rediscovery were filled with several miraculous events. Legend has it that two disciples were carrying the remains of St James to Iberia on a stone boat with “neither sail nor oars” (Frey 1998, 9), and when their boat ran ashore on the coast of Galicia, a man on a horse rode into the sea and emerged from the surface covered with scallop shells (9). The scallop shell is the official symbol of the Camino and has been worn by pilgrims past and present to identify themselves as pilgrims on the way of St James.

After receiving permission from Galician pagan Queen Lupa, St James's remains was buried on the mountain that later developed into the city that is today known as Santiago de Compostela (Frey 1998, 9). Here St James's body went unnoticed for seven to eight hundred years as the Moorish took over control of Iberia and "Islam supplanted Christianity as the dominant religion of the peninsula" (Ure 2006, 76). In the eighth century it was St Beatus who resurrected the legend of St James as way to reunite Christian Spain (76). Twenty years after his death a "glowing light" or "star" (Frey 1998, 9) appeared and led Pelayo, a religious ascetic, to a small shrine with a sarcophagus in it which was quickly confirmed by the local bishop to contain the body of St James (Ure 2006, 76). The word *compostela*, forming part of the name of the city, is derived either from *compostium*, which means "burial field", or *campus stellae*, which means "starry field". A church was subsequently constructed at the order of Bishop Theodomiro at the shrine where the remains of St James were found (Frey 1998, 9). While King Alphonso II built the first church in the early ninth century, the second church was built by King Alphonso the Great at the end of the ninth century (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 97).

According to Pack, Franciso Márquez Villanueva has identified three myths relating to St James that has influenced the development and survival of the pilgrimage since the ninth century. This includes St James i) as eschatological figure, involving his alleged missionary travels, burial and rediscovery in Santiago, that initially led to the development of the pilgrimage, ii) as military figure, who united Christian Spain against the Moorish invasion by appearing on his horse and iii) as state figure, who emerged as the patron Saint of Spain in the sixteenth century (2010, 335). "Like many other modern myths, that of St James of Compostela was simultaneously rooted in religious and ethnonational histories," states Pack (2010, 338). Here the development of the myth of St James from religious figure to national figure in renewed Spanish nationalism can be related to the defining features of secularisation related to the rise of the nation-state.

## Medieval Worldview and Pilgrimage

In this section, I argue how medieval pilgrimage, regarded as one of the most powerful practices of religious devotion in medieval times, both reflected and shaped a social landscape that was intertwined with the religious (Harpur 2002, 62; Hall 1967, 1,2; Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 57).

The political landscape between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century invested power in two authorities: “the spiritual authority of which the pope was head, and the temporal authority of emperors and kings and lesser potentates” (Brooke and Brooke 1984, 47). The authority that each of these figures held, however, frequently overlapped as the king, as “God’s instrument”, was expected to rule “the Church as well as the kingdom” according to the Christian way of life (51). The authority that the pope held, although a king in his own right, had a different nature, as his rule had implications only in the afterlife and was dependent on the survival of the Catholic faith (53).

According to Casanova the “religious realm” functioned as the “all-encompassing reality” of pre-modern Western Europe. This reality was structured according to a “double dualist system” where “this world” and “the other world” was distinguished from each other, while in “this world” there was a further distinction between “the religious” and “the secular” sphere. In the centre of these dualisms, overlapping all sides, stood the church as “sacramental” “mediator”. According to Casanova the process of secularisation entailed the complete breakdown of this dualistic structure. Through the process of secularisation the religious realm was replaced by the all-encompassing secular realm of which the religious realm now was to be only one part. Although little is known of the individual “beliefs, practices, and experiences” of medieval persons, due to the lack of reliable data, according to Casanova, two things can well be known of the “public dimensions of individual religiosity”. One, that all persons were compelled to be members of the church and two, that all persons were Christian (Casanova 1996, 15).

The key point here is the process of secularism did not destroy the religious sphere, but that the control of life, the after-life and politics were not homogenous. In the third chapter of this thesis, I elaborate on Casanova's critique on the theory of secularisation and the assumption of the eradication of religion.

In the next section of the chapter, by exploring different "religious concerns of the time" which are "inextricably bound" with pilgrimage (Harpur 2002,62), I will argue how pilgrimage, as practiced by medieval pilgrims, had a distinct religious nature in the medieval period.

### Medieval Pilgrimage: Motivations, Dangers, Uniforms and Charity

Common motivations for going on a pilgrimage included physical healing, witnessing or experiencing a miracle or receiving penitence at the hands of an omnipotent external divinity through physical suffering and/or contact with a relic (Rudolph 2004, 5; Ure 2006, 7; Sumption 1975, 77; Harper 2002, 62).

The search for adventure and the unknown, as well as the escape from everyday "rural existence" cannot, however, be excluded as a prominent motivation for the medieval pilgrim. Most medieval pilgrims came from rural towns where they lived lives close to other community members and the control of their local church, but far from other towns and protected from foreign influences and strangers. Sacraments like baptism, Sunday mass, marriage and burial could only be received by pilgrims by their local church. Leaving town and becoming a stranger in foreign places was thus quite in contrast to the everyday monotonous and exclusive existence that medieval pilgrims endured at home (Sumption 1975,11).

What is unquestionable in the motivation for pilgrimage, however, was the will to journey in order to obtain benefits, whether spiritual, physical or material (Hall 1967, 2). This journey needed to occur outside of ordinary experience towards a geographical space that was believed more favoured than others in

coming into contact with the divine (2) and obtaining benefits through the power of these “mediatory powers” (Aston 1993, 3).

Pilgrimage was a long and dangerous undertaking in many ways for the medieval pilgrim. Most pilgrims would walk “thousands” of kilometres and could take “several months” (Shaver-Crandel and Gerson 1995, 20). Pilgrims from the twelfth to eighteenth century especially emphasized the challenges they faced on route with nature mostly being framed in narratives as “an obstacle” quite different from the “glorification of the natural world” that became popular from the Romantic era (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 33).

Except for the natural forces that the pilgrim encountered, including weather changes, unmarked roads, undeveloped infrastructure and natural obstacles such as rivers and mountains, one of the biggest threats included the threat from others on the roads. Robbers masquerading as fellow pilgrims were quite prevalent and reports of deviant inn-keepers killing people in their sleep are quite common (Ure 2006, 9; Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 21-23).

Before the 11<sup>th</sup> century, pilgrims travelled either in small groups or alone. Then, as now, it was considered as preferable and honourable for a pilgrim to travel alone, but, as the roads became more dangerous after the 11<sup>th</sup> century, pilgrims started traveling in big groups for self-defence (Sumption 1975, 196).

Pilgrims who owned property set up wills before embarking on a pilgrimage. Instructions of a pilgrim’s will would include how long a pilgrim could be expected to be away and after how long of not returning he/she would be regarded as dead. If it was a male pilgrim his will also stated after how long his wife would be allowed to remarry (Sumption 1975, 168). Before leaving a pilgrim was expected to settle all conflict or debts (171). Finally, as preparation for leaving, a pilgrim had to receive a “letter of safe conduct” by “religious or political authority”, usually a local priest also hearing a “departing confession”, confirming the “authenticity of the pilgrimage” (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 63).

Although tradition held that pilgrims should complete the journey with a vow of poverty, many wealthy pilgrims giving away much of their wealth to the poor, pilgrims funded their journeys in different ways (Sumption 1975, 169). Some sold their lands and others went on pilgrimage on behalf of a wealthy patron who paid for their journey in exchange for spiritual benefits (206, 207). Although “viewed with disfavour by the Church because it derogated from the spiritual quality of the pilgrimage”, there were also pilgrims that dealt in commerce along the way in order to fund their journey (209), while the rest depended on the charity of strangers along the way (207).

After the 11<sup>th</sup> century pilgrims as “spiritual travellers” starting wearing a uniform different than the “normal clothing of the traveller” and consisted of a wooden staff, leather pouch and robe (Sumption 1975, 171, 172). A “broad-rimmed hat” with scarf (172) was added in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. Except for its practical use, the uniform also became a symbol of the identity of being a pilgrim and the “attachment to a new way life” (171). After the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the Church conferred “special” “ecclesiastical” status and therefore spiritual and secular privileges on the pilgrim by blessing and sanctifying the clothing of the pilgrim as “the uniform of his order” (172), also by sending the pilgrim out by a special blessing ceremony “as opposed to ordinary travellers” (172). At a later time the Church also started attaching symbolic meaning to the different items of the pilgrim’s uniform. The staff, for example, which was generally and practically used to fight away wild dogs, symbolized the constant battle “of the Holy Trinity with the forces of evil” (173). “Badges” or “tokens” like the well-known shell that was and is still is carried by pilgrims that completed the Camino, was not only considered as souvenirs signifying where the pilgrim had been (173), but was also regarded as “magic charms” with miraculous powers in medieval times (175). By the eleventh and twelfth century the uniform of the pilgrim also became that of Saint James as he became popularly depicted as pilgrim with “staff, purse, hat, cloak and shell” (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 15).

Christian charity not only played an important role in the sustainability of pilgrimage, but also reflected the medieval worldview of objects and acts having

“spiritual meaning” (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 103). The maintenance of the road by volunteers, for example, was seen as a form of charity, “equivalent” to “almsgiving” (Sumption 1975, 176), while private donors who supported the pilgrimage to Santiago by investing in infrastructure saw their support as an “important part of their identity” (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 101). In the medieval worldview donors saw their support towards pilgrimage as “earning rewards in the afterlife” (103). “Rulers who increased their political power by controlling their local saint’s cult or protecting the pilgrim routes were implicitly testifying to the potent currency of the holy in their society,” states Ashley and Deegan (103). In the same regard “free hospitality” was regarded as “the corner-stone of Christian charity” in medieval times (Sumption 1975, 198). The responsibility of taking in pilgrims, according to the Church, was that of the bishops, while it was mostly the monasteries that became known for their hospitality to pilgrims (198). Due the growth in number of pilgrims the network of monasteries later expanded to independent hospices (198). Food, however, was not always provided and a bed was considered a luxury as most pilgrims slept on “straw-covered floors” (201), or if beds were available, were dirty and covered in flees (202). As routes became more popular people converted their houses into inns, often using aggressive “advertising tactics” as servants were sent out on the road with signs, sometimes physically forcing pilgrims to make use of their services (203). Although “relatively cheap”, most innkeepers were approached with suspicion by pilgrims and regarded as two-faced opportunists as they served cheap wine at high cost, bad food and spread “exaggerated and unsound miracle stories” amongst pilgrims (203).

### Pilgrims Guide: Santiago to Compostela

One of the oldest pilgrimage guides, *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago or Liber Sancti Jacobi*, written in Latin by what is assumed a combination of French authors in the 1130’s, belong to the Camino (Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 7). *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago* traces the route from what is now France and Northern Spain to Santiago (8,15) and, as described earlier in this chapter, forms part of the *Codex Calixtinus*, a book that developed with the consecration of the

shrine of Saint James (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 13). Information included in the guide are the names of towns, churches, rivers, hospices and road makers along the way while it also expands on the different regions, social customs and religious sites and relics, ending with the cathedral of Santiago. The guide further includes a description of two miracles of St James (Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 25).

The Pilgrim's Guide, as first-hand experience account of the pilgrimage to Santiago, reflects a worldview that was infiltrated with religious ideas. This includes, for example, the description of hospices as "sacred places" that would possess the Kingdom of God because of providing for pilgrims (Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 28). The entire Chapter 8 of the Guide includes descriptions of miracles surrounding the relics of saints along the way, also emphasizing the importance of relics in finding salvation, receiving healing and being delivered from evil (75). The author writes the following excerpt on the remains of Mary Magdalene in the city of Vézelay.

"Also, in this place, a vast and very beautiful basilica and an abbey of monks were established; there, for love of this saint, transgressions of sinners are forgiven by die Lord, sight is restored to the blind, the tongue of the mute is loosed, paralytics are raised, the possessed are delivered and ineffable benefits are granted to many..." (Shaver-Crandell and Gerson 1995, 79)

Finally, the guide ends with a chapter on how pilgrims of St James ought to be received charitably, honored by all people. A warning comes from the author referring to stories in the past where the "wrath of God" came upon those who did not receive pilgrims in the correct manner – stories of bread turning into stone and entire streets burning up in flames (95).

## God, Devotion and the Afterlife

According to Sumption, religious devotion in medieval times held a distinctive intensity (1975, 13). One of the central causes for this intense devotion included that people saw themselves at constant mercy of a God who controlled “the entire natural world” and caused all “incidents of human life” (14), whether indirectly or directly, from personal illness to natural forces such as the weather (Aston 1993, 3). In relation to this, evil was experienced as a threatening power in an equally “tangible” and “physical” way (Sumption 1975, 15). Just as God had the power to control life, evil had the power to inflict damage, through illness or nature, often taking the form of wild animals such as savage dogs, pigs, vultures and spiders (15-16). Even dreams were perceived as a via for the communication of the supernatural forces, guilt and sin remaining prominent themes (16). Again it was believed that through sin the Devil was granted access to natural forces as well as the body and mind of the sinner (17). For the medieval person the only way to counteract this sense of powerlessness was a life of religious devotion in which the favor and protection of God was to be regained (14). Pilgrimage was one such powerful act of devotion. In medieval religious thought “direct relationship with the divine was felt to be beyond the average person’s capacity” (Rudolph 2004, 5). It was believed that the pilgrim was more likely to experience, receive blessings from and be in contact with the divine while on pilgrimage (5).

Adding to this was the complete preoccupation that the medieval consciousness had with death, as death was always imminent in the mind and reality of the medieval person. Connected with the obsession with death was the question and fear of the life hereafter and the consequence of sin in this life and the next (Ure 2006, 6; Harpur 2002, 62). The medieval person believed that there was life after death, but in three distinctive forms: hell, heaven or purgatory. Hell for the “unrepentant sinners”, heaven for the “truly righteous” and purgatory “if they fell between the saintly and the damned” (Harpur 2002, 62). While confession erased sin from the consciousness of a confessor, reconciled him/her to the Church and kept him/her out of hell, only doing a penance or good works could

reduce punishment in purgatory (Sumption 1975, 100). Pilgrimage was one such powerful penance. Pilgrimage was a way to have the guilt associated with and the consequences of sin, in this life and the next, removed (Ure 2006, 6).

According to Sumption, “Against this background the unprecedented number of monastic foundations and the extraordinary popularity of pilgrimage and the crusades which mark out the eleventh century, become intelligible” (1975, 100-101).

### Sacred destination and relics

The sacred destination of the journey played a central role in the power of pilgrimage in receiving spiritual benefits. During the middle ages a place was regarded as holy or sacred if there was evidence of the presence of the divine. The required evidence usually included either the presence of relics of a saint, a miracle or physical healing (Ure 2006, 6-7). According to Margry “the core or rationale of the Christian pilgrimage lay within the physical boundaries of the shrine” of which the sanctity was shaped by the “cult object” and where an expectation was held of “salvation, healing and solace, or hopes to effect a cure” (2008, 24). Important to note here is the great transformation that has taken place in pilgrimage, from its religious history to secular form, from the shrine as core of pilgrimage to the route as core of pilgrimage starting in the mid-twentieth century (24).

In medieval religious life it was believed that relics had supernatural powers that could bring both physical and spiritual healing (Rudolph 2004, 12). Relics consisted of the bodily remains of persons who were regarded as saints. The word “relics”, which has been described as *pignores*, were seen as “pledges”, “assurances left behind to common mortals that the holy person would return from God to the place where his or her relics were kept to reclaim his body at the general resurrection at the end of time” (8). According to Sumption the cult of saints, as “counterpoint of the fear of evil”, reflect a process as old as the second century by which “forces of good”, just as forces of evil, were given human qualities (1975, 22). According to Thomas Aquinas, the relics of saints should be

venerated because of three reasons. Firstly being “physical reminders of the saints” (23), secondly because although being earthly objects they were connected with “the soul of the saint” which was heaven (24), and finally because of the miracles that usually occurred in the presence of relics, in turn confirming God’s blessing on their veneration (24).

In the practice of medieval pilgrimage, it was the presence of these relics with its supernatural powers that especially granted a specific shrine or geographical space its status as being sacred and where the pilgrim was thus more likely to come in contact with the divine and receive spiritual blessings. At the 7<sup>th</sup> General Council of Nicaea in 797 the Roman Catholic Church confirmed that a church could not be consecrated as a church without a relic. Without relics or the accompanying miracles a church would also not have much hope in receiving offerings or providing for pilgrims in terms of infrastructure, lodging and food. Just the fact that pilgrimage routes exist today owes to the belief in the sacredness of relics, the sacredness with which it imbued pilgrimage destinations, manifested the supernatural and thus brought in funds from the millions of pilgrims that walked the various journeys from then until now (Hall 1967, 6-8). The process was simple. “A relic, however, false, drew pilgrims; the greater the number of pilgrims the more praise to God and the greater the contributions to the shrine: the more beautiful the shrine the more pilgrims still were attracted, bringing even more riches to beautify the monastic church which housed the shrines, and so on, all to the glory of God” (9, 10).

The importance of both relics and the sacred centres in the medieval Christian worldview is evident in the historical development of the Camino to St James. The discovery of the tomb of St James and subsequent development of the pilgrimage to the Cathedral of Santiago in which the relics were kept played a significant political-religious role in context of the stronghold of the Muslim inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula in unifying the Christian community. Christians during the 11<sup>th</sup> century truly believed that the relics of saints held the presence of the divine and thus motivated them to unite, take back their land and successfully create a Christian Spain by 1492 (Fray 1998, 11).

## Physical Healing and the Miraculous

In the context of periods of extreme famine, epidemics like the Black Death and a diet that consisted mostly of bread and a very small amount of fruit or green vegetables, the medieval person's physical well-being was constantly in jeopardy. Not having the medical care of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, people in the Middle Ages, in addition to their vulnerability to the weather and natural disasters, felt intensely powerless in matters of personal health. The only way to react to this vulnerability, and as they perceived, the only way to health, was by resorting to great acts of devotion to an all-powerful God in hope of a miraculous cure (Sumption 1975, 73). As people achieved good health and scientific knowledge of the body developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the motivation of healing in pilgrimage declined and focus started falling more on the spiritual dimension of healing. Most people today visit a hospital in the event of falling ill, not a shrine. This development supports an argument by which secularisation affected the nature of pilgrimage from its traditional religious form to its current secular form.

The backdrop behind the obsession with supernatural physical healing did not only consist of lack in proper medical care, but also the medieval belief that behind all physical ailments were spiritual causes, specifically sin (Sumption 1975, 78). In this belief system the devil had power over the body and soul of man through sin. Pilgrimage thus did not only serve in saving the soul, but also in keeping the body healthy. Pilgrimage, through a process of physical suffering and being in the presence of the relics of saints, restored the damage afflicted by sin, both on the soul and the body (78, 21).

Miraculous physical cures made out most of the stories of miracles happening along the way of pilgrimages (Sumption 1975, 77). Miraculous healings usually occurred through a ritual of treatment where objects that touched the relic were brought into contact with the body of the sick. In other instances the relics of saints were dipped into water or wine and drunk by the pilgrims (82). A

pilgrimage could not survive without reports of miracles along the way (71). Stories of miracles, therefore were collected in “Books of Miracles” or *libri miraculorum*, which circulated in order to draw pilgrims to the shrines (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 190). In the *Codex Calixtinus*, as referred to earlier in this chapter, the second part of the book entails “a collection of 22 miracles of Saint James, showing the saint’s protection of pilgrims along the pilgrimage routes” (193).

Miracles, for the medieval person, were thus seen as part of everyday existence. Although it can be argued that the obsessional belief in miracles was perpetuated by the greed and self-interest of those in power who built cathedrals and entire kingdoms on the spiritual benefits of relics, often manipulating the poor and the oppressed to give away their money in return for salvation and health, it remains that the belief in miracles and witnesses of their happenings, were strong and many (Sumption 1975, 55-56).

As Sumption states:

“For most of the period under consideration miracles were proclaimed without the assistance of elaborate mechanical devices and without fraud. Moreover, the evidence for them was accepted by intelligent men who made some attempt to ascertain the truth. Evidently they were deluded, but the basis of their delusion is worth examining” (1975, 56).

In this regard, it is important to note that these “intelligent” men accepted the miraculous as truth because they used a different “criteria” than that of people today in accessing the truth. This criteria, or worldview, included the generally accepted worldview that miracles were a normal part of life through the power of an omnipotent God, both of these “matter of facts” not requiring any proof or questioning (Sumption 1975, 65).

In this chapter, I have argued how medieval piety, according to the themes identified, was mostly located in rituals and actions of devotion by which the lay person sought the mercy of an external divinity in order to be granted benefits like physical healing and salvation in the afterlife. This exteriority of medieval piety is confirmed and critiqued in the writings of Guibert of Nogent, an abbot of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, who wrote an entire critique on the cult of relics. In these writings, Nogent critiques the cult of relics because of its focus on the external location of piety rather than motivating the faithful to look inwards to their own souls as a non-location of piety (Sumption 1975, 44). Aston confirms the view of the external nature of religious devotion in the middle ages, though states that although the belief of the time focused on places, relics and rituals, the “concrete and the seen”, it does not mean their faith was materialistic, only that “for them matter was an expression of spiritual forces” (1993, 4).

This theme of the spiritual manifesting in action and the material is also reflected in the way pilgrimage was used as metaphor by medieval Christians and the medieval Christian church for the life of faith or “liminality of human existence itself” (Ashley and Deegan 2009,10). According to this metaphor, mortal life on this earth is the long journey or “the pilgrim state”, while “heaven” or the glorious hereafter is regarded as the sacred destination or shrine (Harpur 2002,11). Life, however, is not just to be a physical journey, as in pilgrimage, but also a “metaphysical one of movement towards God” (Ashley and Deegan 2009, 10). This goal was realised and ritualised within the pilgrimage journey where this deeper symbolical meaning is expressed through physically walking to what is considered a sacred destination or shrine (Harpur 2002, 11, Ashley and Deegan 2009, 10).

In the next chapter, I will explore secular pilgrimage and how it is framed in contemporary academic literature.

Although I am acknowledging similarities between medieval religious pilgrimage and secular and religious contemporary pilgrimage, as well as the fact that piety has both exterior and interior elements, I will demonstrate the

differences at a foundational level between medieval religious pilgrimage and secular contemporary pilgrimage through the influence of secularisation. That foundational difference will aim at revealing the moral force and source of moral authority, whether it be God or the self.

## 2.CONTEMPORARY SECULAR PILGRIMAGE AND CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

While the previous chapter focused on Christian medieval pilgrimage, this chapter will focus on popular contemporary pilgrimage, specifically using Nancy Frey's research of the Camino, in order to demonstrate how pilgrimage has expanded and fragmented into different forms of pilgrimage which require acknowledging the continuation of the religious foundation for many pilgrims but also the acknowledgment of new forms supported by new foundational structures. This is demonstrated in Frey's thesis that although pilgrims can share the same space and the same journey in a geographical sense, they want to differentiate themselves from tourists and car drivers. While this appears as a non-vital difference to some and can lead to a general definition of pilgrimage as journey, if we inquire more deeply we can see that there are foundational differences that are not merely a difference in motivation but require a deeper commitment to a foundational structure be that religious or indeed secular.

This chapter also analyses current academic literature on secular pilgrimage by tracing the various trends in research. These trends include a shift towards the subjective as well as a broadening of the interpretation and definition of pilgrimage due to the inclusion and unification of various study fields. What this leads to is a homogenization of motivations of pilgrimage and the practice itself as "quests for meaning". In this chapter I accept and discuss the change that has occurred in pilgrimage due to the effect of secularisation, a change that can be described as the "turn inward", which Nancy Frey elaborates on. What I argue against is the subjective turn in the study of pilgrimage, the valorisation of experience, the emphasis on similarity that leads to universal and ambiguous concepts and finally, what has become known as a trend of dedifferentiation within the academic study of pilgrimage

## Contemporary secular pilgrimage

Current research indicates that pilgrimage, after declining in popularity from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, has gone through a revival in the past few decades. The Camino, for example, is reported to have welcomed a total of half a million visitors at the shrine at its peak in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and numbers indicate that approximately 4 to 5 million people visited the Santiago Cathedral in 1993. While it cannot be known how many of these pilgrims had religious devotion as motive, it is generally accepted that pilgrimage has regained popularity (Digance 2003, 143).

Various factors have led to a growth in pilgrimage, including an increase in the opportunity to travel, better health and medical care, the fact that people get paid more and that travel has become less expensive. Other social factors include an upsurge in media interest, an increase in the promotion of pilgrimages by religious institutions such as the Catholic Church and a search for national and cultural identity in context of globalization (Reader 2007, 214-220).

While pilgrimages related to historical religious shrines and routes have shown an increase in numbers, the term “pilgrimage” has also been appropriated by the popular imagination which applies it to contemporary “secular sites” such as war graves and celebrity graves and residences like Elvis Presley’s Graceland. These sites form part of a category in tourism studies whereby tourists have been regarded as pilgrims, especially in context of heritage tourism, dark tourism (visitation to sites of death and disaster, such as World Trade Centre) and New Age spiritual travel (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 445).

In context of the development of the various forms of travel and pilgrimage, as well as how the concept pilgrimage has been appropriated by pilgrims, travellers and academics alike, it has become necessary to distinguish between various forms of pilgrimage. “Although it is often difficult or impossible to make a distinction of this kind, it is contraproductive to use the concept of pilgrimage as a combination term for both secular and religious phenomena, thereby turning it into much too broad a concept” (Margry 2008, 14).

Justine Digance, for example, distinguishes between two categories – traditional religious pilgrimage which has “evolved from the world’s main religious traditions such as Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam” and what she terms as either “secular pilgrimage” or “contemporary pilgrimage” occurring “outside the context of the main religious traditions” (2006, 36).

I support Digance in arguing for the legitimacy of the term “secular pilgrimage”, not only to distinguish it from traditional religious pilgrimage, but also from other forms of tourism. The term “secular pilgrimage”, like “secular religion”, for Margry, is an oxymoronic and confusing concept if you accept that religious elements are at the core of pilgrimage (2008, 30). My argument, however, is that a more nuanced understanding of the secular content of secular pilgrimage validates the term in that it references its medieval religious origin and context while also recognising the change that has taken place due to the effect of secularisation. The concept secular pilgrimage thus serves in indicating the foundational difference between traditional religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage. What a deeper understanding of the secular, following Casanova, also admits, is that the term in no way denies the presence of religion and religious themes within current pilgrimage. The term simply seeks to indicate its difference and that a change has taken place in pilgrimage.

In most literature on secular pilgrimage, the transformation that has occurred in traditional religious pilgrimage is framed as a critique of modern society. The secularisation of religion into private spaces is equally described as a break from traditional practice. For Ian Reader, for example, the growing popularity of pilgrimage for modern individuals, signifies a break from traditional religion and its authority, where the focus of the journey is not discovering the sacred in holy places or driven by traditionally religious motivations. Instead, the motivations of modern pilgrims “are often centered less on faith or on the organised religious tradition with which the pilgrimage they undertake is associated than on attempts to find meaning and a way to deal with personal problems” (2007, 22). It is not that people are no longer in search of the spiritual and the miraculous – the difference now is that the search is no longer under the authority of

traditional or institutional religion, instead being in their private journeys and in their personal lives. What the motivations supplied by pilgrims are revealing on another level is a critique of the modernised and rationalised world in which people spend their everyday (Reader 2007, 221-22).

This view is supported by Hall who states that the lack of 'belief in God' should also be viewed in the context of the shift in the definition of religion itself. "Indeed, clearly, from the religious humanist perspective all human life is a pilgrimage. However, rather than the pilgrimage map being laid out as part of some cosmic plan, the route is cast by individuals themselves" (Hall 2006, 72). For Hall, it is thus natural that this view of religion as embracing a variety of experiences not dependent on a belief in God would have been taken up and appropriated by pilgrimage (72).

Timothy and Olsen have similarly noticed this shift in the definition of religion in the context of secularisation, as well as New Age spirituality. Religion is becoming privatised and separated from the public sphere, while the private space is now divided between the "religious" and the "spiritual". "Thus, many people who consider themselves spiritual would not see themselves as religious and vice versa" (4). This shift has also resulted in the "re-interpretation" of what is regarded as the "sacred". According to Timothy and Olsen, the definition of the sacred has "expanded", so that more places that would not traditionally be regarded as sacred, are now regarded as proper destinations of pilgrimage "in its own right" (2006, 5). Hence the "spiritual" element of experience is being expanded into the physical world which takes secular forms of valuation.

Digance summarizes the contemporary framing of secular pilgrimage as an "inner dimension" and as a "quest for meaning" (2007, 39). While this framing is helpful, I consider it a weak framework or definition of secular pilgrimage, where the secular and all contemporary pilgrimage or travel is reduced to notions of meaning and personal experience. The above theories, in accepting a simplified transformation of religion into privatised experiences, put forth a secularisation or privatisation theory of religion.

In the next section I use Frey's research on the contemporary Camino to show how pilgrimage has transformed from its traditional religious form to its popular current secular form.

### Camino as contemporary secular pilgrimage

The current most popular of the routes towards Santiago, which is usually the route pilgrims refer to when using the term "Camino", is the French Way. This route, leading from St. Jean Pied-de-Port in France, has become the most frequently used route because of its developed infrastructure. Routes, mostly "rural, open and unpaved", are clearly marked with yellow arrows, and since the 1980s there has been a great increase of refuges providing accommodation and hospitality based on the "medieval model of charity", though at a very low cost (Frey 1998, 7-8).

A significant feature of the Camino is the system by which pilgrims obtain a credential either from the Church or other Church-approved organizations (Frey 1998, 67). The credential acts both as reminder of the values of being a pilgrim, including "collaboration, humility, and gracious acceptance of generosity", while also allowing the carrier "access to the infrastructure" of the pilgrimage (67). Pilgrims also use the credential to obtain stamps on different parts of the route that is then presented at the Pilgrims' Office at the Cathedral in order to receive a certificate, called a *Compostella*, confirming completion of the pilgrimage (8). Interesting to note is that the credential is given to pilgrims based on a set of criteria that does not generally include motivation or specifically religious motivation of any sort, instead enquiring after the mode of travel of the pilgrim. Credentials are only granted to those pilgrims that make the journey on foot, bicycle or on horseback, excluding those using motorized transport (67). Similarly great controversy exists amongst Camino pilgrims on what is regarded as pilgrimage and who is regarded as pilgrim. However, instead of the distinction being placed, as it is in contemporary research, on whether religious devotion lies at the core of the journey or not, according to Frey's research, the distinction

on the road is also mostly focused on the “mode of mobility” and how “authentic” the route is to the original journey . According to Frey pilgrims confirmed their identity via their mode of mobility where “one’s movement and ways of traveling the Camino contribute to its consecration or desecration as a sacred space” (18).

For contemporary pilgrims, the notion of “authenticity” is thus central. This authenticity resides in many aspects of pilgrimage, including that modern pilgrims desire to walk the same routes as their medieval companions, experiencing the route “in the same way”. For Camino pilgrims, the “journey” itself is the central feature and how one travels towards the Cathedral is crucial (Frey 1998, 7). This characteristic of modern pilgrimage stands in contrast with the medieval context where shrines and the relics they housed formed the object and focus of the journey. In medieval context it was the shrines that formed the sacred space, not the journey or the way it was traveled. It was only through coming in contact and being in the presence of relics, kept in shrines, where a pilgrim was to come in contact with the Divine and receive healing, salvation and other spiritual gifts.

The categorization of motorized travellers as “tourists” is also not neutral in this regard, as “tourist” is generally used in a critical way by other pilgrims as those that “tarnish the essence of the road” (Frey 1998, 18). In the Camino context, tourists are viewed as “frivolous, superficial people”, while pilgrims are perceived as “genuine, authentic, serious people” (27). Important to note here, is that the label does not refer to the motive of the traveller, but concerns mainly their “movement choices” (26-27). The way the traveller chooses to move is regarded as an expression and communication of their values. According to Frey’s research, by moving by foot, pilgrims communicate their values as being “an appreciation of nature and physical effort, a rejection of materialism, an interest in or a nostalgia for the past, a search for inner meaning, an attraction to meaningful human relationships, and solitude” (27). By walking with scallop shell, walking stick, a backpack usually emptied of items that is sent home by post during the journey, the pilgrim sees him/herself as resembling the medieval pilgrim who walked in simplicity (56,58,61). However, in distinction to the

medieval pilgrim, most modern pilgrims are not walking “from a worldview in which sacrifice and religious devotion predominate” (127). The modern pilgrim is walking in order to express a particular identity that resonates with values including “self-sufficiency, humility, decency, solidarity, generosity, and respect for nature, oneself, and others” (125).

According to Frey, as is evident above, although religion, specifically the Catholic medieval tradition, lies at the origin and as foundation of the Camino, motivations for going on pilgrimage, while still including religion, are multiple (1998, 4). Those who do walk for religious reasons mostly view the Camino from a traditional Catholic perspective as “a movement toward conversion or toward God” while also interpreting the suffering during the journey in context of Jesus’s message of sacrifice (32). Other religious motives, include “the fulfilment of *promesas* (vows, promises), a crisis and renewal of faith, the receipt of indulgences, reflection and meditation, prayer for others, expiation of one’s own or others’ sins, giving thanks to Santiago, a request for intercession, or a demonstration or testimony of faith...” (32).

Many pilgrims, however, use the term “spiritual” to identify and distinguish their motives from that of purely religious motives. “Spiritual” in this sense is defined by pilgrims in a variety of ways and although ambiguous and vague generally refer to a very “personal” sense of spirituality as “inner journeys of transformation” (Frey 1998, 33). “Spirituality” in this sense also reflects a rejection of fixed and orthodox religion, in which the communal is key, instead opting for “this idea of the uncontained, nonstructural, personalized, individual, and direct relationship one has to ultimate reality” (31, 33).

Although the inner and outer journey as route to transformation and meaning stand as central motive for pilgrims (Frey 1998, 36), other motivations, amongst many, include physical adventure, a connection with the past, a space to deal with grief, esoteric initiation as part of the New Age movement, a “testing or meeting” ground for relationships, cultural motives and support of causes by walking for altruistic or political reasons (27, 37, 38, 42).

Central to the shift from its medieval origins the goal on the Camino in its contemporary form, for many, has become the “road itself” and “not the city” (Frey 1998, 45). It is via the road that the pilgrim is transformed and finds the “reorientation they seek in their own lives” (46).

Another interesting context in which pilgrimage is practiced, again relating to the theme of transformation, include the rehabilitation of juveniles by walking the Camino, a project started by the Belgian Ministry of Justice in collaboration with Oikoten, a non-profit organization. According to Frey the motto of this group is summarized by the notion of “getting away” from home and into nature and operating in a way that is self-sufficient as a way towards transformation. “The idea is that new understandings garnered along the way will inspire “inward activity of growth and maturity” and translate to the home environment” (Frey 1998, 42).

Related to the Camino as method of rehabilitation, some pilgrims, according to Frey, have started calling the Camino “the therapy route”. Pilgrims use the long arduous journey as a way to bring forth and deal with a variety of crises in their lives, whether going through a life cycle, losing a job, a loved one or going through divorce (1998, 45). A characteristic of the journey that lends itself towards this therapeutic quality includes an overall change in perception of themselves and society as pilgrims enter a realm quite different to the busy and planned reality of their everyday lives back at home (73). Pilgrims “develop a changing sense of time, a heightening of their senses, and a new awareness of their bodies and landscape” (Frey 1998, 72).

The sense of community and solidarity found amongst pilgrims on the Camino, stories of “human contact and generosity” (Frey 1998, 90), play a great role in the experience of the pilgrim. Pilgrims and those living on the route create social exchanges and bonds that would normally not happen at home. “In the open social contexts of the pilgrimage participants come to trust themselves and others – even all of humanity – to a greater extent” (91). This desire for “contact”

can also be seen as a critique against modern society where it is felt that “contact” has been “lost or hard to achieve”. This desire for contact is not only a desire to personally transform through the experience of community, but also a desire for the transformation of society (Frey 1998, 219).

Frey’s research on the importance of “contact” and community relates to the popular Turnerian theory of *communitas* as catalyst of transformation. According to the Turnerian analysis of pilgrimage, individuals (or groups) embark on a journey away from the profane or everyday, into the sacred, the *liminal*. What brings about transformation is the experience of *communitas*, whether during the journey or at its end. This *communitas*, according to Digance, entails a “temporary fellowship and comradeship” and “an observable egalitarianism that sees pilgrims mingling freely regardless of status” (2006, 40).

Herrero also describes this sense of community found in the “in-between” spaces of the hospices of the El Camino, where the “coexistence in shelters are very different from everyday life”, where they “help create a detachment from the conventional categories” and help pilgrims reflect on “the truly necessary things in life” (2008, 135). According to Herrero, similar to Turner, the goal of the pilgrimage is “rebirth and renewal” (135). Hall agrees with this view, stating that, as a process of learning, of building community, of becoming more conscious, what the journey should lead to is to make us “more experienced people, if not better people” (2006, 72).

Additional themes similar to medieval pilgrimage functioning as catalysts of self-transformation include the experience of obstacles on the road such as physical suffering and solitude. The difference, however, between contemporary secular pilgrimage and medieval accounts, is the foundational framework of meaning in which these challenges are set. Within medieval pilgrimage these obstacles are seen within a framework of sacrifice and religious devotion, whereas in contemporary pilgrimage these challenges are seen as obstacles to endure and transcend, opportunities for personal growth and instances of “loss of control”

and “feeling inept” testing a person’s limits (Frey 1998, 103, 110). Frey explains this dynamic of contemporary pilgrimage in the following way.

“Getting lost and other challenges compel some pilgrims to experience and overcome crisis. As a result pilgrims often feel capable of dealing with the unexpected, acquire greater self-confidence, and have the sense of being more compassionate, generous, open-minded, and accepting of hardship. These experiences are part of how pilgrims explain how the Camino works on them to produce meaning and transformation” (1998, 105).

Related to the theme of suffering and confusion are stories of “the helper” and “modern miracles”. Many pilgrims report occurrences where either a person or a symbol like a rainbow appeared at just the right moment, sometimes resolving whatever crisis the pilgrim experienced (Frey 1998, 106). Even the solitude on the road, so characteristic of pilgrimage, is regarded within the framework of an opportunity for self-discovery, of finding and testing the self (117).

What appears central in considering Frey’s research on the current state of the Camino, is pilgrimage framed as personal experience, or a series of individual experiences as pilgrims make personal meaning of shared symbols and the shared journey (Frey 1998, 229). Also central is the motivation of personal transformation that is focused on self-development and the application of the transformation back at home after returning from the pilgrimage (231). These central themes are captured in Frey’s own testimony of her first pilgrimage, bringing to the fore themes of the journey, self, transformation and the every day.

“In that first journey I also felt that bottled-up parts of myself were suddenly tapped. Once open, there was no way to reclose the bottle. As I went home my greatest wish was to be able to reincorporate the positive elements of the road into my relationships with my husband and my work, not to create upheaval. I cannot really explain how or why, but something inside of me snapped or broke free while walking. I sensed a truth about

myself that I could no longer ignore. I did not go on the pilgrimage to change, not did I want to create a rupture in my life, but that was one of the results” (Frey 1998, 217-218)

In this section I have explored various themes within contemporary secular pilgrimage including the distinction between pilgrims and tourists on the road, the quest for authenticity, the sacrality of the road and the central motivation of self-discovery and transformation. Frey’s research forms part of a trend in the study of pilgrimage where the pilgrim is self-identified, where experience is valorised and where the motivation of going on pilgrimage is multiple though mostly focused on self-transformation.

In the next section I will trace various trends within the study of pilgrimage, focusing on the paradigm shift in the field that has led to a focus on similarity between various forms of travel, the demoting of difference and a trend of dedifferentiation by which religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism are homogenized under a broader naturalized definition of pilgrimage.

### Pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and contemporary research

The study of pilgrimage has undergone significant transformation since the 1980s and 1990s. This shift involves research within the field moving away from a focus on the general, objective and external in the 1980s and moving towards a focus on the subjective and the inner experience of the individual in the 1990s (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 447).

The shift from the objective to the subjective entails that pilgrimage is no longer studied as the object in the centre of enquiry providing a general exposition of experience, but that the focus falls on the individual pilgrim that approaches pilgrimage from their own individual frame of meaning. The focus is thus not what pilgrimage objectively constitutes, but what the pilgrims say about their experience (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 448). This trend is also prevalent in the academic field of study of pilgrimage as researchers, instead of focusing on

difference as way to disprove existing theories on pilgrimage, each bring their own different view of pilgrimage to the collective, taking a “both/and” approach rather than “either/or” (450).

According to Collins-Kreiner the “old paradigm” of pilgrimage, which focused on a core religious nature, has given space to a new paradigm. Within this new paradigm, researchers from different fields such as tourism studies are considering a whole different range of aspects of pilgrimage that has not been granted much attention before (2009, 450). This includes, for example, the affect of pilgrimage on visitors. By including these additional aspects of pilgrimage, the definition of pilgrimage itself is challenged.

### Broadening the Definition

According to newer studies pilgrimage should thus be defined in different ways and within broader interpretations, including not only the religious origins of pilgrimage, but also its occurrence as “modern secular journey”. Current studies on pilgrimage support this argument by pointing towards the Latin origin of the word, *peregrinus*, which, as stated in the previous chapter, refers to various meanings including “foreigner, wanderer, exile, traveler, newcomer and stranger” (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 442).

One of these broader interpretations include pilgrimage defined as “one of the oldest and most basic forms of population mobility” (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 440). Population mobility itself is part of a discourse on movement that has become a popular field of study used to understand the phenomenon of tourism and migration, also now including the study of religious circulation. Pilgrimage forms part of the discourse not only because of the large number of people in movement, but also because of the impact of this movement on politics, the economy and other social and cultural spheres and dynamics (440-441).

Digance agrees with the argument for a broader definition of pilgrimage, stating that the generally accepted understanding of pilgrimage in its medieval form as

“long arduous journey” to a religious shrine was applicable only until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She argues for a new and more flexible definition of the term as it is currently being used in secular contexts quite different to the traditionally accepted framework. The definition that Digance suggests is pilgrimage as “undertaking a journey that is redolent with meaning” (Digance 2006, 36).

While this thesis is not arguing the value of either religious or secular pilgrimage, or that pilgrimage has not undergone transformation from its religious traditional form to its secular form, it does argue that “broadening” the term only serves to nullify the meaning of the already ambiguous term even more. What is required here is thus not further homogenizing, but a process of articulating foundational differences.

### Dedifferentiation

Leading from the broadening of the definition of pilgrimage is the trend of dedifferentiation in contemporary pilgrimage literature whereby various forms of pilgrimage and tourism are regarded as more similar than distinguished from each other.

According to Timothy and Olsen, the common view on this topic entails that pilgrims and tourists “are similar, if not one and the same” (2006, 6). Motivations for this argument, especially from the field of tourism studies, include that pilgrims and tourists share the same structure, space or infrastructure. Other similarities include spatial movement and “an emotional desire on the part of individuals to visit sites meaningful to them” (Collins-Kreiner 2009, 451). On the other side of this debate are those that distinguish between pilgrims and tourists. The proponents of this argument include religious institutions especially, and focusing on motivations of travel, frames tourists as “vacationers” while pilgrims are framed as “religious devotees” (Timothy and Olsen 2006, 7).

According to Timothy and Olsen studies argue that it is in the misconception of tourism where tourists are stereotyped as necessarily “pleasure-seeking hedonists” that tourists and pilgrims are seen as different from each other. In

this argument the definition of a tourist as “someone who travels temporarily away from home to another region” supports the notion that being a tourist entails a variety of motivations (Timothy and Olsen 2006, 6). Various motivations thus create a system of various types of tourists of which the pilgrim, a religious tourist, is merely one (7). From here, the argument follows for a dedifferentiation of pilgrimage and tourism whereby pilgrimage is seen as part of the tourism phenomena, as pilgrims share in the various behavioural patterns of tourism, including sightseeing, buying memorabilia and leisure activities during the evening (7). According to Stausberg the author Boris Vukonic, professor in Economics, who published the first book-length study on the topic *Tourism and Religion* in 1996, argues that tourism can contribute towards religion by providing “spiritual enrichment” and “constant self-development of the personality” of the traveller (cited in Stausberg 2011, 9).

What I am critiquing and what is evident in this method of comparison is where the focus falls on empirical and surface similarities which leads to a conflation of concepts and ultimately a demotion of pilgrimage to a subset of tourism. .

This method is similarly applied by Digance as she argues that secular pilgrimage, as “journeys redolent with meaning”, should be recognised as having equal status to religious pilgrimage. According to Digance, all pilgrims, whether religious or secular, are searching for a “mystical or magico-religious experience” with the Other – an extraordinary or special experience away from the “mundane secular humdrum” that is so characteristic of everyday life (Digance 2006, 38). While the author finds many similarities between traditional religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage, Digance concludes that one aspect whereby the two forms of pilgrimage might be distinguished lies in the motivation of traditional pilgrimage being an “act of faith”, which, in turn, is “lacking in modern secular pilgrimage”. Even this distinction, however, is problematic according to Digance, “leaving one to ponder if there is any meaningful real difference at all” (37).

While most arguments for dedifferentiation focus on empirical similarities such as the structure of and behaviour in pilgrimage, others do use motivation in comparing religious and non-religious travellers. Pilgrimage is seen as involving a variety of motivations, where the religious is either absent or functions parallel with other motives. Motivations are also seen as dynamic. Travellers might start out without religious motives, but due to experiences along the journey, motivations can mutate into religious motivations (Stausberg 2011, 14).

A passage by Victor Turner published in 1978 often quoted to argue against the once popular tourist/pilgrims dichotomy, drawing in the Turnerian notions of *liminality* and *communitas*, states the following.

A tourist is half a pilgrim, if the pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic mode of *communitas*, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor or the mine (cited in Stausberg, 2011, 21).

According to Stausberg, if tourism is to be interpreted in a framework of ritual, as Turner states in the above sketch, not only does it challenge the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, but it also shifts the perception of tourists as travellers undertaking meaningless superficial practices. Within the interpretive framework of Turner's rites of passage, tourists follow a ritual of separation, of entering liminal space and returning home and reintegrating with "ordinary" life, typical of religious rites of passage. The tourist, the religious pilgrim and the secular pilgrim thus enact this similar pattern, of leaving the "ordinary", entering a space that functions in ways that are out of the "ordinary" and "anti-structural", and returning to the profane (Stausberg 2011, 21).

According to Stausberg, Nelson Graburn, the most influential advocate of "the religious approach to the study of tourism", goes a step further than Turner in his structural analysis of tourism by incorporating the religious dimensions within these structures (2011, 22). For Graburn, modern tourism or modern

pilgrimage is not only a substitute for traditional religion in terms of its structural similarity, but also reflects a process of “re-creation” that occurs on this sacred journey and the return thereafter (2001, cited in Stausberg 2011, 23). For Graburn the sacred, as movement away from home, and the profane, as home, represent the “two lives” that most people alternate between (23). The point of leaving home is to be recreated. According to Graburn, this re-creation can only happen through an experience of the sacred. According to Graburn “tourism is the best kind of life, for it is sacred in the sense of being exciting, renewing, and inherently self-fulfilling” (1989, Stausbeg 2011, 23).

Focusing her research on the Camino, Herrero also disagrees with a strict dichotomy between pilgrimage and tourism. For Herrero the rise in numbers of those pilgrims who would not identify themselves as religious point towards a “free interpretation of cultural, religious or spiritual meanings” of the Camino that is becoming more common (2008, 132). In the interpretation of this phenomena Herrero does not only follow structural interpretations such as Turner and Graburn, but also views the phenomena as forms of expressive and communicative practices that creates meaning (132). Through framing pilgrimage in this way Herrero shows that secular pilgrimage is not only similar to its religious origin in structure and performance, but also points to the now secular nature of pilgrimages in its new-found meanings of, for example, contact with nature, historical appreciation and the physical challenges accompanied by it (2008,133). Finally, Herrero also suggests that the secularisation of pilgrimage is caused by the loss in authority of religious institutions, as religious symbols and practices are now found outside of religious institutions (133).

According to Stausberg, one should, however, take into account that most of the theories defining tourism as a sacred and out of the ordinary practice, such as Turner and Graburn, were formed in the 1970’s within a modern context of a rapid rise in mass tourism (2011, 26). Tourism, according to John Urry (2002, cited in Stausberg 2011, 27) is now omnipresent, is everywhere, and according to Stausberg, “a way of life”. No longer, as Stausberg states, is traveling an instance of experiencing the sacred (27).

According to Zygmunt Baumann, while pilgrimage was a suitable metaphor for modern life, it no longer holds for contemporary (post-modern) society (1996, cited in Stausberg 2011, 29). For Baumann a better choice of metaphor for the postmodern traveler would be “stroller”, “vagabond”, “tourist” or “player”(29). What motivates this traveller, contrary to the image of the pilgrim, is not recreation, but the fear of “being bound and fixed” and the constant need of new and novel experiences “as the joys of the familiar wear off and cease to allure” (29). According to Stausberg Baumann’s theory reflects what one could call an industry of spiritual tourism, where “spiritual tourist-seekers” are constantly looking for new, constant, “once-in-a-life-time” and “transformative” experiences (29).

Other authors like Valene Smith take a different approach, neither for or against a dedifferentiation of the terms, instead identifying a “continuum of travel”, with tourism and pilgrimage standing at opposite ends with “an almost endless range of possible sacred-secular combinations” in between (1992, cited in Collins-Kreiner 2009, 443).

In this chapter I have identified and discussed various themes prevalent in secular pilgrimage, focusing on research on the Camino by Nancy Frey, in order to indicate the change that has taken place in pilgrimage from its medieval origins to its current secular form.

Within current literature on secular pilgrimage I have identified trends including a broadening of the definition of pilgrimage to include various forms of travel, the consequential homogenisation of motivations of travellers and under the banner of pilgrimage as “quest for meaning” an ultimate dedifferentiation between traditional religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism. Within this trend a method of comparison is applied that is imbalanced in its focus on similarities and its neglect of difference. According to Segal (2005, 1182), a comparison that seek similarities exclusively, is “invariably superficial” What I am arguing for is a comparative method, represented by Smith, that opens up the

study of pilgrimage to reconsider the differences as well as the similarities. Including difference, especially foundational difference, means that the objective understanding of the foundational framework can be included into an understanding of pilgrimage.

In the next chapter, I will use theories of secularisation by Casanova and Taylor in order to confirm that there has been a secularisation and inward turn in pilgrimage, but also to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of secularisation and to use Taylor's argument that the inward turn does not rely on a pure subjective or idealist foundation, but also implies a moral force where ideal and debased forms can be distinguished from each other. Therefore Taylor demonstrates that even secular forms display foundational difference.

### 3. SECULAR PILGRIMAGE: SECULARISATION AND AUTHENTICITY

In my review of various trends within contemporary literature on secular pilgrimage I have identified a trend of dedifferentiation whereby the different forms of travel related to pilgrimage are regarded as predominantly similar. Concepts such as “secular”, “religious”, “pilgrimage” and “tourism” are conflated into broad categories described as “quests for meaning”. I have disputed this trend of dedifferentiation by arguing for a method of comparison that acknowledges foundational differences between the different phenomena.

In the previous two chapters, I have disputed this trend by arguing how pilgrimage has given birth to new forms, specifically secular forms. In its secular form, elements of pilgrimage that have undergone transformation include the motivations of pilgrimage that has shifted from religious notions of penitence, indulgence and request for healing by an external divinity, to a quest for meaning and self-transformation through an external and internal journey. In contemporary secular pilgrimage the destination or shrine with its relics and supernatural powers no longer dominates as sacred space, but shares sacrality with the road or the journey themselves and its various challenges that act as the catalysts for self-transformation.

In the following chapter, I will explore secularisation theories by Casanova and Taylor in order to argue for the legitimacy of the concept secular pilgrimage as it indicates and acknowledges foundational differences between secular pilgrimage, traditional religious pilgrimage and tourism.

#### Casanova on secularisation

A theory originated in the 1960's whereby sociologists predicted that society was undergoing a process of progressive secularisation that would ultimately eradicate religion. According to this theory religious traditions would become altogether “marginal and irrelevant in the modern world” (Casanova 1994, 5).

This theory is known as the theory of secularisation, or the privatisation of religion. Prominent works on the privatisation of religion thesis include those by Thomas Luckmann and Niklas Luhmann. According to Luckmann's radical thesis, not only do religious institutions become irrelevant and marginal but religious beliefs moves out of the church as salvation and meaning, through self-expression and self-realization, occurs within "the private sphere of the self" (Casanova 1994, 36). Just as differentiation occurs at an institutional level, where each "autonomous sphere" is "governed" by its own "internal norms", so differentiation occurs in context of religious roles in the conscience of the modern individual. In this context, the individual, or as Casanova puts it, "buyer", is wooed by a variety of traditional and secular "religious representations", "packaged" and sold to a target audience. It is out of this variety of representations that "the individual constructs and reconstructs – either alone or in congregation with like-minded selves – a necessarily precarious private system of ultimate meanings" (36).

Casanova challenges the theory of secularisation on three fronts: (i), in terms of the absolute decline of religion, (ii), in terms of the privatisation thesis and finally (iii), in his critique of the differentiation of religious roles. According to Casanova a series of events occurred in the 1980's that challenged the assumptions of the theory of secularisation. Instead of disappearing or reverting completely to the private, religious traditions stepped into the public in profound ways (1994, 6). This process is called the "de-privatisation" and refers to "the fact that religious traditions throughout the world are refusing to accept the marginal and privatised role which theories of modernity as well as theories of secularisation had reserved for them" (5). Casanova argues that although the thesis that religion is essentially private is inaccurate, it does form part of a Western modernity in two ways. First, in terms of the notion of the freedom of conscience, which forms the base of modern liberalism and individualism. Secondly, in terms of how secular spheres, such as the secular state and modern capitalist economy, liberated themselves from religious control and norms and became essentially private (40).

Casanova's theory of de-privatisation is employed, first, to critique the theory of secularisation, a theory that both assumes and prescribes "the privatisation of religions in the modern world" (1994, 6). Casanova does not completely discount the theory of secularisation, as he agrees with the notion of the "differentiation and emancipation of the secular spheres from religious institutions" (6).

The tension described in Casanova's critique of secularisation is prominent both in the phenomenon of secular pilgrimage, which in turn also validates the concept. Secular pilgrimage reflects dimensions of the privatisation thesis and the differentiation of "religious roles" in the conscience of the individual, while still including various religious elements. In the comparison between traditional religious pilgrimage and contemporary secular pilgrimage, as demonstrated in the first two chapters, faith moves from the locus of an external divinity as mediated by the church towards a private and communal self. In this regard, the conscience of the individual, as described by Luckman, and as is evident in research by Nancy Frey on the Camino, is freed from church or government norms. Another example of the differentiation of roles is evident in the validation of the authenticity of a pilgrim vesting in subjective accounts and in the recognition of others, no longer solely in the church as institution or a belief in God. Casanova's critique of secularisation theory also, however, holds true as the church still plays a prominent public role in the pilgrimage, and that many pilgrims are still motivated to walk the Camino out of religious devotion..

### Historical development of "the secular"

In this section of the chapter, I will use Casanova's discussion of the historical development of and problematic nature of the concept secularisation to show how a deeper understanding of the meaning of the term helps to distinguish secular pilgrimage from its religious predecessor at a foundational level.

The concept secularisation has become almost impractical to use in empirical scientific analysis because of its "multidimensional" nature, its "contradictory

connotations” and the many different “meanings” that have been loaded on it (Casanova 1994, 12). Seeing that the concept cannot be abandoned, Casanova traces three semantic moments in the history of the development of the concept. Firstly, etymologically, the term “secularisation” refers to “century”, “age” or “world”, with the second instance of its development related to Canon Law. Within Canon Law, the term “secularisation” referred to the legal process whereby a “religious” person left the cloister to return to the “world” and its temptations, becoming thereby a “secular” person (12,13). Thirdly, related to the second instance, the concept was used in describing the historical process of “massive expropriation and appropriation” of church property by the state, later used in reference to all forms of “transfer” of “persons, things, functions, meanings” from “their traditional location in the religious sphere to the secular spheres” (13).

According to Casanova, the historical development of the term “secularisation” can only really be understood if one understands the dualistic social structure of the world in which these semantic moments occurred so that “the religious” and “the secular” stood as “two heterogeneous realms” of “this world” (Casanova 1994, 13). Within “this world” there was the further subdivision into a religious world and the secular world (13). In the centre of these double dualisms stood the church as sacramental mediator (15). The term “secularisation”, according to Casanova, thus refers to the process by which this system of classification, of this world and the other world, and of the church as sacramental mediator, completely falls away and is replaced by new forms of structuration. “If before, it was the religious which appeared to be the all-encompassing reality within which the secular realm found its proper place, now the secular sphere will be the all-encompassing reality, to which the religious sphere will have to adapt” (15). Another way that Casanova explains this use of the concept of secularisation is the process by which a reality that once revolved around one main axis, the church, is now replaced by a reality that has multiple axis’, the two main axis’ being the market and the state (21).

The different developments that played a role in the collapse of the medieval system of classification included “the Protestant Reformation, the formation of modern states, the growth of modern capitalism; and the early modern scientific revolution” (Casanova 1994, 21). The Protestant Reformation, according to Casanova, helped to liberate the secular sphere from religious monopoly by challenging the church and bringing into being the “new bourgeois man” that led to the rise of the “new entrepreneurial classes, the rise of the modern sovereign state against the universal Christian monarchy, and the triumph of the new science against Catholic scholasticism” (22). According to Casanova, it is in the sphere of the market that the emancipation of the secular sphere by any form of religious or moral control can especially be witnessed. Casanova here follows Weber in his classification of three “phases of capitalist secularisation” (23). First, the Puritan phases whereby “secular economic activities acquired the meaning and compulsion of a religious calling”. Secondly, was the utilitarian phase whereby the “irrational compulsion” of religion was replaced by “sober economic virtue” and “utilitarian worldliness”. Lastly, was the phase by which the market, totally liberated from moral and religious control, actually begins to “penetrate and colonize the religious sphere itself, subjecting it to the logic of commodification” (23).

On an intellectual and education level, the Enlightenment played an influential role in its (i) cognitive critique “against metaphysical and supernatural religious worldviews”, (ii) practical-political critique “against ecclesiastical institutions” and (iii) “subjective expressive-aesthetic-moral” critique “against the idea of God itself” (Casanova 1994, 30). Again, while Casanova does not completely discount the above process, especially when considering the immense change especially in terms of differentiation, education and industrialization in Western Europe, he argues that religion is still extremely influential in other countries such as, for example, North America (27).

While the above discussion focuses on the transformation of the structuration of the social space, the question remains what of the individuals living in the structured reality of pre-modern Europe? Although not much can be known of

the private religiosity of individuals, the social structure was certainly Christian. What is known is that practically all members of society, except for those living in Jewish and Islamic enclaves, were also, and in fact compulsory, members of the church. Within this structure, however, it can be expected that the lives that people lived within it was a “fusion between Christian and pagan, official and popular forms of religiosity” (Casanova 1994,15).

In the previous section of this chapter I have used Casanova to understand the foundational changes brought about by secularisation, changes that were applied to the development of pilgrimage from its medieval religious form to its current various secular forms. The religious worldview of a medieval pilgrim included a relation with the omnipotent God, the miraculous, the afterlife, the supernatural powers of relics and sacredness of shrines. As described by Casanova secularisation affects all of these elements. Secular pilgrimage refocuses on different valuations such as the self as moral source, self-transformation, this life and the sacredness of the journey. A change is also evident in the commercialisation of pilgrimage, now completely liberated from ecclesiastical control. Within this context religion is commercialised as “spirituality” and secular pilgrimage becomes a “packaged product” sold as a “transformative experience” or “spiritual tourism”. In this form, secular pilgrimage has been likened to forms of tourism.

I have also used Casanova’s work to justify the inclusion of both religious worldviews and secular worldviews. This makes a space for a phenomena such as secular pilgrimage.

In the next part of the chapter I turn to Charles Taylor’s thesis in the *Ethics of Authenticity*. I will use Charles Taylor’s explanation of the process of secularisation in relation to the individual and the search for authenticity to argue for a deeper understanding of the secular as a turn to the self as source of meaning. I will also use Taylor’s argument for the retrieval of moral force in authenticity to argue for a differentiation between secular pilgrimage and tourism. Taylor’s argument also supports a comparative method advocated by

Smith which provides access to deeper ontological differences and refuses a focus on inauthentic similarities, ultimately bringing in a philosophical account of meaning.

### Charles Taylor on the Individualism of Self-Fulfilment and Secularisation

According to Taylor, we live in an age where phrases like “doing my own thing” and “finding my own fulfilment” have become very familiar. In a culture of individualism people have, to a certain extent, the freedom to choose for themselves how to live their lives and what beliefs to pursue. This situation by which the self has become viewed and appropriated as an alternative and often principal source of meaning and moral guidance can be ascribed to the impact of secularisation (Taylor 1991, 2).

Through a process of secularisation modern freedom was won through the breakdown of old hierarchical orders, in terms of both cosmic and societal orders. This process came to be known as the “disenchantment of the world” (Taylor 1991, 3). No longer finding their sense of “place” or “meaning” through external orders such as tradition or religion, people turn inward, looking to the self as source of guidance, identity and meaning. People get to choose for themselves what role they are to fulfil in society and what they regard as valuable. They experience a call to live a life that is “true to themselves” and the right to “seek their own self-fulfilment”. According to Taylor, this position, prevalent in Western societies since the 1960’s, is called the individualism of self-fulfilment (14).

In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor offers a more extensive account of the theory of secularisation and the turn towards the self as source of identity and meaning. For Taylor, different to Casanova, secularisation is the concept that describes the “undeniable” process of the decline of religion, both in terms of the “belief in God” as well as, and even more so, the decline of the practice of religion. Where religion once took on a central role in Western societies, both private and public,

in modern times it has become something of a sub-cultural and private phenomenon, according to Taylor (1989, 309).

The important question for Taylor, however, does not concern the contributing factors in the decline of religion, which he does not feel capable to explain, but rather “what the change we call by this name (secularisation) has amounted to” (1989, 310). What has been the impact of this process we call secularisation? This impact can best be described in terms of the transformation of moral sources (313). “Moral sources” are here defined as those “goods” people turn to for “moral empowerment”. In the world of our ancestors, God was viewed as the only viable moral source, while in the modern era there are a variety of additional moral sources to choose from (310). In *Sources of the Self*, Taylor explores two alternative moral sources that emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: first, rational self-mastery via disengaged reason resulting in an account of agency, and secondly, an agent’s inner nature exercised through powers of expression and articulation (314).

The second source, inner nature, is specifically the source that relates to the notion of “authenticity” as defined in *Ethics of Authenticity*. According to Taylor, this source is based on the notion that the nature of human beings is essentially good, although corrupted by a culture obsessed with the recognition and acceptance from others (Taylor 1989, 357). We are required to reconnect with this inner nature, not by reason, but via a “wholly different quality of will” (356, 358). Living according to our true nature is accepting our part in the natural order of life and being aware of an “inner impulse” which reminds us of the “importance of our own natural fulfilment” and of “solidarity with our fellow creatures in theirs” (370).

In Taylor’s view it is not only in experience that the connection with our inner nature lies, but also, and most importantly, in the expression and articulation of our impulses (1989, 374). I can only realize or define my identity and fulfil my inner nature by articulating it and giving it shape by expressing it in my actions. According to Taylor this is where the 18<sup>th</sup> century notion originated of each

individual being “different” and “original” and each individual being called to live a life according to his/her unique individuality (375).

The definition of secular pilgrimage as a “journey in search of meaning” in current academic literature on secular pilgrimage reflects Taylor’s theory of secularisation as a search for authenticity and an opening up of alternative moral sources. Current literature, however, in its framing of contemporary pilgrimage as journeys in search of meaning, often equates tourism with secular pilgrimage and tourists as the modern version of pilgrims. Tourism is, however, as is evident in Frey’s research on the Camino, often regarded as a superficial and self-absorbed activity, an identity the “authentic” pilgrim chooses to avoid at all cost. By using Taylor’s discussion of the fear of loss of meaning and argument for a moral force within a culture of individualism, I will argue for a differentiation between tourism and secular pilgrimage. I will argue for a differentiation between self-absorbed forms of tourism that reflect the debased forms of authenticity discussed by Taylor, while I will explain how secular pilgrimage reflects the moral force or ideal of authenticity.

### Fear of Loss of Meaning

The crisis of secularisation and the disenchantment of religion, history, social and cosmic order are defined by its perceived impact on an individual’s life and meaning (Taylor 1991, 3). According to Taylor, the problem is that people are increasingly more uncertain and unwilling to depend on any moral sources or frameworks that give meaning to life (1989, 17). As modern theism gives way to the opening up of alternative moral sources, like disengaged reason and the power of nature, people experience an uncertainty regarding (i) the promises held by new moral guidance and (ii) which moral sources to choose in the absence of one “ultimately believable framework” (17). Are these sources really adequate given the emphasis placed on them in our modern culture? Does it all really matter? These are some of the nagging questions, which, in Taylor’s argument, are at the core of the crisis experienced by the modern individual (17). According to Taylor’s theory, the loss of traditional meaning structures also

introduces an overwhelming feeling that “nothing is worth doing”, a fear of “terrifying emptiness”, “a kind of vertigo” and even “a fracturing of our world” (18). The ultimate feared consequence of an individualism of self-fulfilment is a culture characterized by self-absorption, and ignorance concerning issues that transcend the self, like religion and history, resulting in a flattened and narrow world (Taylor 1991, 14).

### Authenticity as Moral Force

The above negative view is only one way of looking at our contemporary situation.

According to Taylor an outlook that views contemporary culture as narcissistic and self-indulgent where emphasis is placed on a form of self-fulfilment that gives little if any regard to concerns beyond the self, is limited in scope. While Taylor agrees with concerns over the prevalence of self-indulgent and trivialised forms of individualism within modern culture, he does not agree with the entire prognosis. What Taylor argues for is that this culture be seen not just as a culture motivated by self-indulgence, but be recognised as a culture powered, in part, by a *moral force*: the ideal of authenticity (1991, 55).

In *Ethics of Authenticity*, Taylor defines “moral ideal” as “a picture of what a better or higher mode of life would be, where “better” and “higher” are defined not in terms of what we happen to desire or need, but offer a standard of what we ought to desire.” (1991, 16) Taylor thus views authenticity as a moral force because it assumes that there are ways that one “ought to” live life that are more fulfilling than others.

The problem, elaborated by Taylor in *Sources of the Self*, is that moral philosophy holds a very narrow notion of what morality, or the “good”, entails. According to traditional moral philosophy morality mainly concerns “what is right to do” rather than “what it is good to be” (1989, 3). What Taylor is arguing for is a much broader definition of what might be regarded as moral issues. In this endeavour,

Taylor wants to look not only at moral concepts such as justice, respect for life, wellbeing and dignity, but also argues for including our “questions about what makes our lives meaningful and fulfilling” and “what makes life worth living” (4).

Why then can questions pertaining to whether my life is authentic, meaningful, fulfilling or reflective of my talents and originality be considered as moral issues? According to Taylor, because they involve “strong evaluation” where, independent of the agent’s own will, judgment is passed regarding the quality of life in terms of “better or worse” and “higher or lower” (1989, 4).

### Defining Authenticity

Taylor defines the ideal of authenticity as “being true to oneself” (1991,15), following Lionel Trilling in his use of the term in *Sincerity and Authenticity* (11 – 12). According to Trilling, moral life is always in a process of change where, at different stages in history, some values are regarded as more important than others (1971, 1). In Trilling’s view the notion of living a way that is true to oneself, as it is understood today under the term “authenticity”, can be traced back to the value of “sincerity” that developed with the advent of individualism in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (4). The word “sincerity” entered the English language in the form of the Latin word *sincerus*, meaning “clear”, “sound” or “pure” as was originally used to describe things. Later, when used to describe persons, it came to mean “the absence of dissimulation or feigning or pretence” (12-13). This value, as it developed into the notion of “authenticity”, entailed that living a life that is true to oneself no longer had a public purpose and was no longer a means to an end, but an end itself (9). The authentic individual, contrary to the sincere individual, now strived to do and be that which is “Me”, the “Me” underneath all the roles one is expected to play in society (10). Authenticity involved a “more strenuous moral experience than ‘sincerity’ does, a more exigent conception of the self and of what being true to it consists in, a wider reference to the universe and man’s place in it, and a less acceptant and genial view of the social circumstances of life” (11).

According to Taylor, the ideal of authenticity is something very specific and new to modern culture. The beginnings of the development of authenticity can be traced to the 18<sup>th</sup> century notion of people possessing an inner voice able to guide them in a moral sense, in determining what is wrong and right (1991, 26). This notion can be related to the notion of the agent's inner nature that developed as alternative moral source through the impact of secularisation, as stated earlier in this chapter. This notion was originally formed in order to oppose the sense that making moral decisions was up to an instrumental form of reasoning that determined consequences, a question of what would lead to reward or punishment. The notion of authenticity developed as the "moral accent" of this idea of the inner voice lost its emphasis. No longer was the inner voice a means to a moral end – being in contact with the inner voice became the end in itself. The process by which people now had to connect with the inner voice in order to be full human beings is part of what has been described as "the massive subjective turn of modern culture" (26).

Taylor uses both Rousseau and Herder in their articulation of the development of authenticity and other ideals alongside it. Rousseau describes one of the ideals developing with the ideal of authenticity as the self-determining freedom of being free only when I get to choose my own path, as well as the emphasis placed on following a voice of nature within. According to Taylor, while this ideal of freedom developed alongside the ideal of authenticity, they are actually separate ideals. When confused, however, deviant forms of authenticity are the result (1991, 27-28).

Herder, on the other hand, true to the ideal of authenticity, articulates the development of the ideal as the very modern notion of each individual being created in an original way, an original way of being who I am, that needs to be discovered and lived out. According to Taylor, living authentically, being true to myself or "being true to my originality" thus entails the process by which I define myself and realize my potential through the personal articulation and discovery of what it means to be originally me (1991, 29). In its ideal form, although authenticity revolves around the discovery of the self, this process of self-

discovery cannot exist without concern for that coming from *beyond the self*, such as history, nature and the demands of society. Any form of self-fulfilment that does not take into regard demands coming from beyond the self cannot, according to Taylor, be related to the moral force of authenticity. I cannot find myself, cannot live true to myself and live a moral life if I don't take into account that which comes from beyond the self (40). According to Taylor, "Authenticity is not the enemy of demands that emanate from beyond the self; it supposes such demands" (41).

What Taylor is arguing for is the retrieval of this moral force or moral ideal behind authenticity in order to restore the debased forms that emanate from it. The process of retrieval is one of identifying and articulating the moral force behind authenticity and its debased forms, as well as criticizing the debased forms at the hand of the demands of the ideal.

What Taylor is arguing for here, in essence, is difference, and that the ideal form of authenticity and its debased forms be distinguished from each other at a foundational level. In this chapter, I am following Taylor's argument for a retrieval of a moral force of authenticity by distinguishing secular pilgrimage from trivialised forms of tourism and by appealing to the moral force in secular pilgrimage. The moral force in secular pilgrimage entails a search for authenticity while also requiring that the self links or interacts with forces beyond its narrow concerns

#### Adorno and the Critique of Authenticity

*Jargon of Authenticity* by Theodor Adorno is a critique of the rhetoric of the language of authenticity and German existentialism. According to Adorno it is of primary concern to acknowledge that the language, as ideology, without having any real substance or content, moulds how modern people think (1973, 5, 160). In Adorno's view, this jargon, used in all walks of life, far from being the superior language it claims to be, should be regarded as a pretentious sub-language (8). Adorno argues how this language has come to be enwrapped with its own "aura"

that invests ordinary words with transcendent truth, far beyond “the meaning of individual words” (11). Here, truth and language do not cohere, as language transcends what words actually mean and is spoken in such a way that the illusion is created that these mere concepts are concrete terms (12). This form of language, according to Adorno, has inherited the irrationality of religion and regards itself as “an end in itself”, although, in the case of jargon, a religion without content (21).

What is of special concern for Adorno is the social implications of a rhetoric by which individuals believe they own themselves and where a way of life is led that “seals itself off in the identity of the subject, is de-societalised and into an in-itself” (1973, 115). This way of life, where futile egoism is amplified to authenticity (164), is dangerous because of the way it makes people accept the illusion that they are living as free persons (18). In Adorno’s argument, the rhetoric of authenticity succeeds in maintaining the status quo, numbing the subject to all suffering, evil, death (65). The jargon succeeds in this through reassuring the subject of the essence or Being of its nothingness, puffing itself up with an importance far beyond its actual substance and guiding the “petit bourgeois to a positive attitude toward life” (22).

In the study of secular pilgrimage in current literature Adorno’s critique is relevant if considering the instances where individuals’ experience are exaggerated and where concepts like “meaning”, “spiritual” and “sacred” are used interchangeably and universally without any real adherence to its meaning.

#### Repair, Retrieval and Articulation

According to Taylor, Adorno’s description of authenticity is lacking because he has not correctly understood or represented what authenticity is (1991, 2). In other words, Adorno has not distinguished properly between the debased forms and the ideal of authenticity. According to Taylor one of the factors that contribute to the misunderstanding and misidentification of the moral force behind our culture of individualism includes the debate between what is called

the “knockers” and “boosters” of authenticity. On the one hand, you have the critics who completely reject the notion of a culture of individualism having any moral force behind it while, on the other hand, you have those so imbedded in the culture of relativism that they can say nothing about the ideal (Taylor 1991, 17). According to Taylor, both of these arguments support the lowest, most self-indulgent form of the ideal. For this reason, an alternative view of the ideal needs to be retrieved in order to restore those debased expressions of the ideal from which it emanates (80). In Taylor’s view, a battle is indeed required, not for or against the ideal of authenticity, but in defining what the ideal properly consists of or requires (72).

Why does it matter that we recognise a moral force behind the idea of authenticity? According to Taylor, because the misguided nature of the attacks on the ideal of authenticity has disturbed the concept itself (1991, 21). When people live in ignorance of that which transcends the self and claim in the name of authenticity the relevance of self-indulgent practices, “it matters to be able to say” what authenticity is (22). Thus Taylor develops the idea of articulacy as an associated concept with a “moral point”. As stated earlier, through a process of retrieval of the moral ideal behind authenticity, the correct articulation of the ideal can help us “live better” according to the ideal (23). Trying to better understand and articulate what authenticity properly entails has a practical point of the restoration of those self-indulgent practices that emanate from the ideal of authenticity but that is not in itself legitimated by it (31). Concepts and practices cannot be left unjustified or be allowed to justify themselves. By introducing a theory of language and expression, Taylor is demanding that selves must relate their activities to social structures beyond themselves; justifying what we ought to do is part of what morality should be.

Before embarking on the necessary process of retrieval of the moral force behind our culture, you are required to believe that (i) the ideal of authenticity is a valid and worthy ideal, that (ii) you can argue according to reason about morals and ideals and that (iii) this process of retrieval can make a difference in society (Taylor 1991, 23).

Following on to the second requirement for the retrieval of the ideal of authenticity, according to Taylor, in order to reason or form an argument about an ideal such as authenticity, one would have to ask a) “what the conditions are in human life of realising an ideal of this kind?” And ask b) “what the ideal properly understood calls for?” (1991, 32)

### Condition for realising the ideal: Dialogical character of life

A condition of human life in which the ideal has to operate includes the dialogical character of life. According to this condition we cannot learn a language, make meaning, form opinions and, especially, define our identity completely on our own – this always happens in relation to and in dialogue with others (Taylor 1991,33). What Taylor then does is to show that the culture of authenticity, far from denying this central fact of human life, actually demands it. In this line of argument, Taylor criticises any form of self-fulfilment that does not have a regard for “the demands of our ties with others” or “any other demands coming from beyond human desires or aspirations” as self-defeating and not part of the culture of authenticity (35). How does Taylor reach this conclusion?

For Taylor, within a culture of authenticity, where the project of defining myself becomes of central importance, defining myself does not merely mean defining what makes me *different from others*. Instead, defining myself means defining “what is significant in my difference from others” (1991, 35). I cannot decide for myself what makes me different from others (36). The significance of difference always takes place in the context of a greater external horizon of significance whereby some things are regarded as more important or significant than others. In a culture where much emphasis is placed on difference and diversity, it is precisely when our subjectivist culture stresses mere choice as bestowing some sort of significance on our options, that significance is lost. Just because I have a choice, doesn’t make all options equally worthy (37).

### Condition for realising the ideal: The importance of recognition

In another argument concerning how authenticity does not legitimise a form of self-fulfilment without taking into regard our ties to others, Taylor criticises a form of self-fulfilment that views relationships, whether on the intimate or societal level, as merely instrumental to self-discovery (1991, 43).

The ideal of authenticity, as moral principle, not only emphasises personal freedom, but also a model of how we “ought to” live with others (Taylor, 1991, 44). These two models linked to the ideal of authenticity include, on societal level, the equal recognition of the citizen’s universal right to be allowed to live in a way that is true to oneself and, in love relationships, the emphasis put on recognition as part of personal self-discovery. Both of these models, in Taylor’s view, reflect the notion that our identities are not discovered and constructed in isolation of others, but actually requires recognition from others (45).

In earlier societies, identities were mostly fixed and “given” according to social position. Within a culture of authenticity, although people still define themselves according to social roles to a certain extent, people feel called to determine their own “original way of being” (Taylor 1991,47). According to the notion of authenticity, in Taylor’s argument, my discovering my identity, my own “original way of being”, has a dialogical dimension to it – as my identity is no longer given, but “created”, this make recognition from others very important (48). The emphasis on recognition in contemporary culture, shaped by the ideal of authenticity, proves that a form of self-fulfilment that treats our relationships as merely instrumental and that does not take into regard demands coming from beyond the self, cannot be justified in light of the ideal (51).

The process of seeking recognition, however, is also accurately described as a “struggle” for recognition. Not only does the possibility always exists that one might be misrecognised, either by oneself or by others (McBride 2013, 135-136), but one is also constantly confronted by a variety of different and conflicting norms and standards (162). The struggle for recognition is thus in essence a struggle for authority – of who has the authority to grant recognition over whom

(153). Finally, important to note, is that recognition is not always and exclusively external, but also an internal process by which normative standards are applied to the self without there even being an “actual audience there to express approval or disapproval” (146).

### Debased forms of authenticity

Why do we see self-centred forms of authenticity gaining ground? Why does practice fall below the ideal? On the one hand the slide can be attributed to major social change, in the forms of industrialism, the free market system and emphasis on technology and instrumental reason (Taylor 1991, 58). There is also a factor inherent to the ideal of authenticity that can be regarded as the cause of the slide into self-indulgent forms. This factor includes the development of a form of moral nihilism and the deconstruction of all values that has infiltrated popular culture at the hand of postmodern intellectuals such as Nietzsche, Baudelaire, Jacques Derrida and Michael Foucault (60). In this process emphasis is placed on creation and the created subject as being the goal itself, for its own sake where no moral end is required and there is no compulsion to conform to any form of standards that emanate from beyond the self (64).

According to Taylor, for the turn inward to be truly authentic, it requires that all the demands of authenticity be taken seriously. On the one hand authenticity does indeed involve creation, construction, discovery, originality and in some cases, opposition to the rules of society. But on the other hand true authenticity also requires “openness to horizons of significance” and “self-definition through dialogue” (Taylor 1991, 66). These demands are almost always in tension. One without the other, however, leads to deviant self-absorbed forms of authenticity that is feared to ultimately lead to a flattened and narrow world and a fragmented society where the important problems in society is trivialised and left unaddressed. The way to succeed in healing a society fragmented by a self-absorbed culture of self-fulfilment is to enter a battle of persuasion of the proper meaning of authenticity (72-73).

According to Taylor, living morally means living authentically. Living authentically means living true to oneself. Living true to oneself means living in a way that not only emphasises originality, creation and self-discovery, but also takes heed of demands beyond the self. How will the repair of practice and the salvation of modern culture take place? According to Taylor, through a process of retrieval and articulation of the moral force behind our culture of authenticity. Ultimately, there is something moral behind the pursuit of self-fulfilment.

### Authenticity and secular pilgrimage

Secular pilgrimage as concept and practice is a reflection of a culture of individualism as described by Taylor. Within secular pilgrimage self-transformation via the journey is central. Different to traditional religious pilgrimage, pilgrims no longer rely on external moral sources such as the church or a belief in an external divinity, instead relying on the inner nature of the self as moral source. Through articulation and expression on the road the pilgrim is brought into contact with the self and through various challenges on the road undergo transformation.

Secular pilgrimage, however, as I have shown in chapter two, has also been equated to tourism in the comparison of various forms of travel. Secular pilgrimage has also been criticised, as tourism, in comparison to traditional religious pilgrimage, as a superficial, frivolous and commercialised form of travel. The concerns over secular pilgrimage relate to Taylor's description of the concerns over a culture of individualism whereby a fear exists of a loss of meaning and a narrowed flattened world. What Taylor argues for is that this culture not be seen as necessarily self-indulgent, but that there is also a moral force within the search for authenticity, if it takes heed of horizons of significance and dialogical structure of life. What Taylor is arguing for, as stated earlier in this chapter, is that the foundational differences be noted between the search for authenticity and a culture absorbed with self-fulfilment. This distinction is important in order that the concept authenticity not be misunderstood or disturbed. In the same way it is important to distinguish

between pilgrimage and forms of pleasure seeking tourism relating in order not to disturb the concept of pilgrimage. Contemporary literature on secular pilgrimage whereby individual experience is valorised is also critiqued through Taylor's criteria for authenticity. According to these criteria an individual cannot decide by him/herself what is important or significant, but require a horizon of significance and recognition of others.

In this chapter, I have explored a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the secular, on structural and individual level, by using Casanova and Taylor's arguments on secularisation. By tracing the development and impact of secularisation, I have argued for the legitimacy of the concept secular pilgrimage by using a comparative method that acknowledges similarities between secular pilgrimage, traditional religious pilgrimage and tourism, but also takes into account the foundational differences between the phenomena.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an analysis and critique of current academic literature on secular pilgrimage. In this thesis I have used the Camino to Santiago as case study because of its medieval religious origins and its current popularity as pilgrimage route amongst religious pilgrims, secular pilgrims and tourists.

In my analysis I have identified a trend in current academic literature whereby secular pilgrimage, religious pilgrimage and tourism are dedifferentiated from each other. This trend forms part of a paradigm-shift in current literature whereby various fields of study are newly engaging with the study of pilgrimage and are arguing for a broader definition of the phenomenon. These scholars are engaging in new ways with the traditional religious form of pilgrimage as well as its new expanded and fragmented secular forms. These new forms in the practice of pilgrimage include the development of new pilgrimage sites not traditionally associated with pilgrimage, such as Graceland, Ground Zero or various music festivals, as well as the development whereby traditional religious pilgrimage routes are travelled by pilgrims who claim an absence of “belief in God” and religious devotion.

Contemporary researchers are arguing for a definition of pilgrimage that shifts away from an “old paradigm” that focused on the religious core aspect of pilgrimage towards a “new paradigm” that includes various aspects of traditional pilgrimage as well as these new expanded and fragmented secular forms. In current academic literature traditional religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism are interpreted as similar phenomena and categorised under broad definitions relating to the search for meaning, expression and free interpretation of meaning as well as catalysts of self-recreation.

In this thesis I have agreed with contemporary academic literature that a change has taken place in pilgrimage. This change has been described as the “turn inward” and implies a shift from a focus on external piety to the inner personal experience of the pilgrim. I have traced this development in pilgrimage within a

framework of the effect of secularisation by comparing a historical account of medieval religious pilgrimage with the nature of contemporary secular pilgrimage using empirical research by Nancy Frey as well as theoretical work on secularisation by José Casanova and Charles Taylor. What I did not agree with in this thesis is the subjective turn in contemporary academic literature whereby the experience of the pilgrim is valorised. The implication of an imbalanced focus on subjective experience is that it does not take heed of Taylor's critique of horizons of significance and the need of recognition, while it also poses a difficulty in an already challenging process of distinguishing complex concepts such as the "religious", "spiritual", "secular" and "pilgrimage".

The core of my critique of contemporary literature on secular pilgrimage is my argument against the trend of dedifferentiation by which disparate forms of travel are categorised under broad definitions that denote not only concepts like pilgrimage, religious and secular, but also the various phenomena. In this thesis, I have disagreed with this trend by ascribing the trend to a methodological error in the comparison between the phenomena. In this comparative method similarities are exaggerated, differences neglected and various phenomena are unified at a semantic and foundational level. I have used Smith in arguing for a method of comparison that opens up the study of pilgrimage by considering both similarities and difference. In my argument for a comparative method that includes similarity and difference, I take a step further and argue also for the inclusion of foundational difference in the process of comparison in order to distinguish religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism.

In order to identify foundational differences between religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage and tourism, I have explored the historical context of medieval religious pilgrimage and brought foundational religious themes integral to medieval pilgrimage into tension with foundational themes prominent in secular pilgrimage. I also used theorists José Casanova and Charles Taylor and their theories of secularisation in order to bring in a philosophical account of meaning and access deep ontological differences in order to support my argument for the distinction between religious pilgrimage, secular pilgrimage

and tourism.

Foundational differences identified in comparing medieval religious pilgrimage with its new contemporary secular forms included a shift from exterior piety with a focus on an external God, the supernatural and miracles, the power of relics and the sacredness of shrines to a turn inward where focus falls on self-transformation, physical challenges as catalysts for personal growth and the journey or the road. Although both medieval religious pilgrims and contemporary secular pilgrimage claim motivations of healing, salvation or meaning, the sources wherein these “spiritual gifts” are sought differs on a very foundational level. In a medieval or related religious context the source of authority for salvation, healing and spiritual transformation is bound up with sacrifice and religious devotion to an exterior and omnipotent God. Salvation is sought for the life hereafter and forces of evil or sin are seen as causes of illness or misfortune. In contemporary secular pilgrimage the source of authority of healing draws on the psychological and spiritual while salvation is sought from personal problems and for the everyday life. Misfortune or illness is seen as opportunities for personal growth. Finally salvation, healing and meaning, for the secular pilgrim, is found within the self, experience en expression or nature.

I have used Casanova’s critique on the theory of secularisation and the eradication of religion in order to support my argument that the secular can be distinguished from the religious even if the secular and religious share similarities. It is inevitable that the secular will include elements of the religious. The secular is distinguished from the religious in it representing a collapse of a system where the religious stood dominant to a system with multiple role players of which the religious merely forms a part. Secular pilgrimage is thus an expanded or new fragmented form of pilgrimage, sharing similarities with its religious form, but also distinct from religious pilgrimage in its emancipation from the religious as its foundational framework. AS religion has not collapsed or disappeared completely, the secular shares space with the religious...

In the last section of the thesis I used Taylor's description of the turn inward as the opening of alternative moral sources, specifically the self as moral source, as support for my argument for a foundational difference between medieval religious pilgrimage and secular pilgrimage. This shift implies a shift from God or an external Divinity as primary moral source, to the opening of a variety of sources, such as nature, or history, but ultimately to the self as moral source.

The impact of the argument for differentiation and the inclusion of foundational differences in comparing various forms of pilgrimage are most clear in Taylor's argument for the importance of articulation and the retrieval of the ideal of authenticity. For Taylor the issue of articulation and retrieval, which, in essence, is the process of distinction and comparison, are important so that concepts are not disturbed or misunderstood. Taylor allows a differentiation between ideal and debased forms and authentic and inauthentic forms, a distinction he argues helps people live better according to the ideal. Private internal meaning with no relation to horizons of significance and recognition is illegitimate.

The impact of this thesis on the contemporary study of pilgrimage calls for a reorientation towards differentiation at a foundational level and the inclusion of both similarity and difference. This is philosophically important because without an understanding of the foundational relations that underpin our empirical research disciplines will tend to view difference as a mere subset of a broader homogenised definition and categories. In the study of pilgrimage it is morally significant to distinguish between the various phenomena by including deep foundational differences and refusing to accept mere superficial similarities based on personal experience.

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