

PAGAR UMA PROMESSA

**AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE CATHOLIC
PILGRIMAGE TO FÁTIMA**

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LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis examines the phenomenon of the Fátima (Portugal) pilgrimage as an "arena for different discourses". Pilgrimage involves not only a journey to a sacred place but also the clergy. From the beginning the clergy authorise the shrine and try to control almost all the activities, rituals and profane activities alike, that take place throughout its history. Pilgrims, as the most important actors in any pilgrimage, have different goals and expectations both from the shrine and the members of the clergy. The thesis tries to uncover the silent disputes between the two parties and how they manage (or fail) to achieve their purposes. Pilgrimage stimulates economic exchange as well as religious exchange in the economy of salvation. Owing to the influx of vast numbers of pilgrims at a (usually) small and out-of-the-way place, the pilgrimage shrines also attract business-minded people who are engaged in hotel, restaurant and selling articles of religious devotion businesses. In time, these shop-keepers, along with devotees who choose to settle down near the shrines, become the inhabitants of pilgrimage towns. Their discourse is also different from that of the clergy and pilgrims. The devotees, as permanent residents of the town, have gradually become aware of the fact that Fátima is not "Paradise found". They witness some attitudes of the clergy of which they disapprove, such as the pilgrims' business-like contracts with the Virgin Mary or the greediness of the businessmen in the town.

By studying the Fátima pilgrimage from this theoretical point of view, the thesis does not exclude the historical socio-cultural circumstances in which the pilgrimage appears to be a political instrument which could at times be used against the secular authorities and yet, at others, may be used to put the people under control by secular authorities.

The thesis concludes, in agreement with John Eade and Michael Sallnow (*Contesting the Sacred*, 1990), that pilgrimage is a realm of both official co-optation and non-official recovery of religious meanings.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Christianity tells us that, just thirty years after the Crucifixion, St. Peter moved from Jerusalem to Rome. By doing so, he switched the focal point of the faith from a Middle-Eastern to a European setting. In the fourth century, the Roman Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity and the idea of making a journey to the roots of the newly acquired religion, or more precisely, a pilgrimage, established itself in Christian terms. Helen, Constantine's mother, became the first Christian pilgrim when she went, in search of the True Cross, to Calvary. Later on, many peripheral or satellite pilgrimage centres emerged: for those who could not go to either Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago for various hazards, a trip to Walsingham or Canterbury was an acceptable substitute.

In Catholicism, from the theological point of view, salvation is not assured through belief alone; that is, in order to obtain salvation, one should have both faith and good "works". Good works are defined as "the observance of the precepts and counsels". The Ten Commandments are examples of precepts which are compulsory. "Counsels are rules of life and conduct for those who, not satisfied with the bare minimum, aim at greater moral perfection by means of good works not commanded but commended - for example, abstinence from lawful pleasures. For Catholics going on pilgrimage is a good work in response to a counsel" (Turner and Turner 1978;30-31).

Today "under the influence of the division between work-time and leisure-time, religion has become less serious but more solemn: less serious because it belongs to the leisure sphere in a culture dominated by the high value set on material productivity, and more solemn because within that sphere it has become specialized to establish ethical standards and behavior in a social milieu characterized by multiple options, continuous change and large-scale secularisation" (ibid., 36). Pilgrimages, like other leisure-time activities, have been organised, bureaucratized and subjected to technological influence. But what is most

striking is that, in an age of secularisation, the number of pilgrims is still increasing. The pilgrimage is not only a religious institution but it also has many significant social dimensions which are of importance to social anthropologists. The aim of this research is to look at Portugal's world-famous pilgrimage shrine of Fátima from^{an} anthropological point of view with special reference to the Eade-Sallnow argument of pilgrimage "as an arena for different discourses" (1990).

It may seem odd that I have chosen Fátima as a topic for my PhD thesis. But I have always been interested in the notion of pilgrimage since I first read Ali Shariati's book entitled *Hajj*. The Iranian sociologist's approach to the symbols of the Muslim pilgrimage, which I have never thought them in those terms, fascinated me. Although I have never been to Mecca, I always wanted to "study" the hajj from^{an} anthropological point of view. However, the project posed a methodological problem because in studying the *hajj* I would run the risk of taking many substantial aspects of it for granted, I would assume to "know" the reasons why the pilgrims would do this or that. So I decided to study something entirely different from my background but did not leave out the possibility of studying pilgrimage. While I was at pains to find an interesting topic for my PhD, I saw the visit of Pope John Paul II to Fátima as a television news item. "This", I said to myself, "is a place I have got to see, to do research where I can ask any stupid question without assumption or prejudice".

My initial interest in the Fátima pilgrimage was in its politics, to study it in its wider Portuguese political, cultural and religious context. Fátima seemed to me an instrument of power used by the politicians and the Church alike to keep the people under control. My research proposal intended to study Fátima as one element of the "Three F's"; Fátima, football and *fado* (a difficult term to translate but put it simply, nostalgic songs). Apart from the historical figures of Henry the Navigator and Vasco de Gama, I did not know anybody or anything from the contemporary Portugal except Eusebio (the Benfica football player) and Amalia Rodrigues (the great and most famous fado singer). Later I learned about Fátima. My first readings confirmed this idea of "Three F's" because^{of} first, the importance the Portuguese attached to them and second, their relationship with politics. I thought the fascist dictatorship of Salazar with its *integrism* (I understand it means the return to the past

glories of the Portuguese Empire) tried to create a notion of "Portugueseness" using these three phenomena. The *fado* songs have a theme of *saudade* which is a special word in the Portuguese language, that does not exist in other languages. *Saudade* is longing for anything absent; far-off places, times, people, home, etc. . If there is one characteristic that almost all the Portuguese share, it is that longing for the great, and glorious past, the romantic past, the rich past. *Saudade* is not merely nostalgia or fond remembrance. it is actually a yearning for the past which can never happen again. It refers not only to the great national glories of the past 800 years but also to individuals. This feeling is expressed in the *fado* songs. *Fado* is sung at *fado* houses by the *fadistas* (singers). The typical *fado* (literally 'fate') is a song of tear-jerking emotion; all classic *fado* songs have a sad, depressing theme; the sadder and more fateful, the better. Many observers see and perceive the *fado* attitude in everyday life in Portugal; "it is our fate, it is the Portuguese way" are recurring phrases repeated in many everyday situations.

If Portugal's most widely known musical form was the *fado* song, and if it had emotional themes, then I assumed that the dictator Salazar could use it to oppress people, making them feel too miserable and weak to rise up against the state in a country where all the political activities were banned or strictly under state control. I felt that the *fado* song was one of the tools that had helped to maintain Salazar's authority over the country.

I further thought football was a part of power games in Portugal. Any casual visitor does not fail to notice that by and large the greatest spectator sport in the country., and that which grips the attention of most Portuguese, is soccer, or *futebol*. The *futebol* teams, as elsewhere, have serious and loyal fans. Many local games are televised, and there is avid interest in all European soccer teams as well. It is impossible to describe the general feeling that the populace holds for this game. Only a true fan could understand. When an important game to be played (apparently all games have great importance), all work stops. People's ears are glued to their transistor radios. Bus drivers are oblivious to the traffic, waiters spend more time in the kitchen (in order to listen to the radio, or sometimes watch the TV) than serving customers, and office

workers or shoppers gather at store-window television sets or radios. Nothing much is accomplished until the game is won or lost.

Bullfighting (*tourada*) is a sport that evokes mixed emotions such as pageantry, drama, bravery, machismo, etc. . In the Portuguese *tourada* the bull is not killed in the ring. Therefore people could not enjoy the feeling of violence in the bullrings. I thought that people, or rather hooligans, acted out their feelings of violence in the football stadia instead of political arenas. As Generalissimo Franco, the dictator of Spain, clearly stated that he could not control the people without bullfighting, so the dictator Salazar controlled the nation with the help of football.

However, during my fieldwork I observed that *fado* had lost its place to rock and roll and was listened to only at special events (like fundraising functions) or sung for tourists in Lisbon or Coimbra. Football was still an important part of the people's lives and apart from minor incidents in the stadiums it went smoothly. Yet I feel that football in Portugal should be studied by anthropologists or sports sociologists because it constitutes a youth sub-culture. I did not include football in this thesis because it was very difficult to show its relationship with politics; first, there is no dictatorship in Portugal any more and second, it is a vast subject to be covered by one researcher in conjunction with Fátima or politics. So, along with *fado*, I dropped the subject altogether.

Fátima and politics remained the only subjects proposed in my research project. It is assumed that regular church-goers usually vote for right-wing political parties, in any given country. My informants' statements confirmed this general rule. Apart from this general information, the shrine officials constantly denied any relationship with party politics today. So I decided to include the relationship between Fátima and politics only in the early stages of the shrine's development but not as a present day occurrence.

Methodological Concerns:

This thesis falls into a somewhat uneasy subdiscipline of the traditional anthropological research. The "uneasiness" comes from two facts: First, it was carried out in a European setting, and second, it deals with one of the world's oldest religious traditions, namely, a case of the Catholic pil-

grimage. It has not been an easy task to tackle with these two problems throughout this research.

Modern anthropological (as opposed to folklore)¹ studies in Europe (I do not mean the studying or teaching of anthropology, but doing fieldwork in a European/Mediterranean setting) go back to the mid-1950s. Perhaps J. Campbell's study of the Sarakatsani shepherds of Northern Greece was the first fieldwork in Europe. Shortly afterwards Julian Pitt-Rivers, who represents a turning point in the process of the "Invention of 'The Mediterranean'" (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994;4), went to Andalusia to do his fieldwork. The result of this field study was a classic: *The People of the Sierra* (1954). In the 1960s and 1970s the core issues of "Mediterraneanist Anthropology" centred around four themes: male-female relations, patron-client dependencies, relationship with industrial Europe and the honour and shame complex (Gilmore 1982). In an analytical essay on the history of ethnology (folklore studies) vis-à-vis social anthropology in Europe, Thomas Schippers has observed that at least three different types of anthropology were applied to the study of European societies (1995;243):

- a (social) anthropological orientation, mainly French and British, based on personal fieldwork combined with the elaboration of theories and concepts to which the study of European society has often appeared as a marginal phenomenon or even as a 'second-best choice', although increasingly popular since the 1970s;
- an American (cultural) anthropological orientation, in which Europe offers possibilities for case-studies on specific topics, often in a worldwide perspective;
- the variety of disciplines more or less federated within the European Ethnology project founded by Sigurd Erixon.

Another interesting point is that most of the fieldworkers who studied European (mainly rural) societies "did not think of themselves as Europeanists, preferring the designation of Mediterraneanist" (Pina-Cabral and Campbell 1992;XI). The term Mediterraneanist, the foundation of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) in 1989, and the recent publication of volumes on *The Anthropology of*

¹ There are lots of European folklore studies, going back at least 150 years. In the early years of this century, the two were not distinct.

Europe (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994), *Europe Observed* (Pina-Cabral and Campbell 1992) and *Fieldwork and Footnotes* (Vermeulen and Roldan 1995) are all, in my opinion, a manifestation of opposition to the accusations of "arm-chair anthropology" or that Europe is the second best choice for those who are not able to go to study non-Western societies. I may, personally, escape from such accusations because I consider myself to be coming from a non-Western society (though Turkey is arguably a European country) and as a Muslim I was able to distance myself from my field subjects.

As a consequence of western anthropology's claim "we are westerners and we know our civilisation and its institutions, we need not study our religion", anthropological studies of European religion were limited to "popular religion" a term which refers to those "informal, unofficial practices, beliefs, and styles of religious expression that lack the formal sanction of established Church structures" (Badone 1990;4-6). Pilgrimages were left unstudied until recently. Apart from historical works on Santiago, Dahlberg's (1987) study of English Catholics at Lourdes and McKevitt's (1988) work on the cult of Padre Pio (both of which were conducted at the LSE) were pioneering studies of ^{the}European pilgrimage tradition. I benefited from these works and from the personal guidance of Andrea Dahlberg at the beginning of my own research.

Nevertheless, studying a pilgrimage tradition within the subdiscipline of European or Mediterranean anthropology was a greater task. At the beginning of this study I was aware that I was not going to a far-off place, that is, to any remote corner of the world populated by a small community with an unheard of language and customs. However, I was extremely aware of the fact that I was going into an area, to use Alan Morinis's expression, "where no work has been done to date" (1992;IX). It was an area largely neglected by anthropologists because it fell beyond the scope of conventional studies. There are several reasons for this neglect on the part of anthropologists. First, pilgrimage had been seen as an exceptional phenomenon out of ^{the}normal habitual framework of structured communities. Second, its object of study was not a fixed community let alone a small one in which the anthropologist would come to know almost every single member.

Since my background was in theology (mainly Islamic), I was aware that I had to overcome the hold which textualism had on my understanding of ritual; so I tried to formulate an appropriate field method for the Fátima pilgrimage which could enable me to observe and interpret a public ritual. My major worry was that of working in a modern, urban field rather than the customary anthropological tribal one; because almost all of my reading about ritual came from other anthropologists' works in preliterate societies and all of them seemed so well analysed, understood and interpreted. Therefore, from the very beginning I was worried because my Fátima study would never be like theirs. Even some anthropologists did not like my idea of studying Fátima and I was advised to study a small Portuguese community instead, in order to better understand their religious life. I could only answer that I chose Fátima because it was Fátima. Yet, in a town of 15.000, overrun by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims during the great pilgrimages, particularly in May, August and October, there was no place for interviews or other anthropological techniques. I was told I should pursue more sociologically oriented methods.

At Fátima, I took notes and pictures, watched people, listened to the priests, *tried* to interview pilgrims. I was not there to participate in them (again my Muslim background); the only occasion I felt I participated in was that of helping to carry the canopy from the Basilica to the Adoration chapel. This incident caused so a great surprise to the rector of the shrine that he couldn't help but ask me whether I had converted to Catholicism. Towards the end of my fieldwork, my degree of participation increased. During the interviews. I was able to talk with pilgrims in a more religious context: for example, when they told me they had come from Porto on foot, or that their children were cured. I showed my appreciation as I was expected to, saying "Graças à Deus" ("Be praised God") or, at parting, "até logo si Deus quiser" (see you later if God wills) or "God bless you".

The anthropological literature lacks a sort of "guide book" for pilgrimage studies. Everyone seems to employ a research method in accordance with his/her emphasis on the various facets of pilgrimage and of course, the anthropologist's abilities, and the circumstances of fieldwork.

Unfortunately, the volume edited by Alan Morinis on the topic of "sacred journeys" came after I had finished my fieldwork. The volume consists of two "theoretical" and ten "practical" case study papers. James J. Preston in his theoretical article gives guidelines for studying pilgrimage. He coins the term "spiritual magnetism" to account for the "drawing power of the sacred centre". One of the research strategies with which to study this notion is what he calls the statistical method. He suggests fieldworkers use shrine records of pilgrim activities. He also warns that the distance travelled to the pilgrimage shrines might not be an accurate measure of spiritual magnetism (1992:38). The "catchment area" of a pilgrimage shrine, in the case of an "international pilgrimage centre" like Fátima, is quite vast. As the shrine officials state, pilgrims of more than 100 different countries come to Fátima each year, and nationally, pilgrims from every district in Portugal visit the shrine. Therefore, the distance of travel to Fátima is not relevant in any way to the Fátima pilgrimage. On the other hand, if a *local* shrine attracts pilgrims from afar, then, the distance shows the fame (through miracles, etc.) and the importance of that particular shrine. Furthermore, with today's travel and tourism facilities (charter flights, pilgrimage agencies like tourism agencies) pilgrims easily travel to many shrines worldwide. I consulted with the SEPE (the statistics section of the Fátima shrine) about the number of pilgrims who come to Fátima. My interpretation of this data is that international pilgrims come from mainly Catholic countries such as Italy, France, Germany, and Belgium, and with the facilities of Marian organisations (the Blue Army, for example) from the United States. The distribution of the Portuguese pilgrims shows the "religiosity" of the zones in Portugal: As will be seen in Table 1, the majority of pilgrims come from the north-western provinces (Braga, Guarda, Aveiro) which are also densely populated areas; the data also show that the south-west (Beja, Faro) and the extreme south (it is quite interesting that the shrine officials do not even bother to specify southern provinces, such as Faro, but only give data as a whole region: Algarve) appear to be relatively weaker in terms of religiosity.

Table1. Number of pilgrims in organised groups according to their original countries (source: SEPE "Serviço de Peregrinos"):

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
Austria	187	1066	261	682	431	1181	1015	1186	721	664
Belgium	760	938	928	1098	1132	923	1111	1125	966	1185
Brazil	1294	58	22	683	300	164	338	205	45	254
Britain	1369	613	1161	1823	2296	1913	2325	1699	1623	2970
Canada	423	202	35	241	820	568	740	563	230	435
France	3543	2626	2883	2890	2751	3553	3368	2443	3296	3802
Germany	2682	1747	1541	2978	3418	3879	5864	4102	4745	4590
Ireland	658	846	803	1151	927	817	929	1158	914	1664
Italy	2057	5048	6632	7670	9749	11183	11200	15768	20959	30576
Korea	2	18	76	138	155	190	224	90	109	348
Mexico	126	58	94	291	24	45	-	52	163	105
Poland	375	345	-	167	575	746	915	581	3410	3159
Spain	11336	5675	6135	7820	8840	8422	13056	14864	19732	16250
Switzerland	199	384	486	553	707	489	610	446	531	470
USA	2846	1237	2887	10019	9379	3632	4647	4524	2681	49

Table2. Number of Portuguese pilgrims in organised groups and their origins (source: SEPE):

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
Algarve	365	352	217	175	530	453	155	764	304	160	455
Aveiro	2076	2300	3035	3639	4154	3160	3444	3330	2860	2290	2540
Beja	3167	477	887	585	120	5000	440	464	420	220	4004
Braga	3042	4615	1867	8619	4436	4719	3400	4824	5018	4075	7210
Bragança	150	-	294	249	120	220	206	200	156	395	330
Coimbra	3845	3770	4224	4260	4548	4265	3488	5414	3252	8639	7421
Évora	1081	790	953	3000	976	363	882	686	758	653	698
Funchal	540	458	95	-	208	176	80	206	178	-	100
Guarda	5485	4523	3774	3570	3158	3160	3296	3537	3475	3195	5855
Lamego	230	818	120	360	55	105	109	186	158	125	74
Leiria	8165	8856	17841	52590	47945	23110	27315	38860	33960	22350	34731
Lisboa	23959	31023	25062	36780	40723	39595	35737	32921	39758	27895	46889
Portalegre	776	4866	870	5437	5960	5780	6093	5860	6196	5254	5985
Porto	11179	10257	11183	13353	14571	12584	13693	16559	14823	14818	15730
Santarém	723	750	515	620	801	1385	20840	1040	1415	1342	1103
Setúbal	806	1522	1780	9828	2752	3269	3352	2190	2219	1008	4623
Viana	1115	1458	950	1571	1776	1466	1662	1620	1677	1409	1672
Vila Real	525	100	60	142	190	116	80	313	230	940	722
Viseu	966	2564	2789	1213	1437	1380	2555	3114	965	685	1132

The data show another aspect of the Fátima pilgrimage; it is a *mass pilgrimage*, that is, a vast number of pilgrims gather at the shrine at any one time, which poses a methodological problem for the fieldworker. The tables above show only the number of pilgrims who went to Fátima in organised groups. It is quite impossible to give an accurate figure because many pilgrims come individually, either by public transport coaches or by car.

In the beginning of my fieldwork I tried to employ an "assistant", because of my lack of the language. So I asked the people whom I knew a little and who worked in hotels. I chose them because they could speak English. Initially, some of them accepted, but when it came to the nature of the job, they refused, because they would "feel embarrassed" to interpret my questions to pilgrims. As a result, I began to ask people first if they could speak English and in the meantime I busied myself with the official priests of the shrine with whom I could communicate in English. I bought a TV set and watched many American films; I listened to the English and read the subtitles with a paper and pencil in my hand taking notes. Learning a foreign language from the subtitles proved itself quite useful because the subtitles are a lot simpler than the normal usage of the language. In this way I learned to express myself in simple terms. Gradually my knowledge of Portuguese increased and I began to make inquiries of the pilgrims in the shrine in their own language, without a field assistant. This caused another problem; I had an accent. On hearing my accented Portuguese, the pilgrims began to ask me questions, where I was from, whether I was a Catholic or why I was doing such research, etc. Some pilgrims were convinced that I was Portuguese, a descendant of an immigrant, born either in England or the States but who could not speak the language of "my parents", and was, therefore, ashamed of admitting that I was Portuguese. This conviction was not altogether unsubstantiated, because later on, when I talked to some immigrants, I was amazed that I could speak Portuguese better than they did.

Other difficulties arose from my nationality and religion; since I was a Turk and a Muslim, they could not understand why on earth I was interested in Fátima and what I was going to produce in the end. Most pilgrims and priests suspected that I was going to write a "book *against* Fátima". It was difficult to convince them that I was going to try to be

as impartial as possible and to write my findings objectively. Several times I was asked to leave the shrine grounds by pilgrims on learning that I was not even baptised. The parish priest did not allow me to consult the parish records, on the grounds that he had helped people in the past and they produced books against Fátima. He told me that he had to talk with the Bishop first. If he gave permission, then he could let me see the records. In the end I could not even have a glimpse of the records (but I am not sure whether it was the Bishop who did not permit me because he seemed to be a very helpful person, he even told me privately that he was praying for me). In Fátima, there are some 52 branches of religious congregations. At one stage of my fieldwork (winter months) I prepared a questionnaire to distribute among some members of these institutions because it seemed they were always "busy" and did not have time for my interviews, so they could answer the questionnaire in their own time. Although a few of them returned my forms, the majority avoided me and some of them even went so far as to tell me that they "didn't like journalists" and they had better things to do. Of course, I could not tell them about the virtues of being a good Christian, their religion's principle of "love thy neighbour" and that I was one of "their neighbours" even if I happened to be a journalist, which I was not, and I did not inquire about their "Christian charity". I should add immediately that many other priests and nuns had been very, very helpful. They tried to answer my questions patiently, asking me, in return, about Islam. They gave me some copies of their congregations' publications. There was even an American nun who lit a candle everyday in the shrine for "my conversion".

I passed many days and nights frustrated because despite all my attempts to change my questions, the pilgrims -who volunteered to talk to me for a few minutes (because they were always in a rush) always gave me the same answers; for example, "why do you come to Fátima? -*Porque tenho fé* (because I have faith)". However much I tried to probe them to elaborate their term of *fé*, I asked them whether they meant "faith in Catholicism" or "faith in the Virgin Mary" or "faith in the apparitions"; they were unable to explain this notion. Some said it contained all of these. So, I left it there.

Now, looking retrospectively, I understand the reluctance of both pilgrims and priests. First of all, I was a foreigner and above all a non-

Catholic who might have his own prejudices against Catholicism and one day use the information gathered there against them, i. e., their religion and Church. Second, I represented to them the academic world which has been hostile to religion and religious practices of the masses; I could ridicule them behind their backs. Sometimes they asked me whether I believed in them, they, simple folk, would believe easily. This would be a sort of confirmation of their belief. Third, the clergy were afraid of my distorting their "facts" of Fátima. I was not able to explain to them that I was just one powerless person against the whole Catholic Church, even if I decided to harm Fátima.

The local inhabitants were also reluctant to pay me any attention even at the earlier stage of my fieldwork, before my novelty wore off. As soon as they learned that I was not going to buy a statue of the Virgin or order a full-course meal (I could not do these things with my limited budget), they would not talk to me without any profit. So my data come mostly from five-minute conversations with the shop-keepers and observation of their dealings with pilgrims.

I spent most of my days feeling lonely among thousands of people, feeling rejected, unwanted and discriminated, asking myself why I had chosen Fátima in the first place and wishing to be some place else. Often I thought my fieldwork had been a failure because I did not "sit with people at their doors", "work with them in their fields", "help them to carry out difficult agricultural tasks" or "go to a bar and buy them drinks". My fieldwork seemed to me a jigsaw puzzle where every piece was square. In the end my data were another jigsaw. When I worked it out and put the pieces in the right places they made an abstract painting, no matter what way I fitted them together. I shuffled all the square pieces and put the puzzle together again and again. The trouble with square pieces was that there was no way of knowing if any were missing. Or how many pieces did not belong in the puzzle at all. For a long time after I returned from the field I could not bring myself even to touch my fieldnotes, because they represented my lonely, cold nights of Fátima.

Therefore, I do not pretend to represent the devotion to Nossa Senhora de Fátima from the "native's point of view" for reasons outlined above. This monograph, truly, is a description of what I had seen, observed

and^{was} told by the devotees of Our Lady of Fátima. I present them here not to refute in any way but as a humble contribution to the phenomenon of Fátima pilgrimage. It is up to the reader to decide whether I have even come close to understanding Fátima.

After "working with the square pieces of the jigsaw puzzle", I arranged this thesis in five chapters.

The first chapter is a review of some anthropological studies on pilgrimage. Victor Turner's theory of *communitas* and its influence on the works afterwards is considered. Although he was the father of anthropological pilgrimage studies, this post-Turnerian study of pilgrimage refutes some of his theories in different pilgrimage settings.

Since Fátima is a Marian shrine, the second chapter is dedicated to the cult of the Virgin Mary and its historical background with special reference to the social history of the Catholic Church.

Chapter three gives the historical background of the "Fátima Pilgrimage". It starts with an (ecclesiastical) history of Portugal and the context of the so-called Fátima apparitions in 1917.

The next chapter is a description of the fieldwork setting in^{the} present day.

Chapter five is the core of the thesis since it considers the Fátima pilgrimage as an arena for "contesting discourses". In this chapter, I first tried to show the ways in which the "sacredness of the shrine" is created and re-created by the clergy and pilgrims. Then, the next section shows how the clergy maintain their power over the pilgrims by reinforcing the sacred quality of not only the shrine but the town as a whole. The pilgrims, on the other hand, silently dispute the clergy's discourse that Fátima is a sacred pilgrimage centre. Fátima, for^{the} individual pilgrim, is a place where s/he could "pay back" one's debt to the Virgin Mary on receiving a favour from her. Lastly, the relationships of Fátima's inhabitants with the shrine officials and pilgrims are considered.

CHAPTER I



RITUAL AND PILGRIMAGE AS RITUAL

When April with its sweet showers has pierced the drought of March to the root, and bathed every vein of earth with that liquid by whose power the flowers are engendered; when the zephyr, too, with its dulcet breath, has breathed life into the tender new shoots in every copse and on every heath, and the young sun has run half his course in the sign of the Ram, and the little birds that sleep all night with their eyes open give song (so Nature prompts them in their hearts), then, as the poet Geoffrey Chaucer observed many years ago, folk long to go on pilgrimages¹.

I.1. Ritual: Problems of Definition:

In anthropology, like other relatively new sciences, especially those whose language is taken from everyday life, there are always some concepts which scholars of that discipline have difficulty in defining, such as the concepts of kinship and religion. Ritual is one of the most ambiguous concepts in social anthropology, so much so that Gilbert Lewis dedicates a whole chapter of his book *the Day of Shining Red* to the problems of defining ritual (Lewis 1980;6-38). In spite of the multiple definitions of this term, only a few features are common; i.e. ritual as formalised and repetitive. In the Durkheimian sense, ritual is seen as an essentially integrative event in character and it leads to increasing social solidarity. Emile Durkheim sees ritual as representing social reality by making it comprehensible even if it is encoded in a metaphorical or symbolic expression. Religion, as a whole, with its rituals, is a system of ideas where "the individuals represent to themselves the society, of which they are members, and the obscure but intimate relations which they have with it" (Durkheim 1964; 225). This is a non-cognitive, performative account, saying that when societies worship themselves, they are, in fact, consolidating their symbols in ritual. On the other hand, according to Bronislaw Malinowski, ritual relieves the anxiety provoked by dangerous or precarious activities (Malinowski 1948;87). Don Handelman, in his contemporary book *Models and Mirrors*, gives three different definitions of ritual from three different disciplines:

¹ David Lodge 1985, Prologue.

Sociologist Steven Lukes defines political ritual as "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thoughts and feeling which they hold to be of special significance". In this definition we see a stress on formality and symbolic expression of ideas. Richard Trexler, the social historian, considers ritual as "formal behavior... that, in specific contexts of space and time, becomes relatively fixed into those recognizable social and cultural deposits we call behavioral forms. The purpose of ritual is to achieve goals... The result of ritual action is, finally, the small- or large-scale transformation of both the actor and the audience..." Formality and purposiveness are the key elements of this definition.

Finally a definition from an anthropologist: according to Bruce Kapferer, ritual is "a series of culturally recognized and specified events, the order of which is known in advance of their practice, and which are marked off spatially and temporally from the routine of everyday life (even though such events might be vital to this routine)" (quoted in Handelman 1990;11). Again, in this definition formality, orderliness and repetitiveness come up². This definition also reminds me of Edmund Leach's argument about how "we *create time* by creating intervals in social life" (Leach 1961;135, original emphasis). In this case, if I understand Leach correctly, rituals, as being intervals in our social life, serve us to measure time. Paul Connerton, in his book entitled *How Societies Remember*, stresses the point that there is a close relationship between rituals and commemorating the past; not only in the world religions, "but also in the rites of many preliterate peoples and in a number of modern political rituals too, there exists a variety of ceremonies which share certain common features: they do not simply imply continuity with the past by virtue of their high degree of formality and fixity, rather, they have as one of their defining features the explicit claim to be commemorating such a continuity" (Connerton 1989;48). What he means by the notion of "commemorating continuity" is re-enacting a specific event in the form of ritual, for example, in Judaism, the exodus of the Jewish people from Egypt; in Christianity, the crucifixion of Jesus, and in Islam, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca

² In order to find a "working definition of ritual", Barbara Myerhoff stresses each element of ritual which points to achieve one of its special tasks -persuasion. Thus, she defines the term as "an act or actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise, highly stylized fashion" (Myerhoff 1977;199).

which evokes the memory of Muhammad and fasting during the month of Ramadan which commemorates the event of bringing down the Quran to mankind. As I assume from his theory, the rituals held at Lourdes must commemorate the apparitions of the Virgin Mary to St. Bernadette in 1858. According to Durkheim "all social life is religious" and the most fundamental ideas that man has invented, especially abstract categories of thought, had religious origins. Here are the concepts of time and space included; "it is not my time that is arranged; it is time in general, such as it is objectively thought of by everybody in a single civilisation. That alone is enough to give us a hint that such an arrangement ought to be collective" and after stating the "collective" aspect of time, he goes on to claim that without rites or feasts, time could not be divided into days, weeks, months, years, etc. (Durkheim 1964;10). The category of time expresses a time common to all groups, a social time. For him space, like time, is divided and differentiated. Time and space must be closely linked together, i.e. in order to "dispose things spatially there must be a possibility of placing them differently, of putting some at the right, others at the left, these above, those below, at the north of or the south of, east or west of, etc., etc., just as to dispose states of consciousness temporally there must be a possibility of localizing them at determined dates" (ibid., 11 emphasis added). To the question of where these essential divisions come from, his answer is that different sympathetic values have been attributed to different regions which are "the product of representations" (ibid., 12) therefore they are religious and collective. In the case of the Fátima pilgrimage the categories of time (the thirteenth day of each month from May to October when the Virgin Mary was supposed to appear to three children in 1917) and space (Cova da Iria, the place of apparitions) are relevant to my study because today the rituals of pilgrimage take place on these specific times and in this specific locality. I will try to explore, in the following chapters, the implications of time and space both to the pilgrims and the cosmology of Catholicism. The audience in the case of ritual varies from one person, say a Muslim praying alone, to hundreds of thousands of people performing a pilgrimage to Mecca or at Lourdes but it should be noted that as Lewis rightly puts it, "as there are rules recognised by a community, so there is a public aspect to ritual which exists independently of the particular individual in a particular situation who performs it" (Lewis 1980;21).

Pilgrimage is a ritual because it is formalised in time (it is performed in certain times) and space (it is made to a certain holy place) and it has a repetitive quality (in almost all religions there is a pilgrimage cycle during the year, at least once a year), and finally, pilgrimage, as a ritual, conveys a symbolic expression, I mean, it has its own symbolic language through which the pilgrims communicate with the supernatural.

I. 2. The Role of Language in Ritual:

One can assume from what has been said about ritual that, it is doubtless a form of symbolic representation, i.e., all the explanations of ritual try to make intelligible what lies behind the ritual symbolism by translating the encoded text of ritual to another language. Now another aspect of ritual arises: the language used in rituals. After comparing myth and ritual Connerton reaches a conclusion that ritual is both a performative language and a formalised language (Connerton 1989;58). The utterance of the performative is an action itself, not a description of an action, and he argues that if there is no performance, there is no ritual. The utterances of ritual tend to be stylised, stereotyped, and formalised. The formalisation of the language used in ritual is the main theme of Maurice Bloch's (1985) argument: in the Merina circumcision ceremony there are three uses of language, namely, formal oratory, which is similar to political oratory, intoning, and singing. The qualities of formal oratory and political oratory are those in which there is a restriction in vocabulary, usage of polite and impersonal syntactic forms, illustrations (proverbs, history, etc.), special style of delivery and use of a rigid traditional structure. The second linguistic form used in ritual is "intoning". Repeating a set of formula again and again gives any kind of ritual some sense of formalisation, for example in the Catholic processions the formula of "Ave Maria" is repeated along with the procession. The third form is singing. The texts of the songs are not created but learned from previous generations. The liturgy of the Mass has prevailed for two thousand years and if we look closely at the hymns chanted during the Mass, the language gives us a clear evidence that they have been sung for a long time (what I am referring to here is the traditional Latin Mass). In the religious rituals anachronistic language evokes respect and a sense of deep obligation in the congregation. Liebman and Don-Yehiya argue that the so-called

"visionary" regimes like Israel rely on traditional religious symbols that evoke a "sense of the sacred" in order to mobilise and integrate the society, and to provide legitimacy for the regime and the political system (Liebman and Don-Yehiya 1984). In fact their analysis discusses a sort of civil religion in Israel but still it is valid for the main argument of this thesis. Formalisation of language, in my opinion, carries some sort of meaning different from what has been said, i.e., a different meaning from the actual words, the way in which the communication is structured. What I am arguing here is that the construction of religious language has the real meaning and an explanation for what is going on behind the ritual. Although there is a great deal to be said for Maurice Bloch's point of view, I feel that there is more 'communication' in religious language than he sometimes suggests. He claims that "you cannot argue with a song" therefore "religious communication rules out the very tools of exploration which, when reintroduced, are considered sacrilegious or irreverent" (Bloch 1989:37 original emphasis; and cf. Bloch 1985). Explanation must be sought in the way which religion constructs its own communication. I can use the Quran as an example for my argument: The Quran, as is well known, was revealed to Muhammad in Arabic. There are many translations of the Quran in many different languages, even slightly different translations in any one language. This is the result of the indeterminacy of any 'translation'. When reading it in Arabic, the readers have admitted that they understood the same text differently over the time their Islamic knowledge expands. So, in the construction of the text one finds a different explanation of the religion to the extent of one's own comprehension of Islam. Also each pilgrim perceives the symbols of rituals (the Mass, the processions, the all night vigils, the way of cross, etc.) at Fátima differently. In terms of the research, my aim will be to find out as many different perceptions of the shrine's religious discourse as possible.

Unlike Maurice Bloch's description of the Merina circumcision ritual, Alfred Gell's Umeda fertility ritual, *Ida*, is "non-verbal, encoding its meanings in reasonably accessible physical and choreographic terms; here language and *naming* assumes predominance" (Gell 1975:201, original emphasis). The medium of communication in the *Ida* ritual is multiple; ranging from the body decoration of the actors to music played during the ritual. Body-painting is used for symbolic expression

of the ritual, the painting style "provides important clues for the interpretation of the rite as a whole"(ibid., 190). The particular combination of the colours used in body-painting is a set of key symbolic objects and qualities. Most of the designs imitate trees and fish; in the Umeda cosmology tree and fish play an important role to the extent that there is an analogy between man and tree. We assume that in the *Ida* ritual the Umeda cosmology is reflected through body painting, not words or speeches. The debate about language is clearly relevant to my research concerns because pilgrimage is performative, but unfortunately the linguistic and localised symbolic meanings of rituals are very understudied in anthropology, therefore one of my aims is to fill this gap by studying the Fátima pilgrimage rituals from this point of view. My observations of the rituals performed at the Fátima shrine confirm the general argument that language used in ritual is authoritative in that the officiating priest, with his knowledge of liturgy in addition to his place in the Church hierarchy, always asserts his hegemony over his congregation. Moreover, despite the Church's commendation of the vernacular, I have witnessed many times priests using the Latin expressions, especially in the Benediction. This usage of Latin, in my opinion, gives way to another distinction between the clergy and laity. I wish to conclude the subject of ritual with a statement from Peter Rigby: "ritual, after all, is symbolic behaviour" (Rigby 1968;168). Now I want to elaborate the concept of pilgrimage in more detail by using extensively the work of Romain Roussel (1972).

I. 3. Pilgrimage:

My Oxford Dictionary defines pilgrimage as "a pilgrim's journey" and pilgrim is "a person who journeys to a sacred place for religious reasons". In these two definitions there are three key elements, namely, journey, sacred place and religious devotion. Nowadays pilgrimages are not made only for religious reasons but also are made for example in the domain of politics, history or art. Some visits to the mausoleums of unknown soldiers, Marx or Lenin's tombs³ and Mount Valerien to pay homage to the victims of Nazism⁴, etc., can be regarded, in Roussel's

³ Morinis (1992;4) argues that some provincial Russians would bring their newborn babies "for the blessing of contact with Lenin's Tomb in Red Square".

⁴ Or similarly, some veterans of the two World Wars would visit their friends' graves (Walter 1993), for others a visit to Graceland (Elvis Presley's grave) is a pilgrimage (King 1993), relatives of the victims of the Hillsborough tragedy

words, as civil pilgrimages. There is another kind of pilgrimage which can be called cultural pilgrimage, such as visiting the birthplace or tombs of heroes or famous people (e.g. Shakespeare's house in Stratford-upon-Avon). Sometimes the purpose of the journey is not to reach religiously or culturally defined sacred places. Pilgrimage can take the form of wandering with no ending in prospect like the Muslim travellers' journeys for the *rihla* or *talab al-'ilm* (travel for the sake of acquiring religious knowledge) following their Prophet's command: "Those who go out in search of knowledge will be in the path of God until they return" (Gellens 1990). As can be seen from these examples, in order to call a visit a pilgrimage it should be made with a devotional intention: a simple stop out of curiosity or a touristic excursion is not sufficient to make the point. Pilgrimages of one kind or another are characteristics of all religions. Like rites of passage and festivals, they provide some deeper insights into religion. In every religion there are some places which are regarded as special or holy. This is either because that religion has its roots in that specific locality or some special event, like a miracle, took place there as the faith developed over the centuries. In the Hindu tradition making a pilgrimage to a holy place is regarded as an important way of showing devotion to God, and it is thought to bring blessings to the person who makes such a journey in the right spirit. In India, the home of Hinduism, there are many places of pilgrimage such as rivers, lakes, mountains, local shrines or famous temples. The river Ganges and the city of Benares are the most important pilgrimage spots in India. In Judaism it is not obligatory for Jews to make a pilgrimage to the "Wailing Wall" or the "Western Wall" of the Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem but most would like to be able to visit the remains of the ancient temple and pray to God there. Christians make pilgrimages to several places in Israel like Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus, Jerusalem where he spent his last days, and Calvary, where he was crucified. Each year over two million Muslims travel to Mecca (Saudi Arabia) in order to fulfil the order given in their holy book, the Quran, that every Muslim shall aim, at least once in a lifetime, to make a pilgrimage which is known as *Hajj*. The Hajj can be made only in the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar *Dhu-el-Hijja* (the month of pilgrimage). As all the believers cannot be expected to be able to make a pilgrimage to these major holy places for various

consider their visit to Anfield (home ground of Liverpool Football Club), again, a pilgrimage (Davie 1993).

reasons (illness, poverty, charge of family, etc.), satellite or secondary pilgrimage sites have emerged during the development and expansion of the religions. In the first centuries of Christianity the tomb of St. Peter in Rome was more accessible than Palestine, while Lourdes (France) and Guadalupe (Mexico) were made pilgrimage localities in the last century. The tombs of saints are also holy places where Muslims visit and pay their homage. Thus, to give pilgrimage an anthropological definition is an excessively difficult task. Alan Morinis has tried to define the concept as "a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal. At its most conventional, the end of the pilgrimage is an actual shrine located at some fixed geographical point. The place has acquired a reputation that draws pilgrims" (1992;4).

I. 4. Being a Pilgrim:

The pilgrimage instinct must be deep in the human heart, although it expresses itself differently according to time, space and culture. The concept is not obviously exclusive to Christianity; in Islam pilgrimage, the *hajj*, has the character of an *ibadah*, the duty that one is supposed to perform for Allah, it has also a well-defined, clear cut paradigm; the place, the time and even the behaviour and cloths are all specified in its tradition. The Hindu and Buddhist religions value these journeys to a saint's shrine or some other sacred place as well. It is said that pilgrimages appear in ancient Semitic and Egyptian religions in the centuries before Jesus and they still occur today, sometimes in purely secular forms. Early Christianity located, drew out and defined the pilgrimage instinct in medieval men and women. This led to the development of pilgrimage as a social practice.

Pilgrimages in Christian history probably pre-date the first literary mentions of them. In 156 CE the author of *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* (Bishop of Smyrna), can speak of that bishop's bones as "more valuable than refined gold". Yet relics -the mortal remains of a saint- had already acquired a broader meaning which covered all objects which had been in touch with the saint's remains or even his tomb. The New Testament asserts that God worked miracles through Paul: "when handkerchiefs and scarves which had been in contact with his skin were carried to the sick, they were rid of their diseases and the evil

spirits came out of them" (Acts 19:12). Christians continued to believe that God could work miracles of healing through saints' bones or *brandea* (cloths which had been in touch with them), as certainly as he had used their earthly lives. Above all their tombs provided a location for the healing, guiding and forgiving powers of God.



Being a pilgrim is believing.

Naturally the early Christians turned their faces and steps towards Palestine, that they thought of as a huge relic. The historical fact, which Palestine had had physical contact with Jesus, transferred it into a *Holy Land* in Christian imagination. Some parts of it may have seemed more holy than others: for example, as Jesus had immersed himself in the river of Jordan so all pilgrims made their way there believing it to be the same river in which they bathed had once touched the sacred body of Jesus Christ; on their way home through Jericho they plucked palm trees, imitating their Saviour.

The number of pilgrims to Palestine increased dramatically in the fourth century. This increase might owe to the new discoveries or inventions after the journey of a distinguished pilgrim, namely, the Emperor Constantine's mother Helena who was shown the location of the True Cross in a dream. Soon after this incident some other discoveries were claimed, such as finding the head of John the Baptist among the ruins of Herod's palace.

The traffic of pilgrims to Palestine gave^{way} to commercial interests soon. The travel memoirs of a Spanish nun called Etheria (written about 400 CE) mention well-established lodgings and guides willing for a fee to lead pilgrims around the sacred sites.

By this time, however, Europe had acquired its own centres of pilgrimage. [The reasons for this were the capture of Palestine first by Arabs and later by the Turks.] Apart from the bones of the chief apostles Peter and Paul, the city of Rome boasted the possession of the relics of the martyrs, killed during the persecutions which reached their peak under Diocletian. These men and women, by the fact of martyrdom, acquired sanctity immediately; to such an extent that when somebody was executed the Christian bystanders would rush forward to dip his cloths in blood.

Meanwhile, shrines of lesser saints and martyrs had mushroomed all over Europe. Almost every single church was deposited with a holy relic. The second Council of Nicaea (787) recognised this rapidly growing custom by decreeing that no church should be consecrated without relics. They were to be placed in the altar or upon it in a reliquary, or in a crypt beneath it, like the bones of Peter and Paul in Rome.

Although the European countries had their own martyrs to provide relics for consecrating churches, these were too few to meet the need. Consequently, they had to import relics from Rome and the Holy Land. Thus supply kept pace with the growing demand. The development of large public and private collections of relics, such as the one accumulated by the emperors in Byzantium, further stimulated the market. It could be called market because as early as 400 CE St. Augustine of Hippo complained of "the hawking about of the limbs of martyrs". The trade flourished through the centuries similar to modern interest in antiquities. That the belief about all relics possessed the miraculous power of healing may explain the eagerness of collectors (on the prestige of possessing relics, see Brown 1981).

In the early Middle Ages each country possessed some shrines dedicated to its native saints. The saints of the succeeding ages were not always martyrs. Confessors, those who had witnessed to the faith by sufferings short of death or by the self-imposed cross of a holy life, were also sometimes accorded to the status of saints. The test usually lay in the efficacy of their relics in working miracles. If miracles occurred, then he was acclaimed a saint by his neighbours and sometimes his fame would spread to^{an} entire region. This local, popular and instant recognition gave way to the long, formal and distant process of canonisation in the Vatican, with a corresponding decrease in the numbers of saints.

Whatever their type or origin, only a few of the shrines acquired international reputations. After Rome came undoubtedly Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, where in 816 the body of St. James was said to have been rescued from the Atlantic breakers. France had such shrines as the tomb of St. Martin in Tours, and the head of John the Baptist in Amiens. The Holy Coat, which was believed to be the robe of the Crucifixion story, was found in Trier, Germany. The Italians venerated the Holy House of Loreto, which was accepted by the Church as having been transported miraculously from Nazareth in 1295. The shrine of St. Anthony in Padua and the tomb of St. Francis in Assisi were also well-established pilgrimage sites which still continue to attract a considerable number of Catholics from the far corners of the world. In

England, the shrines of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury and Our Lady of Walsingham were popular even in Europe (cf. Brown 1981).

Having been prescribed as penances was the direct result of the growth of the number of pilgrimages in the Middle Ages. After the confession a Christian was given absolution, therefore free from guilt but not from punitive consequences of his sins either in purgatory or in hell. A pilgrimage made with bare feet served in place of or part of that punishment. Those who had committed more serious crimes were obliged to make that pilgrimage in some extra punitive circumstances such as wearing sackcloth, hair shirt and ashes, while their limbs^{were} bound with iron fetters.

Indulgences were essentially written certificates to the effect that a period in purgatory had been remitted. On the other hand, those who confessed their sins and "took their cross" were given preliminary indulgences which meant remission from all suffering in purgatory. The crusaders, who could be called armed pilgrims, received this sort of indulgence, as did the visitors to the tomb of St. Francis in Assisi. Later, another plenary indulgence was offered, to those who visited Rome in any Jubilee Year (today only three pilgrimage centres in^{the} whole world have this privilege: Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostela). Meanwhile, the custodians of most other shrines sought from their bishop or from Rome partial indulgences, and the price they had to pay steadily rose as the decades passed. Eventually many local shrines also acquired the right to offer indulgences associated with more famous shrines, thereby drawing to themselves pilgrims who saw no point in making a long, hazardous and expensive journey overseas for spiritual benefits which could be obtained in the shrine next door.

The sale of indulgences developed from small beginnings in the twelfth century. A man too old or infirm to go on crusade received permission to send a substitute, and could still claim the benefits of the plenary indulgence. In like manner it came to^{be} accepted that a substitute pilgrim could be hired, either by an ailing person or by his relatives after his death. It became common for men to make provision in their wills for payment to be paid so that a pilgrim could travel to a shrine to pray for the soul of departed person.

Many other motives besides the desire of forgiveness drew pilgrims to the places considered holy. In an age where the medical science remained rudimentary the blind, halt and lame stumbled towards the shrines of the saints hoping for the not uncommon miraculous cures. Indeed it could be said that the saints were regarded as the senior consultants of medieval medical practice. Other pilgrims travelled to Jerusalem or Rome, Santiago or Trier, or to their native shrines, for devotional reasons. To many of them the relics they touched seemed to bridge the gap between their tangible, material and temporal existence and the unseen, spiritual world of^{the} supernatural. For the greater part of people whose concrete and practical minds were little inclined towards the abstractions of theology and contemplation, relics brought them closer to the historical Jesus and the saints of the heroic period: their imagination could feed upon these holy objects as surely as their souls received nourishment from the Body and the Blood of Christ. Moreover, a pilgrimage could be *done*: it was devotion pitched in the language of action rather than belief.

Although theologians like Thomas Aquinas could justify the veneration of saints and relics, neither it nor the associated practice of pilgrimage ever belonged to the essentials of Christian duty (in contrast to Islam, where pilgrimage to Mecca is an obligation laid on all believers). In Christianity, however, pilgrimage was, and indeed has always been, a popular and spontaneous expression of feeling and need, which the Church has been striving to control. At various times and places the Church authorities encouraged and capitalised upon pilgrimage; sometimes merely tolerating it, and at others trying to prohibit certain forms of it, such as visiting (as a last resort) unauthorised holy wells, and later the tombs of local saints yet to be canonised.

Meanwhile, in the Protestant tradition, despite the contempt of Calvin and other religious reformers, the idea of pilgrimage -pruned of all externals- remained a powerful image of the Christian life, as John Bunyan would so triumphantly reveal. Even in our more secular century, pilgrims can be found at such places as Shakespeare's birth-place. Like their mediaeval counterparts they are seeking to express devotion and to bridge the gap that ever-widening gap between the present and the past.

Recent historians have tended to over-emphasise the medical and penitential aspects of pilgrimage. The sick and barefooted formed only a tiny minority of the multitudes who came to the shrines. The others, as I have surmised, were seeking a bridge between the present and the past. As it has been said, most of them would have possessed concrete, literal minds in an age dominated by theological abstractions and generalities. They were people, like the disciple Thomas, who longed to *see* and *touch* their Lord and his world. Relics were visible and tangible. Moreover, to the faithful, their particles remained charged with that mysterious force which some men called "holy", and which we still do not understand. "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief".

We are also caught in the same dilemma: God is abstract; we are concrete. We look for materials which can serve as a bridge or means of approach. For us, the appropriate 'relics' may be fossils in the ground, protons in a high energy accelerator, or even a piece of moon rock. Thus science is a major part of the unfolding meaning of pilgrimage today. Santa Maria's Hospital in Lisbon replaces Santuário de Nossa Senhora de [any shrine an individual devotes herself and trusts her family's welfare]. Indeed nature itself becomes one vast relic of a forgotten Creator for many pilgrims on their way to Santiago. The old English proverb says "God knows who are the best pilgrims".

In sum, pilgrimage is not only a journey to sacred peripherals but a term which also encompasses the metaphysical aspects of the individual. For this reason, especially in Christianity, life is seen as a journey to find ^{the}'sacred' in one's inner shrines; therefore, life itself is a pilgrimage in order to reach ideals that the individual has already valued throughout his life.

I. 5. Pilgrimage and Tourism:

Pilgrimage requires a movement of people from their normal, structured lives and settings to a sacred center. Although it is difficult to define, tourism and pilgrimage share some common features. Valene Smith defines a tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith 1978;2). The Turners also have noted the similarities between pilgrimage and tourism: "the most characteristic modern pil-

grimage is *blended* with tourism and involves a major journey, usually by means of transportation to a national or international shrine" (Turner and Turner 1978;240 emphasis added).

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Pilgrimage as a "leisure time" travel.

Taking his starting point from Leach's argument of time, Nelson Graburn suggests another dichotomy; work:tourism and he discusses how tourism enters into the sacred, and work to profane because "our two lives, the sacred/non-ordinary/touristic and the profane/workaday/stay-at-home, customarily alternate for ordinary people and are marked by rituals or ceremonies" (Graburn 1978;22). Tourism and pilgrimage are distinct but hard to distinguish; "there is no hard and fast dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism, that even when the role of tourist and pilgrim are combined, they are necessarily different but form a continuum of inseparable elements"

(Turner and Turner 1978;16). Now I wish to quote from the Turners a passage where they and Graburn come very close: "a tourist is a half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is a 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" (ibid., 17). If a beach becomes a sacred place for people who are seeking a mode of *communitas*, a pilgrimage center can also be a touristic center. Thus John Eade calls Lourdes a pilgrimage and tourist center. At Lourdes he observed that "outside of the domain pilgrims were as keen to enjoy the town's secular resources as the many tourists who fitted Lourdes into their travels across France" (Eade 1992). He goes further to claim that those pilgrims who come to Lourdes by their private cars may be defined as tourists. He also differentiates "real pilgrims" from those who are behaving "just like tourists" who spend their time in the souvenir shops. Thus, a real pilgrim must not buy souvenirs which are "tangible evidences of travel that are often shared with family and friends" (Graburn 1978;28). Souvenirs are, in fact, memories of experiences and I do not fully share Eade's point here. Difference in dress could distinguish pilgrims from tourists. Here arises a problem; what the "proper" dress of a pilgrim should be, because some pilgrims also dress "like tourists", especially those who are not attached to organised pilgrimages. When Gisbert Rinschede, a social geographer, studied the touristic activities of the Fátima pilgrimage center, he classified visitors who came to Fátima as "pilgrims, pilgrim-tourists and tourists" (Rinschede 1988;93). For him, the activities of the pure, genuine pilgrims are limited to the holy places. The pilgrim-tourists, on their way to Fátima and after their pilgrimage, make excursions and day trips in the surroundings of Fátima. What I have deduced from the "semi-official" guide book of Fátima in which some pictures and touristic information about the neighbouring towns of Fátima were given, is that this is the type of pilgrim the 'religious specialists' want at Fátima (cf. Rossi and de Oliveira 1982). Should we distinguish pilgrims from tourists, we may do so simply by learning their motives for visiting a pilgrimage shrine, no matter how they look, spend their time, or visit adjacent touristic places.

As Erik Cohen (1992;48) points out, in the literature there are two theoretical positions to the study of pilgrimage and tourism: "the one

tending to identify pilgrimage and tourism (convergence), the other tending to see them as fundamentally dissimilar (divergence)". In this study, as will be apparent in the last chapter, I do not favour either of these two opposing poles. However, in Fátima visitors defined themselves either pilgrims or tourists in a clear-cut fashion. This situation, at the surface, seemed to me as a "divergence" because pilgrims would never admit coming to Fátima for tourism neither tourists for religious purposes. Yet, there was a third group who visited Fátima "out of curiosity" belonging to neither groups of pilgrims and tourists entirely. On the other hand, I cannot venture to claim, as the Turners did, that "a pilgrim is a half tourist" because those who came to Fátima "out of curiosity" would not participate in any shrine rituals, but revere the place as sacred. In this case I am left with only^{one} option which is to generalise all the people who came to Fátima with religion or devotion to Mary in mind as pilgrims and the rest as tourists, I mean, those without any religious intention. Therefore, I share Cohen's argument that "the assembled pilgrims 'belong' to the destination; they are part of its ambience in a sense in which tourists are not" (1992;58).

In their study of modern Western European pilgrimage centres Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan classify these shrines into three categories (1989;16-17):

1. Pilgrimage shrines are the destinations of pilgrims in general.
 - a. There are some shrines that have relatively low value as tourist attractions and these shrines usually do not display pageantry or folkloric shows.
 - b. Some shrines have more tourist attractions because these places are famous for art, architecture or historical associations. In these shrines tourists tend to outnumber pilgrims.
 - c. Some pilgrimage shrines host colourful pilgrimage events. Although pilgrimage is the most important event in these shrines it usually takes place once or twice a year or on a biennial basis.
 - d. Other shrines combine touristic importance, pilgrimage festivals, and cultic significance like the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.
2. Religious tourist attractions are those places that are visited by secularly oriented tourists and recreationists, religious tour groups, and pilgrims *en route* to shrines, but they are not considered to be

pilgrimage centres in their own right like famous cathedrals in European cities.

3. In some Mediterranean countries the annual religious festivals take place at the same location year after year but these places cannot be considered also as pilgrimage sites like *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) processions of Andalusia, Spain.

As Monsignor André Lefèvre of the Pontifical Commission on the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Tourists expresses, people visit shrines with many different motivations, "and it would be rash, indeed, erroneous, to attach the label of 'pilgrim' indiscriminately to all of them" (quoted in Nolan and Nolan 1989;42-43). In fact, the Rector of the Fátima Sanctuary calls the visits of pilgrims to Fátima "religious tourism", however much he tries to keep Fátima as a purely religious pilgrimage place.

I. 6. Anthropological Studies of Pilgrimage:

Pilgrimages have attracted only a limited number of anthropological studies. When anthropologists did study pilgrimage, their focus was mainly on the manner in which pilgrimages mixed ethnic and political boundaries. The anthropologist Glenn Bowman points out that those who study pilgrimages have failed to "link it productively with contemporary concerns of the academic community" (Bowman 1985) and also he suggests that the anthropological study of pilgrimage should be able to contribute substantially to understanding the roles religions play in maintaining and modifying social systems as well as in facilitating or impeding relations between members of different societies" (ibid., 2). Pilgrimage studies can be used as a yardstick with which the complexity of societies could be measured, because pilgrimages occur in different social formations and therefore have a major role in constructing a typology of social forms.

Victor Turner was one of the first anthropologists who considered pilgrimage as worth studying. During his fieldwork among the Ndembu (Zambia) Turner concentrated on investigating the main principles governing Ndembu social structure (cf. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*). In this book he coined the term social drama as an apparatus to look beneath the sur-

face of social regularities into the hidden contradictions and eruptions of conflict in the Ndembu social structure. Turner saw rituals as compensations, or redressive mechanisms for the conflict aroused in the secular order. Rituals were the "social glue" that held the Ndembu society together. From the classical functionalist view, rituals helped to secure solidarity among the members of the society. Thus, Turner defined ritual as "a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" (Turner 1977;183). Likewise, a "symbol" was the smallest unit of ritual.

In sum, Turner constructed some elements in his approach to ritual:

1. Ritual is an ongoing process of social drama; its major function being to contribute to a society's conflictual equilibrium.
2. Rituals handle symbols which are the smallest units of them and symbols are carriers of meaning.
3. The meanings of symbols are multiple.
4. The meaning of symbols can be collected through observation and questioning (Deflem 1991;7).

From Arnold van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* Victor Turner took his basis for the further development of ritual analysis, i.e. the notion of processual ritual. Thus, ritual is not only a part of a continuous process of social drama, but it is processual in form itself.

Van Gennep defined *rites de passage* as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age" (Van Gennep [1901] 1960;13). He indicated that all such rites are performed through a threefold progression of successive ritual stages:

1. Separation or the preliminal (*limen* Latin for threshold) when a person or a group of persons are detached from their everyday roles, status, i.e. from their fixed point in the existing social structure;
2. Margin or the liminal, when the subject's state is ambiguous, betwixt and between;^{it is} far from the earlier point and has not yet reached the new one;
3. Aggregation or the post-liminal, when the subject of the ritual gains a new social rôle and status with its new rights and responsibilities. After having adopted the processual view on ritual, Turner

emphasised the importance of the liminal, intermediate phase of ritual. He noted that between the two stages of separation and aggregation the ritual subjects were secluded from everyday life and had to spend some time in an interstructural situation. In this period their state was ambiguous, deprived of rank, status and property, they treated each other equally.

The liminal subjects are "neither here, nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial" (Turner 1969;35). It is the notion of "sameness" among the liminal personae that led Turner to develop the concept of *communitas*. *Communitas* can be defined in opposition to social structure: *communitas* appears when social structure does not (ibid., 94-97). *Communitas*, or social anti-structure is "a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances" (Turner and Turner 1978;250). Turner distinguished three kinds of *communitas* in society:

1. **Spontaneous, existential *communitas***; which is free from all social structure, that is, at the opposite pole of *communitas* is social structure.
2. **Normative *communitas***; which is the attempt to capture and preserve spontaneous *communitas* in a system of ethical precepts and legal rules.
3. **Ideological *communitas***; which is the formulation of remembered attitudes of the *communitas* experience in the form of a utopian blueprint for the reform of society (Turner 1969;132 and quoted in Turner and Turner 1978;252).

He, thus, suggests a dichotomy between social structure, which is "the patterned arrangements of rôle sets, and status sequences consciously recognised and regularly operative in a given society and closely bound up with legal and political norms and sanctions" (ibid., 252) and *communitas*. The pilgrimage, for him, entailed a movement of people who travel to a sacred place and enter into a world of *communitas* or social anti-structure. According to him, pilgrimage has some of the attributes of the liminal period of the *rites de passage* : Pilgrimage gives the individual a release from daily, mundane structure; homogenisation of status with other people; a simple code of dress and

behaviour; and a chance to move from profane center to a sacred periphery (ibid., 253-54). Victor Turner identified four main types of pilgrimage (in a rather strange arrangement, I think)⁵:

1. **Prototypical pilgrimages:** These pilgrimages which, on the authority of documentary or wide spread traditional evidence, were established by the founder of a historical religion, or by his first disciples, or by important national evangelists of his faith. Examples of this kind of pilgrimages are those to Jerusalem or Rome for Christianity; Mecca for Islam; Benares and Mount Kailas for Hinduism; and Kandy for Buddhism.

2. **Archaic pilgrimages:** These are ambiguous and syncretic pilgrimages such as Glastonbury in England's Somerset with its continuing Celtic pagan overtones and St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg.

3. **Medieval pilgrimages:** Those originated in the European Middle Ages and took their tone from the theological and philosophical emphases of that epoch such as Canterbury and Walsingham in England, Compostela in Spain, Loreto and Assisi in Italy, and Czestochowa in Poland.

4. **Modern pilgrimages:** Those appeared in the post-Tridentine period of European Catholicism, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such pilgrimages are characterised by a highly devotional tone and the fervent personal piety of their adherents, and they form an important part of the system of apologetics deployed against the advancing secularisation of the post-Darwinian world. The pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in the south of France is an example of both "modern" and "apparitional" pilgrimages. The modern pilgrimages are deeply involved with mass technological and scientific culture. It should also be noted that by "modern", Turner denotes post-medieval (ibid., 17-18).

Victor Turner was harshly criticised especially for his bold statements such as *communitas* "is not structure with its signs reversed, minuses instead of pluses, but rather the *fons et origo* of all structures and, at the same time, their critique" (Turner 1972:216) and "pilgrimages are an expression of *communitas* dimension of any society, the spontaneity

⁵ Alan Morinis, having admitted that there are not many different types of pilgrimages but significant differences exist among the types, classifies pilgrimages, or in his own terms, sacred journeys, into six principal categories: 1. Devotional, 2. Instrumental, 3. Normative, 4. Obligatory, 5. Wondering, and 6. Initiatory (1992:10-14).

of interrelatedness, the spirit which bloweth where it listeth" (Turner and Turner 1978;32). For Turner, the ultimate goal of pilgrim is the achievement of *communitas*. What Turner does here is very simple: in all the world religions there is a tendency towards unifying all their followers on a platform of brotherhood and sisterhood. Every world religion gives its followers a sense of belonging to a community and equality among them. Pilgrimage is an arena for a world religion to realise these objectives. Turner simply emphasises this point but of course, if this emphasis goes further so as to make it the ultimate aim of the pilgrimage itself, this amounts to a misleading argument. As Eade and Sallnow have pointed out, in none of the cases which were used to test Turner's model, "did the investigator find support for the theory; to the contrary, a recurrent theme throughout the literature is the maintenance and, in many instances, the reinforcement of social boundaries and distinctions in the pilgrimage context, rather than their attenuation or dissolution" (Eade and Sallnow 1991;5). But of course, in this criticism, they do not mean that the notion of *communitas* could not be found in some cases.

In the Andean pilgrimage, Sallnow showed that the group pilgrimage was a "complex mosaic of egalitarianism, nepotism and factionalism, of brotherhood, competition and conflict" (Sallnow 1981;176). During the pilgrimage, different groups deliberately distanced themselves from other groups and this led to factionalism and competition. In sum, "the concept of *communitas* is of little value in explaining the essentially divisive quality of Andean pilgrimage" and Sallnow suggests that "in such circumstances [it is better] to see community, not *communitas*, as the hallmark of pilgrimage" (ibid., 177). In my opinion, Michael Sallnow is absolutely right in remarking the "community" aspect of pilgrimage because, in the Islamic Hajj, the pilgrims who are of different nationalities do not normally mix with others. This is due to first, their language difference, second, their national Islamic tradition, and finally, their cult difference (Shia-Sunni). In fact, the aim of the Hajj is to unite Muslims and give them the sense of brotherhood but it is very difficult to realise this ideal, although Muslims of different ethnic origin do participate in the rituals of the Hajj with each other. I certainly do not deny that some people communicate with each other, call one another brother or sister, but these are minor, even exceptional.

It is true that Victor Turner's theory has been put to test in a number of pilgrimage contexts varying from Morocco (Eickelman 1976) to Sri Lanka (Pfaffenberger 1979) and no study has confirmed his theory yet. However, Victor Turner, as the first anthropologist to put the pilgrimage in the academic agenda, has also pointed to the most important aspect of pilgrimage; namely, the individual experience. I saw in Fátima this facet of pilgrimage as an important component but as traditional anthropology is not well-equipped to handle this problem, to read an individual's mind, I had to rely on what people described to me as their experiences⁶.

Anthropological studies of pilgrimage tend to be either in the Durkheimian mechanical solidarity model or the Turnerian *communitas* model. Daniel Gross's work on the *Bom Jesus da Lapa* (North-East Brazil) pilgrimage is an example of the former. Gross claims that this pilgrimage "contributes to the maintenance of the total socio-cultural system in which it is found" and "provides ideological support for the system by projecting earthly relationships into a sacred sphere in which people act out debt paying as ritual" (Gross 1971;129). Gross emphasizes the features of rural social structure in North-East Brazil, showing the patron-client relationship and debt-credit ties underlying this relationship. The importance of paying debts to the creditor shows itself in the religious domain and pilgrims pay their "debts" or *promesas* (vows) to God.

The argument between the Turner's point of view and the Eade-Sallnow's point of view is as yet inconclusive. One of the major aims of this study is to make a contribution to this continuing debate.

⁶ Alfred Gell very efficiently argues for a central place of experience in the anthropological analyses (Gell 1980). See, for the same subject, the individual papers collected in Victor Turner and M. Bruner (1986) and Richard Shweder and Robert LeVine (1984).

CHAPTER II



THE MARIAN CULT AND PILGRIMAGES TO MARIAN SHRINES

II. 1. Introduction:

The importance of the Marialis Cultus is so evident throughout the Catholic, especially Latin, world that even a casual observer does not fail to notice it. During my travels in southern Europe I have seen statues of the Virgin Mary standing in every church and along with other saints, she may be carried through the streets in processions. Even in the poorest parts of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, she occupies a niche decorated with flowers or even some gold chains brought by her "children" in supplication of this or that favour bestowed on them through her intercession. Moreover, I have also seen private shrines in houses, where statues, or pictures of Our Lady appear along with the photographs of the deceased loved ones, illuminated with a lamp or candle. I have also heard in daily conversations some religious vocabulary as exclamations, almost always referring to Our Lady, such as *Ay Nossa Senhora*, *Santa Maria*, etc.

As a figure in Roman Catholic theology, the Virgin Mary is only one element in a much wider religious complex which includes many other saints as well. Nonetheless, popular religion of the Portuguese rural areas does not always conform to theological doctrine. These people conceive the saints and Our Lady as *real* persons whom they can approach to ask a favour *graça*, rather than some abstract moral and ideal figures.

It is important to note that the main characteristic of the Marian cult is that she appears to be a loving and tender mother and she seems to be available to help the devotee in time of need. For her many different forms of penitence are carried out, for example to go on a pilgrimage on foot or even on the knees. The Roman Catholic Church tries to give the impression that such acts of penitence are a way of showing one's devotion to her. It may be assumed from the fact that one is willing to undertake a penitential act in order to secure a favour, that, the cult is based

on the ethic of suffering rather than sin; that is to say, one tries to overcome the wrongs of fate rather than seek a theological guide to change it.

The Virgin Mary is said to be a mother figure and thus the supplicant assumes the role of a child. Christianity has also other family figures. God the Father is conceived of as being so distant that one cannot approach him directly but through an intermediary such as the Virgin Mary or a saint. I was quietly surprised when I first heard some of my informants talking about their two mothers: one was *em cima* (up there) and the other, *aqui na terra* (here on earth). Some researchers have offered various explanations for this kind of behaviour, especially in Latin Catholicism.

For practical purposes, in the Christian pantheon the most important deity is a woman and the sphere of religion is considered as a feminine domain, as well¹. During my visits to churches in Portugal I have seen more women (and children) than men. When the family goes to visit a shrine some distance away from home, men usually stay outside; I remember seeing, on many occasions, the husbands sitting in their cars listening on the radio to the transmission of the football matches on that day, or having a drink in the bar while their wives and children attend the mass in the Santuário (sanctuary) of Fátima.

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with the background to the Marian shrines, that is, shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary that have become pilgrimage centres, through the cult's theological, political and social aspects. So, I will first give a summary of the theological roots of the Cult of Mary in Christian theology, then, proceed with the historical development of the cult until today. These two sections will be followed by some examples of "Marian pilgrimages" in the Catholic world. Lastly, I would like to give an ethnographic account (relying on

¹ See, Davis 1984.



other anthropologists' works) of the devotion to the Virgin Mary in Portugal.

II. 2. Theological Bases of the Cult of Mary:

Christians believe that Mary was the mother of Jesus, therefore, an important figure in this belief system. However, unlike Jesus, she is, or at least was until the Middle Ages, a silent figure without much information on her life. If one looks at the Biblical references to Mary, one would be amazed at the way in which the giant sub-discipline of *Mariology* had been based on such little information in the basic sources of Christianity.

The Gospels are not generous in mentioning Mary, giving only two references. During my fieldwork at the Fátima shrine I participated in hundreds of Masses and most of them contained these two Biblical narratives: as readings from the "Word of God" or as subjects of the celebrants' homilies. As a result of hearing such abundant repetitions, in the end I memorised them²:

The first event in which Mary breaks her silence in the Bible is in the St. John's narrative of the "Wedding at Cana", though Mary's speech causes a reproachful reaction in Jesus; "Two days later there was a wedding at Cana-in-Galilee. The mother of Jesus was there, and Jesus and his disciples were also among the guests. The wine gave out, so Jesus's mother said to him, 'They have no wine left'. He answered, 'That is no concern of mine. My hour has not yet come'. His mother said to the servants, 'Do whatever he tells you'." (John 2:1-5)³. At the end of this conversation between Jesus and his mother, Jesus performs a miracle by turning plain water into wine. Mary's command to the

² In fact, there are other more "veiled references" to Mary in the Gospels as she was mentioned in relation to other people, like as the "Wife of Joseph" (Matt. 1:16; Luke 2:4), the "Mother of Jesus" (Matt. 12:46; 13:55; John 2:12; Gal. 4:4-5), when she was praying with other disciples (Acts. 1:14), or as the Apostle narrates the birth of Jesus (Luke 1:26-56).

³ Although it may seem perverse to use "The Revised English Bible" by the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, for Biblical references in a work on the Catholic pilgrimage, I chose this version for its clarity.

servants at the wedding "Do as he tells you" is that taken literally by the Church hierarchy (that is, as applicable only to the servants), but metaphorically, as applicable to all believers. Therefore, a true believer follows Mary's counsel in fulfilling Jesus's wishes. At the Fátima shrine the clergy emphasised this metaphorical aspect by claiming that Mary appeared at that spot in order to remind the mankind that "they should do as Jesus tells them".

The second event in which Mary is explicitly mentioned takes place at the foot of the Cross; "Meanwhile near the cross on which Jesus hung, his mother was standing with her sister, Mary wife of Clopas, and Mary of Magdala. Seeing his mother, with the disciple whom he loved standing beside her, Jesus said to her, 'Mother there is your son'; and to the disciple, 'There is your mother'; and from that moment the disciple took her into his home". (John 19:25-27). The Roman Catholic Church bases her teaching of the "motherhood of Mary" on this Biblical reference. The Church interprets this conversation between Jesus, Mary and St. John as a message to all believers, as Jesus says "this is your mother" to the disciple, in fact, he means the whole of humanity. In this way, all people became "her children".

The New Testament is the basic source of not only Christian theology, Christian spirituality and Christian art but also the Marian doctrines. In fact these references mentioned above inspired many artists in Europe especially from the Middle Ages onward; the pictures of the Annunciation, the Assumption, the wedding at Cana, the finding of Jesus in the Temple, etc.. All these ornament many cathedrals, churches and chapels throughout the Catholic world. As shown above, the New Testament material is scanty in comparison with the quite elaborate doctrines that have arisen, especially within the last century and a half.

There are four dogmas concerning Mary in the Catholic Church. As Marina Warner notes, only the first can be traced to Scripture,

where Mary of Nazareth is undoubtedly the mother of Jesus (1976 [1990]; 19):

1. The third Council which was assembled at Ephesus in the year 431, in reaction to the heresy called Nestorianism about Jesus's nature, declared Mary as *Theotokos* (Greek, God-bearer or Mother of God) (Mascall 1982;91). The Rev. Eric Mascall also comfortably asserts that the title 'Mother of God' is the most theological of the titles of the Virgin Mary (ibid.).

2. The political and religious debates about Jesus's two natures (as God and man) continued and the Church fathers had to call another council, just 20 years after the Ephesus, this time at Chalcedon in 451. The fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon gave Mary the official title of *Aeiparthenos* (Greek, ever-virgin) and "her virginity at the conception, *In partu* [during], and *post partum* [after] thereby [was] affirmed. Two hundred years later, in 649, at the First Lateran Council, Pope Martin I (d.655) declared Mary's perpetual virginity a dogma of the Church (Warner [1976] 1990;65-66).

3. Pope Pius IX raised the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception to the status of a formal dogma in 1854. This much debated controversial dogma declares that "the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception was, by the unique grace and privilege of God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the human race, preserved intact from all stain of original sin" (H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, No.1641; quoted in Macquarrie 1982;100).

4. "On 1 November 1950 Pope Pius XII issued the Apostolic Constitution *Munificentissimus Deus* (MD), which declared as a matter of divinely revealed dogma that 'the Immaculate Mother of God the Ever-Virgin Mary, having completed her earthly course, was in body and soul assumed into heavenly glory'" (Saward 1982; 108).

The expression "official dogma of the Church" means, the principle or doctrine has been laid down by the authority of the Church, and thus, the faithful are required to believe in it without even questioning its nature. However, the proclamation of these official formulas (except the first one) has caused controversy to an insurmountable level not only among different Christian denominations but among the Catholics as well. The Protestant theologian Robert McAfee Brown in his book, *The Ecumenical Revolution*, writes (quoted in Flanagan 1982;3):

Next to the Papacy, Mariology is the area of greatest theological division between Catholics and Protestants. The problem centres on the most recent papal pronouncements, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, so that she was freed from the taint of original sin and the dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin into Heaven immediately after her death.

Another Anglican clergyman, Dr. H. S. Box, rejected both doctrines (the Immaculate Conception and Assumption) as articles of faith on the grounds that they were not "written in Holy Scripture" and therefore, may not be proved (Mascall, E. L. and Box, H. S. (eds.) *The Blessed Virgin Mary* Darton, 1963, quoted in Ashe 1976;8):

For Roman Catholics it has been defined as a divinely revealed dogma that 'Mary, when the course of her earthly life was run, was assumed to heavenly glory in body and soul'. Anglicans cannot regard it as an article of the faith, because it does not satisfy the criterion of being capable of being proved by Holy Scripture, which 'containeth all things necessary to salvation'.

Even Hans Küng, the most eminent Catholic theologian of this century, regards the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as "pointless" as a result of increasing criticism of the Augustinian "view of the transmission of 'original sin' by the act of procreation" (Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian*, 1978;454, quoted in Macquarrie 1982;104).

At the popular level, I asked many pilgrims in Fátima whether they believed these two last dogmas of the Catholic Church. It was a rare occasion when a pilgrim could define any of the dogmas concerning Mary in accordance with the Church's teachings. Most of the pilgrims thought "the Immaculate Conception" referred to the conception of Jesus rather than Mary's. Some of them admitted their puzzlement over this line of thought: If Mary conceived Jesus immaculately on December, 8th (Feast day of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady), how come could she give birth to Jesus on December, 25th? The Church's attempt to include an invocation (Oh! Maria concebida sem pecado -Oh! Mary conceived without sin) into its litany could not resolve this confusion. It seemed to me then that an ordinary devotee was not interested in Mary's conception, leaving it to theologians but the practical aspects of their devotion (like the cure of a disease) concerned them. In the other dogma, the Assumption, their interest was no more pronounced; even fewer people could define to me this official doctrine, let alone believe in it. Again, it was the theologians' business to debate whether the Virgin died at all.

As I said at the beginning of this section, the Catholic theologians try to base their arguments on the Scriptures but I cannot see their quotes from the Bible either as "proofs" nor "support" to their points. Fr. René Laurentin (an eminent mariologist) accepts the "silence of Scripture" over Mary and goes on to compose a collection of texts on Mary, Mother of the Lord. These writings, apart from the Bible citations, are given in a chronological order from the end of Apostolic times till present. The texts are attributed to St. Ignatius of Antioch (c.107 CE), St. Justin (c.165 CE), St. Ephrem (306-373 CE), St. Ambrose of Milan, Origen, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Luis de Monfort and the second Vatican Council's *Lumen Gentium* (chapter 8). There are also some excerpts from modern authors such as Sister Elisabeth of the Holy Trinity (1880-1906), St. Maximilien Kolbe (1894-1941), Max Thurian, a

brother of Taizé (1962) and Pope John Paul II's address at Bimillenary of Mary on August 15, 1983 (Laurentin 1984)⁴. From this collection of texts, it is easy to conclude that the Mary of the Catholic Church is not^{the} same as the Mary of Scripture, owing to the presentation of Mary according to the needs of any particular epoch.

II. 3. The Marian Cult Today:

The editors, Fathers of the Company of Mary, of the book *True Devotion to Mary* by St. Luis de Montfort included in its preface some excerpts from the recent popes. Pope John Paul II is quoted as declaring (Montfort 1985;VI):

The reading of this book was a decisive turning-point in my life. I say 'turning-point', but in fact it was a long inner journey . . . This 'perfect devotion' is indispensable to anyone who means to give himself without reserve to Christ and to the work of redemption. It is from Montfort that I have taken my motto: *Totus tuus* (I am all thine).

One may ask why Mary attracted and continues to attract the attention of the Church fathers from St. Ignatius of Antioch to the present pope. This is not a simple question to answer because a profound answer should contain religious, political and social aspects of the particular era in which this or that characteristic of the Virgin was emphasised or devotion to Mary was encouraged. Since this study is not about the politics of the Marian Cult I would like to give a summary of the cult's historical progress in order to provide the reader with a background for the Cult of the Our Lady of Fátima.

As was mentioned earlier, the first dogma on Mary pronounced by the Church was a reaction to a heresy in the first few

⁴ For an excellent study of the historical developments of the Marian cult see, Warner [1976] 1990; and for the criticism of this book from the anthropological point of view, see Loizos 1987.

centuries of the Christianity. Throughout its history the Church invoked Mary whenever there were troubles; she was made patroness of cities that were smitten with plague, of soldiers who went out to fight against the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, etc..

She was proclaimed "Queen" as the Church gained earthly power: her coronation was visual propaganda "projecting the hierarchy of the world onto heaven" and the "Queen" Mary "served for centuries to uphold the status quo to the advantage of the highest echelons of power" (Warner [1976] 1990;104). Our Lady of Fátima was identified with the state, or specifically, the Salazarian fascist regime; during the processions at the shrine the men, who carried the catafalque of the Nossa Senhora de Fátima were chosen by the bishop. In the Salazarian era these men were the representatives of constitutional bodies like the police, the army, the magistrates or the Knights of Malta.

The Catholic Church also encouraged Marian devotional practices at times of great peril such as the rosary which is itself a "tedious and useless repetition" of Ave Marias. Nonetheless, as Warner suggests ([1976] 1990;307), the rosary prayer "often indicates an embattled mood among Catholics". The reason for such a militant mood is perhaps because the prayer is often recited collectively (though it's also recited by solitary individuals), therefore, becoming a symbol of solidarity. The rosary was promulgated by Pius V⁵ as a political reaction to the Reformation in the sixteenth century. "Then, in 1573, he instituted a feast of Our Lady of Victory to commemorate the defeat of the Turks at the battle of Lepanto in 1571 by the Holy League" (Warner 1990;308) and after this battle, Mary and "her special prayer, the rosary, have continued to be particularly associated with the Catholic struggle against its enemies. In 1717 the feast of the Rosary was

⁵ He referred to the legend of a vision of St. Dominic as the basis for this Bull. According to tradition, St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominican Order, "while conducting the Inquisition against the Albigensian heretics at the beginning of the thirteenth century, had been given the rosary in a vision by the Virgin herself, who told him that Christian men and women should invoke her aid on the beads" (Warner [1976] 1990;308).

extended to the whole Church after the Turks were once again defeated by Catholic armies at Petrovaradin" (ibid., 313). The Turkish peril was not the only danger against which the Virgin and rosary were invoked; as Pope Leo XIII, known as the "Pope of the Rosary", was convinced, "if devoutly used [the rosary] is bound to benefit not only the individual but society at large" (quoted in Perry and Echeverría 1988;143). The Pope's promotion of the rosary was a reflection of his times; the Italian Law of Guarantees (1871) stripped off the royal and diplomatic privileges of the Vatican and his immediate predecessor, Pius IX, died as a prisoner in the Vatican. Leo XIII was elected in captivity, at a time of complete disorder and confusion. He resorted to the rosary against the attacks of liberalism (ibid.):

With respect to Italy, it is now most necessary to implore the intercession of the most powerful Virgin through the medium of the Rosary . . . Asiatic cholera, having, under God's will, crossed the boundary within which nature seemed to have confined it . . . to Mary, therefore, we must fly.

Other Marian devotional practices included the so-called "Miraculous Medal" and scapulars. These three practices, like the rosary, were believed to have come directly from the Virgin Mary herself in visions. I briefly summarise the legends of these apparitions:

Catherine Labouré, a 24-year-old postulant of the Sisters of Charity had visions of the order's founder's heart at the mother-house in the Rue du Bac, Paris. Several days later, on 27 November 1830, Mary appeared to her (Perry and Echeverría 1988;93):

wearing a white silk robe, her fingers covered with rings which emitted beams of light. 'These rays', she explained, 'are a symbol of the graces which I obtain for those who ask them of me'. She stood on a globe, which, in her own words, 'represents the whole world, and France in particular, and everyone in it'. The Virgin then

stretched out her arms in the stance that traditionally represents the Immaculate Conception; and an oval frame formed round her on which was written in golden letters: 'O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee'. The 'picture' swivelled round to reveal on the other side a large letter 'M' surmounted by a cross and below, two hearts, one encircled by thorns (Jesus') and the other pierced by a sword (Mary's). A voice instructed Sister Catherine: 'Have a medal struck according to this pattern. Those who shall wear that medal when it is indulged will receive great graces, especially if they wear it round their necks'.

Right after this apparition, some secret societies demanded an end of the temporal power and pressed for constitutions and liberalisation in the Kingdom of Naples. "On 8 February 1831 -just a few days after the election of Pope Gregory XVI- the philo-Carbonari government of Bologna boasted that it had 'broken every link which made us subject to the Roman Pontiff'. The papal legate was imprisoned and the port of Ancona seized" (Perry and Echeverría 1988;93). In these circumstances and a cholera epidemic in Europe in 1830s the Medal had a decisive success; having cured some people stricken by plague the Miraculous Medal was began to be worn by several millions. "In Rome the Generals of the religious orders took active part in the propaganda, while the Holy Father himself placed the Medal at the foot of his crucifix as a special token of his blessing" and as a result of this massive propaganda the succeeding Pope, Leo XIII, granted the Medal its own Mass and office (ibid., 94-96). The fame of this medal so expanded both in time and place that I saw many pilgrims wearing it; even some of them gave me a cheap example of it as a present. I also observed in Fátima other devotional objects: scapulars in three different colours (green, red and brown).

The oldest of scapulars (cloak) was the brown one and it was said to have been revealed in a vision to St. Simon in 1251 (July, 16). Simon was an English mystic "who had acquired the sobriquet stock from the tree in which he liked to immure himself. She

[The Virgin] gave him the mantle: 'Receive, my beloved son', she said, 'this habit of thy order, this shall be to thee and to all Carmelites a privilege that whosoever dies clothed in this shall never suffer eternal fire'" (Warner [1976] 1990:328). In order to overcome the difficulty of the large habit of the Carmelite order the Church prescribed a smaller model of the habit". It differs from the large habit only in size. . . It must be of woven wool, of a color somewhere between brown and black (preferably brown, of course), and of rectangular shape. It must be so made that it can hang over the shoulders and thus rest at once against the front and back of the body" (Haffert 1971:16). In 1910, Pope Pius X declared that the cloth scapular could be replaced by a metal which bore on one side an image of the Sacred Heart and on the other an image of the Virgin because the cloth was not convenient for the natives in arid missionary zones of. "Scapulars soon became ragged and knotted; due to the heat of and frequent uncleanness of the natives, they also became nesting places for vermin; smelly, curled and unsightly. Surely what Our Lady had made a Sign of membership in Europe was not appropriate in the tropics. So the Vicar of Christ changed it, as Mary undoubtedly wished" (ibid., 17). The same author also claims that in the First World War, which broke out four years after this amendment by the Pope, millions of soldiers "would have had to face death without Mary's assurance of Salvation had it not been for the Scapular Medal" (ibid.): apparently soldiers were wearing the Scapular⁶. Yet, Haffert does not clarify against whom these armies were fighting in the First World War but a few pages later he claims that through the intercession and help of Mary

⁶ It could be argued that the enemies (German, Turkish, etc.) of the Allied Forces in World War I were irrelevant: for example, the Germans were often Catholic Christians, who were just as likely to be wearing the scapular, as their Catholic enemies, for example, the Italian and French. The reason that soldiers wore the scapular was that they were facing *death* (that is, they wanted to rely on the intercession of the Virgin Mary at the time of their deaths, as shown in the Hail Mary: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death") therefore, the enemy was irrelevant. They could/would have been wearing scapulars in civilian life.

and her Brown Scapular, Christians defeated Muslims in Spain in the Spanish *Reconquista* of 1492.

Another scapular, the Green one (Scapular of the Immaculate Heart of Mary), was also revealed to a fellow novice of Catherine Labouré at the Rue du Bac in 1840. Sister Bisqueburu received Mary's instruction that the Green Scapular be worn by those who preferred the metal (the Miraculous Medal) to cloth. The product was approved by Pope Pius IX in 1863. The red Scapular that depicts "the instruments of the Passion and Sacred Hearts with the legend 'Holy Hearts of Jesus and Mary, save us', was unveiled to yet another Sister of Charity (Apolline Andreveau) in a vision in 1846" (Perry and Echeverría 1988:95). The distribution of the Red Scapulars was entrusted to the Priests of the Mission by Pius IX "who granted an indulgence of 200 days every time it is kissed" (ibid.).

Here I have given only very few aspects of the Marian devotion for two reasons; first, the lack of space to be permitted in a specific work on a particular Marian apparition, and second, the cult had been studied (even, over-studied) very adequately by others and the reader is referred to those works.

During my fieldwork in Fátima my impression was that people were *worshipping* Mary, rather than only venerating her, owing to their over-zealous devotion to the Virgin. Perhaps their excess-devotions could be explained by the psychological needs of human beings, who need a caring mother: one who could provide them with heavenly, supernatural aid that the earthly authorities could not. Or to a rural dweller Mary represented a solid and concrete deity who is close to them, as one of my informants stated very neatly: "We are not sure whether God exists but Mary is different because we know that she *lived on this earth*". Some psychologists have attempted to interpret this devotion and Mary in human terms. The Freudian approach⁷,

⁷ See for and against arguments of this approach, in Parsons 1969; Accati 1987; O'Connor 1989; Hood, et. al. 1991 and Breuner 1992.

which is represented by Michael Carroll (1978, 1983, 1985 and 1986) who argues that "fervent devotion to the Mary cult on the part of males is a practice that allows males characterised by a strong but strongly repressed sexual desire for the mother to dissipate in an acceptable manner the excess sexual energy that is built up as a result of this desire" (Carroll 1986; 56). He goes on to claim that "the Virgin Mary experienced what must be regarded as the ultimate fulfilment of every daughter's Oedipal desires, to have intercourse with the father and receive from him a baby. . . when the prevailing family structure in a society intensifies the daughter's desire for her father, then devotion to Mary among the females in that society should be correspondingly strong" (ibid., 59-60). He also tries to strengthen his argument by using sociological analyses like *patronage* [he probably means patron-client relationships], which seems to promote supernatural mediators, especially in the Latin Mediterranean; and claiming that *agricultural societies* develop a devotion to female deities (ibid., 48). Superficially he seems to be right, especially if we consider rural Northern Portugal where people depend on agriculture and where there is abundant Marian devotion. South of the River Tagus, the inhabitants work for the *latifundists* (large land-owners) in agricultural business and have to rely on their patrons for almost all their needs. Yet, neither saint- nor Mary-worship is recorded here. It is even said that religion is much weaker than in the North. All in all, this theory, in my opinion, cannot explain the urban devotion to Mary found in the big Portuguese cities like Lisbon and Porto, however weak its influence may be in these areas. I believe that the Marian devotion has its roots in the history of the area in general and the families which individuals are born into; I further argue that the devotees to Mary inherit their devotion from their parents or grand-parents as part of family traditions.

Another psychological approach has been developed by Carl Gustave Jung with its emphasis on the archetypal mother figure buried in the unconscious of all human beings. He suggests a "mother archetype" who represents feminine qualities such as

helpfulness and sympathy (Jung 1970). The most important problem of this theory is the definition of the notion "archetype". I agree with James Preston that Jung "treats symbols as though they were floating, disconnected entities separated from sociocultural realities. . . Human behavior cannot be reduced to innate principles, infantile fantasies, or archetypes" (Preston 1982;328). Since Jung does not refer to the social and cultural circumstances in which the Marian devotion emerges, therefore, without psychoanalysing individuals, it is extremely difficult to test his theory in social contexts. However, my observation of pilgrims worshipping Mary in Fátima confirms Jung's claim that the Catholic Church has had added a female deity into its doctrine of the Trinity (Jung 1958), as Marina Warner has noted ([1976] 1990;330),

If travellers from another planet were to enter churches as far flung as the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D. C., or the Catholic cathedral in Saigon, or the rococo phantasmagoria of New World churches, and see the Virgin's image on the altar, it would be exceedingly difficult for them to understand that she was only an intercessor and not a divinity in her own right.

Mary has always come at times of need to help the Church, but due to modern technology, humanity is not presently troubled with plagues, fires or political turmoil as it has been in the past. Still, Mary continues to visit 'her children' with her motherly care. However, the influence of the Enlightenment has not vanished especially in European countries. There is still a clash between religion and science in the West and this causes a hostility in people towards religion. The Catholic Church used the Lourdes apparitions to assert its prestige (Dahlberg 1987, 1991; Pope 1985 and Perry and Echeverría 1988). The Virgin Mary was said to appear several times to an illiterate and sick Pyrenean girl, Bernadette, in February 1858. Mary presented herself in the last apparition as *Que soi era l'Immaculado Councepciou* which in local dialect meant "I am the Immaculate Conception". Although it has never been proved that Bernadette Soubirous could have heard discussions about this dogma, then

only in existence for four years, the visions⁸ supported the Pope's pronouncement about the Immaculate Conception in 1854. Moreover, having the best support from Mary herself, Pope Pius IX proclaimed the infallibility of the pope to be a dogma, i. e., a mandatory belief, of the Church in 1870. By this dogma, the teachings of the head of the Church, when given under the mandate of papal infallibility, were held to be binding on all Catholics. "The Bull was therefore an important strategic move in the long battle of Rome against its detractors, and once again, as with the cult of *Maria Regina* in eighth-century Rome, the interests of the papacy were bound up with the cult of the Virgin" (Warner [1976] 1990;237). Another aspect of the Lourdes apparitions is the seer's ignorance; Bernadette Soubirous was a 14-year-old sick girl with no education. This case was a perfect defence of the Church against the Enlightenment's claim of "now we have science, we do not need religion and its champions any longer". Some members of the clergy used this opportunity to counter-attack those who were pro-science: "Was Bernadette not an illiterate peasant girl to the extent that she would not understand her words? But the Mother of God chose her to convey her message among millions of people, she did not choose a man of letters". Therefore, science is not the answer to afflictions of men. Humanity still needs religion and its God.

As will be seen in the following chapters, Mary was used militantly in the Cold War against Communism during the

⁸ In many cases of apparitions the Church declares their worthiness of belief according to some criteria which are classified as intrinsic (content, circumstances [result, form, mode, time and place] of the revelations) and extrinsic (miracles and spiritual influence of the revelations on the faithful). The Church accepts the apparition if all these criteria comply with the teachings (Volken 1961; 155-211). However, in recent apparitions at Medjugorje, Mary was said to deliver a message about her Assumption ("I am the Mother of God and the Queen of Peace. I went to Heaven before death" [Two Friends of Medjugorje 1990;76]) but in spite of the message's support for the declared dogma, it seems that the Church hierarchy will not approve the "events of Medjugorje". I believe this reluctance to approve on the part of the Church is because it does not need further "heavenly support" for its teachings, and also because of the Church's relatively better circumstances.

preceding years of the World War I and World War II. The apparitions of Mary in Fátima in 1917, with its highly political aspect -anti-communist- served to define the Church's stand against "Communist and atheist" Russia. As in Lourdes, apparitions in Fátima were also addressed to ignorant peasant children -who, as it was claimed, even did not know the meaning of the word "Russia"- at a time when the Catholic religion was seen as an obstacle to progress by the elites of the country.

In sum, the post-Lourdesian Marian cult has three important ingredients:

1. The Marian cult has become extremely *ultra-Montana* advocating supreme papal authority in matters of faith and discipline, as in the cases of the proclamation of the Infallibility of the Pope as a dogma in 1870 and the single-handed papal pronouncement of the dogma of the Assumption of Mary in 1950.

2. In the years after the Second World War the Church waged an *anti-communist* campaign against the Iron Curtain countries with Mary's message in Fátima.

3. It has been used against the recent developments and campaigns on women's rights; for example, Pope John Paul II has launched a counter-attack by emphasising Mary's "functions" in matters of sexuality (chastity of women, opposition to contraceptives, etc.) and her "motherly, caring role". Mary helped the Church to assert its authority in this *anti-feminist* campaign.

Another result of the Marian apparitions was to designate certain places as sacred. These so-called "divinely favoured" topographies have become pilgrimage centres, gathering millions of pilgrims each year.

II. 4. Pilgrimages to Marian Shrines:

It is a well-know fact that the most popular shrines in Christendom are those dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It seems, moreover, that Marian shrines are multiplying day after day,

owing to the increase in visions of Mary. The Turners argue that the Marian apparitions are an integral part of the so-called "Catholic Milleniarism" (Turner and Turner 1978;149); as Pope John Paul II wrote in his encyclical *Redemptoris Mater*, "Mary appeared on the horizon of salvation history before Christ" (quoted in Perry and Echeverría 1988;311). The Virgin not only appears before her son Jesus in chronological order but also appears to supersede him in the economy of salvation by appearing to "her chosen" children on this earth and giving them the latest news from Heaven and her plans to save the world's inhabitants from the Devil⁹. I do not mean that Jesus does not appear to humans at all, but his apparitions are far fewer than his mother's especially at recent times; and these apparitions take the form of "moving and weeping crucifixes" (Christian 1992).

Prior to investigating pilgrimages to Marian shrines, I had better give a definition of the "visions and apparitions", which warrant such pilgrimages. Although the term apparition has been defined by various authors -members of the Church hierarchy, lay religious or critics- the definition of Zimdars-Swartz is relatively "neutral" and serves best the purpose of this study (1991;4):

An apparition is best understood as a specific kind of vision in which a person or being not normally within the visionary's perceptual range appears to that person, not in a world apart as in a dream, and not as a modification of a concrete object as in the case of a weeping icon or moving statue, but as a part of the environment, without apparent connection to verifiable visual stimuli.

⁹ "While scrupulously avoiding the term 'Co-Redemptrix', John Paul II's Mariology stresses the Virgin's role ('Mary, who in herself is a preparation for the final coming of the Lord, signifies the dawn of salvation for the whole world'); her spiritual motherhood of the Church ('. . . this woman made all hierarchy possible because she gave to the shepherd and Bishop of our souls'); and her unique relationship with the Third Person of the Trinity. Everything can be resolved through her. She is the *Omnipotentia supplex*, the Omnipotence of intercession" (quoted in Perry and Echeverría 1988;288-289).

If the person or angelic beings are in the well-defined context of the Roman Catholic Church, then apparitions assume a special importance for both the seers and the general public. The Church sets up a team of enquiry into the subject matter of visions and after a long and arduous investigation the apparitions are either declared as "worthy of belief" or "not originated supernaturally". The expression "worthy of belief" indicates that the faithful are not obliged to believe in such events; in other words, one could still be a "good Catholic" even if one rejects such beliefs. When I was in Fátima, almost all the shrine priests would start talking to me with a statement such as "you know, *you don't have to believe* in the Fátima apparitions, it is just a matter of heart". (This statement was not made because I was non-Catholic but as a general rule). Nonetheless, the belief in apparitions is imposed on the body of faithful by the powerful machinery of the Church hierarchy. The Popes would visit the places where apparitions are said to have occurred. I give a list of the present Pope John Paul II's pilgrimages as an example of the influence such visits might have on Catholics: Less than a fortnight after the conclave he visited the Mentorella (a Marian shrine run by the Polish Fathers of the Resurrection), 50 km away from Rome. His other pilgrimages include The Holy House of Loreto (September 1979), three months later, Pompei, Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico (January 1980), the Chapel of Miraculous Medal at the Rue du Bac, Paris (31 May 1980), Aperecida in Argentine (4 July 1980), the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington D. C. (7 October 1980), Our Lady of Fátima (13 May 1981), Our Lady of Lourdes (15 August 1983), Paray-le Monial, France (5 October 1986), the shrine of La Serena in Chile (April 1987) and the second pilgrimage to Fátima (13 May 1991).

Although the Church does not insist that Catholics should believe the apparitions, believers are also confronted with critical attacks on such beliefs. In an age of science, it is highly difficult to accept these events without scepticism, especially as psychologists argue and try to prove that these so-called apparitions are

simply "hallucinations" (Carroll 1985 and 1986), especially those of children. It is beyond the scope of this study to either verify or falsify any apparitions or supernatural events. On the other hand, for example, there is a Brazilian priest who does not accept the rumours that the Virgin Mary has appeared to people. He argues that they believe they are seeing Mary but in fact what they see is a hallucination. Yet we must ask ourselves who has provoked this hallucination? There are two kinds of explanations for this phenomenon; first, visions were caused by an individual's psychology or were a work of Providence: but in this case we need a "divine seal" or "a miracle". In the case of Fátima, several thousands of people claimed to have seen the Sun spin. "Evidently the Sun did not gyrate. If the Sun had made circular movements, it should have been seen in all parts of the world, not only in Fátima. Logically, the Sun did not spin. Therefore, it was a hallucination. This event was a collective hallucination provoked by God". (Father Oscar Quevedo, quoted in Mendonça 1974;28-29). Whatever the reactions (devotion or skepticism) towards the so-called apparitions, in an age of religious decline the places of such events attract millions (literally, 14 million pilgrims visit the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City each year, the number of pilgrims to two European Marian shrines is also significant; 5 million to Lourdes and 4.5 million to Fátima). Perhaps this is the intention of Mary as she told the five seer children during the Beauraing apparitions in Belgium (29 November 1932-3 January 1933): "In the name of the clergy, Holy Virgin' asked the seers, 'tell us what you want.' The reply was immediate: 'A chapel!' On 23 December, when asked why she had come, the vision explained, 'So people will come here on pilgrimage'" (quoted in Perry and Echeverría 1988;200).

In a study of *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* the Nolans have found that "European pilgrimage is predominantly Marian. Christ's mother, Saint Mary, is the principal subject of devotion at nearly two-thirds of today's shrines" (Nolan and Nolan 1989; 116). They also argue that the

Virgin Mary "began drawing larger numbers of pilgrims because of various types of miraculous events" (ibid.)

Table3. Subjects of Devotion in European Pilgrimages (after Nolan and Nolan 1989;117).

SUBJECT	DEVOTION NO.	DEVOTION %
Christ	453	7.5
Mary	3.984	65.8
Male saints	1.192	19.7
Female saints	361	6.0
Mixed saints	61	1.0
All saints	1.614	26.7

Although miracles are an important part of pilgrimages to Marian shrines such as Lourdes, where all sorts of incurable sick pilgrims visit the Grotto and bathe in so-called miraculous waters with a hope of, if not a total cure, alleviation (Eade 1991), the majority of pilgrimage centres attract their clientele for their "messages", usually concerning the salvation of both local Catholics and the Church in general and how to avoid disasters, such as wars.

The Marian pilgrimage centres are so vast in number that I could not even accurately list them here but only give a few of the shrine names¹⁰ I gathered from various sources:

The Virgin's apparition to St. James in Saragossa, while she was still alive, to comfort the apostle in his failure in evangelizing the local population, is probably the oldest Marian apparition. Today

¹⁰ As Van Binsbergen notes (1985;208-208), the major devotions to Mary tend to multiply in secondary and localized shrines like Our Lady of Fátima shrines appear in many parts of the world, from Washington, N. J. to Angola, making their number almost uncountable.

a shrine is dedicated to *Nusetra Señora del Pilar* at this spot to commemorate the event.

Although reports of Mary's appearances show that during the Protestant Reformation and Inquisition they were in decline (Zimdars-Swartz 1991;4), in the New World the Virgin was said to have appeared to a Mexican peasant called Juan on 9 December 1531 at a place (Tepeyac) near the Mexico City of today (Johnston 1981). There is a shrine on that hill today which became a national symbol during Mexico's struggle of independence from Spain at the turn of this century (Wolf 1958). It is probably the most-visited shrine in the world, with visitors including Oscar Lewis's poor informants (1965).

Other places of Marian pilgrimages, are relatively well-known, and their origins can be found in recent studies. Here I would like to give just a few examples in order to show how widely extended the Marian cult is for almost anyone who wishes to go on a pilgrimage, there is always one of these shrines available nearby¹¹.

Table4. Some Marian apparitions that have created pilgrimage shrines around the world.

DATE of APPARITION	LOCATION
1830	Rue du Bac, Paris
1846	La Salette, France
1858	Lourdes, France
1871	Pontmain, France
1879	Knock, Ireland
1917	Fátima, Portugal
1932-1933	Beauraing, Belgium
1933	Banneux, Belgium

¹¹ Among many other devotional accounts (books, leaflets, etc.) that give information on these pilgrimage centres, there are few "academic" studies which include Zimdars-Swartz 1991, Nolan and Nolan 1989 and Anonymous 1990.

Early 1950s	Necedah, Wisconsin
1961-1965	Garabandal, Spain
1964-1981	San Damiano, Italy
1968-1971	Zeitoun, Egypt
1974-1979	Bayside, New York
1981-Today	Medjugorje, Bosnia
1985	Canvey Island, England

If the devotion to Mary is so widespread in the Catholic world, Portugal could not remain an exception. In fact, Portugal was put under the protection of Our Lady. Now, I would like to give some information on the place of the Virgin in the Portuguese popular devotion.

II. 5. Our Lady's Cult in Portugal:

The Portuguese historian Oliveira admits that "in Lusitânia existed, among others, the cult of Atégina, goddess of fertility, and that of Endovélico, whose name signifies «the very good», both of them, perhaps, of Celtic origin (1948:12). Apart from these two, I visited the ruins of a Roman temple of Diana in Évora, another Roman goddess.

It would be too risky to claim that the cult of the Virgin originated in Portugal from the ancient devotions to fertility or some other "specialised" goddesses, but the present day devotion to Mary could be traced back to the time before the Christianization of the Iberian Peninsula.

Today any traveller in Portugal cannot fail to notice numerous churches and chapels dedicated to various invocations of the Virgin. Most of these shrines date back to the initial years of the Portuguese dynasty, showing the piety of both the royal family and ordinary folk. It is said that D. Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king, "would carry an image of Nossa Senhora in the army which he deposited as a [sign of] victory into the monastery of St. Vicente de Fora" (Oliveira 1948:166). There are

many other stories of victory over the Spanish and muslims and the kings would build a chapel, a church or a monastery as they promised before the battle. These buildings bear the name of "Nossa Senhora de Vitória".

In order to give an idea of popular devotion to the Virgin it is necessary to start with its origins and come back to the present day, taking into consideration the historical and socio-cultural circumstances. Father José de Oliveira, SJ, treats the subject as a continuum between past and present. He distinguishes three successive periods (1956;613):

1. From the foundation of the nation to the restoration of its independence (1139-1640),
2. From the restoration of independence to the end of monarchy (1640-1910),
3. From the end of monarchy to our day (1910-today).

The first manifestations of Marian devotion showed themselves especially in the traditional pilgrimages to the most celebrated shrines. These pilgrimages would increase in number especially during times of catastrophes or after thanksgiving celebrations. In this period the following liturgical feasts of Our Lady were celebrated in Portugal (Oliveira 1948;166): The Purification (2 February), the Annunciation (25 March), the Assumption (preceded by a vigil, 15 August), and the Nativity (8 September). In addition to these feasts, "in 1320, D. Raimundo, the bishop of Coimbra, mandated celebrations in his cathedral on 8th of December a feast of the Conception of Our Lady" (ibid.).

Interestingly, the oldest shrine dedicated to Mary in Nazaré, which was built in the eleventh century (Oliveira Dias 1956;614), is not very far from the today's most celebrated Marian shrine of Portugal, Fátima.

The first period is marked with a particular devotion to Mary under the title of "Immaculate Conception" despite the disputes among various religious orders over the officially proclaimed-to-

be dogma outside Portugal. The Lisbon Municipality had already decided in 1618 that "over the principal gates of the city stone engraved plaques on which the affirmation of 'the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin' be put" (Oliveira 1948;273). Besides this action, in the synods of Guarda (1634), Braga (1637) and Coimbra (1639) the clergy promised solemnly to defend the notion of "Immaculate Conception" (ibid.).

The most important event of the second period in the history of Portugal was the choice of *padroeira* (patron saint) of the country. In a letter dated 11 September 1646, the King D. João IV asked the parish priests to elect Nossa Senhora da Conceição as patron saint of their parishes. A few years later Pope Clement X (the papal breve, *Eximia dilectissimi* 8 May 1671) not only confirmed the election of *Padroeira de Portugal* but encouraged it (Oliveira 1948;331-332). This incident also shows a correspondence between the official acts and the popular devotion among the people of Portugal. The baptismal records show the names of children. Until the eighteenth century it was customary to give the children the name of Maria out of respect to the Mother of God but after this epoch some qualities or mysteries of the Virgin began to be added to the name Maria, as in Maria da Conceição, da Assunção, da Incarnação. etc. (Oliveira Dias 1956;620). During my stay in Portugal I was amazed to find many girls named Maria. Perhaps nine women out of ten were called Maria. I was told that they were named as such because either their birthday or day of baptism had fallen into that specific devotion in the Roman liturgical calendar; for example if a girl was born on the 11th of February, she would be called Maria de Lourdes (Lourdes in Portuguese) because this day is the feast day of Our Lady of Lourdes, likewise children born on the 13th of (almost) any month are called Maria de Fátima in respect to the apparitions of the Virgin in Fátima.

Oliveira Dias notes that all the cathedrals in Portugal are dedicated to Our Lady of Assumption, 1033 parish churches out of 3855 are also dedicated to Mary under her different titles. The

most common ones are Santa Maria (237), of the Assumption (153), and of the Immaculate Conception (150). The majority of chapels or oratories also have a Marian title (1956;620).

Other aspects of the Marian devotion in popular Portuguese religiosity is the attribution of many titles to Mary. Moisés Espírito Santo (1988) dedicates a chapter to *A Senhora dos Mil Nomes* (the Lady of Thousand Names) in his book about the Portuguese popular religion. The abundance of Marian titles, in my opinion, corresponds to popular devotion as the individuals invoke a different Mary for different problems in their daily lives. Unlike the saints, each of whom has specialised in a specific problem, Mary, out of her mercy towards her children, has many attributes like "Our Lady of Remedies, Anguishes, Afflictions, Navigators, and above all, of Mercy" (Oliveira Dias 1956;621).

Apart from the usual devotion to Mary, the Patriarch of Lisbon approved the so-called devotion to *Mês de Maria* (Month of Mary), I am not quite sure of its origins or reason but it is the month of May, in his pastoral letter dated 26 April 1851 (Oliveira 1948;385).

As will be seen in the next chapter in more detail, from the proclamation of the Republic in 1910 to the coup d'état of Sidonio Pais in 1917 religion suffered a great deal in Portugal. With the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Fátima in the same year, the popular Portuguese piety was enriched with yet another Marian devotion, this time under the title of Our Lady of Fátima. Many newly-built churches were put under her patronage, children were named after her, and more importantly, people from every corner of the country went to her shrine by every possible means of transportation, sometimes on foot to fulfil their vows after receiving a favour from her.

CHAPTER III



THE FATIMA PILGRIMAGE

III. 1. History of Portugal:

The expansion of Rome brought the Iberian Peninsula into a close relationship with classical civilisation. The peninsula was conquered and politically organised by the emperor Augustus a few years after the birth of Jesus. This conquest eventually brought Christianity to the Peninsula whose people were practising a kind of primitive religion fallen into polytheism (Oliveira 1948;11). The legend has it that St. James, an apostle of Jesus, came to one of the Peninsula's ports, Bética (Finis Terra). Having evangelised some Jewish communities, he visited a few cities in Lusitania and Tarraconense. In the year 42 or 44, the Virgin Mary, still alive, appeared to him asking a temple be built at the spot; today the shrine is called Nuestra Señora del Pilar, in Saragosa (Spain). Saint Paul, in his letter to the Romans (XV;24 and 28), expressed his wish to visit Spain after the city of Rome. The project was never realised but according to some sources it is highly probable that he came to Spain in April 63 CE (Oliveira 1948;13-14). It is also said that Saints Peter and Paul sent some apostles to preach, found churches and regularise the cult during the reign of Nero.

The Arab invasion began in 711. The first reaction, the beginning of the Reconquista which lasted until 1492, started in 720. Forcing the Arabs southward, the Christians organised themselves around the five settlements: Asturias, Castile, Navarre-Aragon, Catalonia, and the Portu Cale (or Portu Calense), from which the name Portugal was derived. In 1120 Afonso Henriques succeeded to this small county's government which was under the suzerainty of Castile and in 1140 he declared its independence. In order to strengthen his political position, Afonso placed his small country under the protection of the Holy See, he was said to have always consulted with the clergy about his plans and asked for their prayers. He carried out his fight against the Arabs in a spirit of Crusaders. Historians recognise Afonso Henriques as the first king of Portugal. He did not want to have problems with his Christian neighbours, so he directed his expansion towards the south. In 1147, Lisbon passed from Muslims to Christians. The decisive reconquista of the Portuguese territories was concluded during the reign of King D. Afonso III with the conquest of the Algarve in March 1249 (Oliveira 1948;107).

III. 2. Historical Context of Fátima Apparitions:

On January 26, 1821, King John VI, who was in exile in Brazil then, accepted the popular will and approved the constitution. This event was a turning point in Portugal's history which brought the absolute monarchy to an end. After the death of John VI in 1826, there were disputes between his two sons; Pedro who favoured the constitutional monarchy, and Miguel, the absolute monarchy.

The country was ruled until the proclamation of the Republic on 5 October 1910, by the *Carta Constitucional* of 1826 according to which Portugal was a kingdom formed by a "free and independent nation" (Article 1). The Portuguese territory was described as the "Kingdom of Portugal and Algarves" which included in Europe, "the Kingdom of Portugal and the "Kingdom of Algarve" and the Adjacent Islands of Madeira, Porto Santo and Azores; in Africa, Bissau, Angola, Cabo Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe with their dependants Mozambique, Rio de Sena and islands of Cabo Delgado; in Asia, Salsete, Bordez, Goa, Damão, Macao and islands of Solor and Timor (Article 2). Article 3 stated that the Nation would not renounce the right of "any portion of territory in these three parts of the world" (Oliveira Marques 1991;281).

This *Carta* also guaranteed some privileges to the Church because the State and the Church were thought to be united. At the beginning of this century José Francisco Trindade would write that "constitutionally the Portuguese citizen was not allowed to confess any other religion but Catholicism ... and they were afraid of persecution for *not confessing* the Catholic religion" (quoted in Oliveira Marques 1991;485). He went on to claim that the *Carta Constitucional*, the Civil Law, the Penal Code, the Administrative Code and other laws of the country adhered to the Catholic religion. The heirs to the crown, the deputies of the House of Commons, the peers of the Kingdom, university students, etc., all had to swear fidelity to Catholicism. Birth registration -apart from baptism-, marriages and funerals were performed by the parish priests. Only non-Catholics had to right to civil marriage but all the rest were obliged to marry in a church. There was no divorce even for those who had been married by the civil authorities. The cases of non-religious funerals depended only on the declaration of the deceased with his

signature recognised by a notary (ibid.). The bishops were "presented" by the state depending on the papal confirmation. They also sat automatically at the *Câmara dos Pares* (House of Lords). The parish clergy were not paid by the State but by the citizens. Their income consisted of two distinct payments: The first, *côngrua* (congregation?) paid by all the parishioners in money or kinds, which was fixed by the Junta and obligatory. The second, *pé-de-altar* (literally, foot of the altar) was made of donations and charges for baptisms, marriages and funerals.

There was another famous decree of 1901, which was called *Hintze Ribeiro*, that legalised the entrance and settlement of almost any religious order into the country on condition that they would dedicate themselves to education and charity works.

The Portuguese Catholicism of that time -apart from enforcing baptism and marriage- insisted on penitence and communion. In the confessionals the individual's personal and political life was closely scrutinized and often severely criticized. Annual Communion was obligatory but the Church used other opportunities to distribute Communion more frequently; for example, religious feasts and group Communion especially for children and youth. The religious education of children and adults preoccupied and motivated the clergy and they did not spare any endeavour to form "good Catholics".

At the devotional level, the pilgrimages to Lourdes increased especially among the bourgeois and Catholic *intelligentsia*. In Portugal the only pilgrimage centre which attracted many pilgrims was the Virgin of Sameiro (near Braga). Oliveira Marques observes that at the beginning of the century the "religious fervour was different from that of earlier decades with a tendency to pilgrimages and romarias of the North and South in a character of more entertainment than devotion" (1991;491).

There are some similarities between Portugal and other European states in terms of ecclesiastical history; disputes between the Church and the State, often over the privileges of the Church.

The first conflict between the Church and the State began with the chief minister Marquis of Pombal who ruled the country from 1750 to 1777.

He suppressed the Jesuits and lessened the influence of the Church at the courts.

Another conflict, at the beginning at least, was not between the Church and State but attacks on the Church from other organisations and groups. The most important organisation that opposed the Church was the Freemasons, which emerged in 1897, officially affirming an organisation of free-thinkers. It was behind almost all the anticlerical manifestations. The Freemasons multiplied at the national scale with a network of masonic organisations forming the elite *intelligentsia* of the country. One of the most challenging manifestation of the free-thinking organisation was a *Semana Laica* (Secular Week, as opposed to the *Semana Santa*, Holy Week) during the Easter of 1910 with conferences and publicity for its ideals (Oliveira Marques 1991:493).

It is claimed that the activities of the Freemasons influenced the country a great deal, especially in big cities and the South of Portugal. The citizens voted more and more Republican candidates who were anticlerical even if not free thinkers. As a result, the Republic was proclaimed on 5 October, 1910. The anticlerical legislation was initiated just three days after proclamation. The 1759-67 laws of Marques de Pombal were revived and the Hintze Ribeiro decree of 1901 was annulled. All of these developments led to the legislation of famous *Lei da Separação* (Law of Separation, that is, Disestablishment) on 20 April, 1911. The first article of the law stated that it would "recognise and guarantee a total liberty of conscience to all the Portuguese citizens and foreigner residents in Portugal". The second article declared that the "Catholic religion would cease to be the religion of the State that and all religious denominations would be allowed" (Oliveira Marques 1991:495). The law also "vested the administration of churches in lay committees (*associações culturais*) and restricted their revenues to the offerings of the faithful, less one-third to be deducted for lay charities, a triple tithe in reverse" (Livermore 1969:320).

The Republicans, especially Afonso Custó, the Minister of Justice, believed that within a few generations Catholicism would cease to exist in Portugal. In the beginning of May that year another Republican, Magalhães Lima, would declare that "in a few years' time nobody would want to become a priest in Portugal: the seminaries would be deserted"

(quoted in Oliveira 1948;354). The clergy, like Father Miguel de Oliveira, believed that these attacks confirmed their Masonic origins since a meeting of Masons declared that "the people are admirably prepared to receive this law and the extent of action will be to salute [the prospect] that in two generations Portugal will completely eliminate the Catholicism which has been a major cause of disgrace" (quoted in Oliveira 1948;354-55).

The response of the Vatican to the *Lei da Separação* came promptly in a month's time with an encyclical of the Pope Pius X which was called *Jamdudum in Lusitania* (24 May 1911) against the young Republic. Consequently, relations were cut off between the Republic and Vatican (Oliveira 1948;346). Gallagher argues that the Church attracted the anger of Republicans because of its pro-monarchism and conservatism. So they abolished the faculty of theology at the University of Coimbra, made holy days as normal working days [with the exception of January 1st and December 25th], and put the seminaries under the government control (Gallagher 1987;519-20). In addition to all these restrictions on religion, the law reversed all the symbolic aspects of clericalism: "abolition of court oaths with a religious character; ... adoption of a secular formula at the end of official correspondence and suppression of the expression «de Cristo» to indicate the civil year,¹... prohibiting the Armed Forces from participating in any religious celebrations; amnesty to the crimes against the Catholic religion", etc. (Oliveira Marques 1991;494), divorce was introduced and marriage ceremonies took a civil form, and religious teaching banned in schools. Yet this anti-clericalism was just an affair of middle class elites and almost absent in rural areas. Another interesting point was that this suppression evoked the Catholic intelligentsia, and in 1912, the Academic Centre for Christian Democracy (CADC) was revived (founded in 1901) by a Catholic student group at the University of Coimbra. Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888-1977) and Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) were important figures behind this religious movement. The centre had also a publication organ called "Estudos" to which Coimbra University lecturers and students contributed regularly. The CADC and other Catholic groups like the *Centro Nacional* (founded in 1894), the *União Católica* (1913) and the *Centro Católico Português* (1917) did not con-

¹ Before the law the date used in the official letters was in the following form; for example, "21 de Abril de 1991 de Anno Cristo".

sider themselves as political associations nor political parties². Their only objective was the "study of social problems of either religious, or political, or economical order" (Oliveira Marques 1991;397-398 and Oliveira 1948;388).

Portugal decided to enter the First World War on the side of the Allies in March 1916³. More than 200.000 men were called up, a major mobilisation for a poor country where the majority were illiterate peasants. Under the leadership of Sidónio Bernardino Cardoso da Silva Pais, who was a professor at the University of Coimbra and a major in the Army, a military coup took place on 5 December 1917⁴. During the Sidónio Pais' government, almost a year, the religious-political situation seemed to settle (abolition of democratic jacobinism in politics and religious tolerance) but after his assassination the conflict had started again. On the first day of the coup Dr. Sidónio Pais annulled, on behalf of the *Junta Revolucionária*, all the restrictions imposed on the Portuguese bishops by the Republican governments. The next year, 2 February, some amendments were made to the *Lei da Separação* which changed the law substantially; abolishing the *beneplácito* (state controls over religious activities), fiscalization (control) of the State over the seminaries and the prohibition of the use of priest habits. On 15 May, 1918 Dr. Sidónio Pais participated in a solemn mass for the souls of soldiers who had died at the front, which took place in the *Sé Patriarcal* (Lisbon Cathedral). In sum, when Sidónio Pais came into power, the Catholics did not suffer persecutions any more and the Church saw a period of liberty for the first time after 1910. (For detailed history of Portugal, see Gallagher 1983, Robinson 1979, Brochado 1948, Livermore 1969, and da Silva Rego 1969).

As it can be seen clearly from this brief history of Portugal, religion, especially after the declaration of the Republic, has been an easy target to attack. Gallagher argues that not until the miracle of Fátima, could the

² About the political activities of the Catholics at the end of the nineteenth century, see Cruz 1979 and Martins 1988.

³ António Henrique de Oliveira Marques claims that for the Monarchists "to align with the Allies meant to align with masonic and atheist France, Protestant England and schismatic and autocratic Russia" (1974;269).

⁴ Although the date is accurate, some Catholic writers try to move the date to 8 December which is the day of Immaculate Conception of Mary, the patron saint of the Kingdom (Brochado 1948;345).

The village of Fátima is located in the mountainous region of the Serra de Aire, about 70 Km. from the Atlantic Ocean on the western coast of Portugal. Many such place names go back to the Moorish times and Fátima was the name of the daughter of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam.

At the time of the apparitions, Fátima, like many other such small hamlets in Portugal, was in crisis economically, socially and politically. In the economic field, there was complete bankruptcy; in the political field, war was being waged in France and in the African colonies. The population of Fátima consisted mainly of peasants who grew wheat and maize, with scattered vines.

III. 3. The Legend of Fátima:

The legend of the Fátima apparitions consists of two phases. The first phase concerns apparitions of an angelic figure to the three shepherd children in various places of the Parish of Fátima. The second phase, which is the main story of Fátima, is about the apparitions of a "Lady more brilliant than the Sun", to use a common description of the many devotional accounts.

III. 3. 1. The Apparitions of the Angel:

Lúcia was the youngest child of seven of Antonio Ababora dos Santos, a farmer, and his wife, Maria Rosa, who was a devout Catholic. (She was one of the few people in Aljustrel who could read and most of her books were about the lives of the saints). On winter evenings she taught catechism to Lúcia and their neighbours' children. Lúcia received her first Holy Communion at the age of six as a consequence of her mother's Catechism classes given at home, the normal age being nine or ten.

Francisco and Jacinta were the two youngest children of Lúcia's paternal aunt, Olimpia of Jesus, and her second husband Manuel Pedro Marto. Like Antonio Ababora, Manuel Pedro was a shepherd and

consequently the children, Lúcia, Francisco and Jacinta were responsible for pasturing their families' flocks.

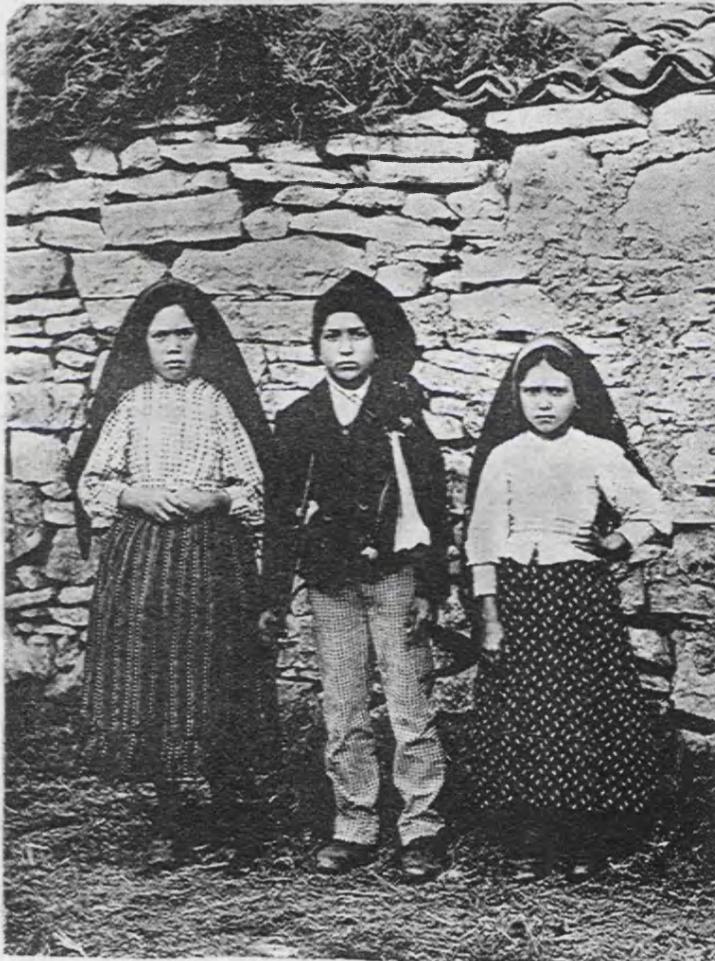
The whole account of the apparitions to these three little shepherds, both of the angel and of the Virgin Mary, was given in Lúcia's "Memoirs", and can be found in other works by priests such as W. Thomas Walsh, Chanoine Barthas and Gonzaga da Fonseca. Without sensationalising these stories, I would like to examine each of the messages.

In 1916, a year before the apparitions of the Virgin Mary, one morning while tending their families' flocks the three children took refuge in a cave from a sudden rain storm. After the rain stopped, Lúcia describes "a transparent young man of fourteen or fifteen years of age, more brilliant than a crystal, penetrated by the rays of the sun" who came into the entrance of the cave. He said "do not be afraid, I am the Angel of Peace. Pray with me". With that he went down on his knees, bowing his forehead to the ground and repeating three times: "My God, I believe, I adore, I hope, and I love You! I beg pardon of You for those who do not believe, do not adore, do not hope and love You" (quoted in Walsh 1954;36 and McGrath 1961;179).



The apparition of the Angel.

It must not be forgotten that at the time of this apparition, Lúcia, the eldest, was ten, Francisco nine and his sister Jacinta was just seven years old. So, following a religious impulse the three of them prostrated themselves like the figure and repeated the words with him. He told them that they should "pray like that. The Most Holy Hearts of Jesus and Mary will be touched by your prayers" (Barthas and da Fonseca 1947; 7-8). They were so deeply impressed by the words of the figure that they could not forget them and they repeated the prayer as often as possible.



The seers of Fátima at the time of apparitions.

The second apparition took place two months later, in the summer of 1916, when the three children were playing. Suddenly, when they looked up, they saw the young man. He said: "Pray, pray a great deal! Offer prayers and sacrifices constantly to the Most High". When Lúcia

asked "how are we to make sacrifices?", he replied: "make of everything you can a sacrifice and offer it to God as an act of reparation for the sins that offend God, and beg of Him the conversion of sinners. In this way, try to draw down peace upon your country. I am its guardian angel, the Angel of Portugal⁵. Above all, accept and bear humbly the sufferings the Lord will wish to send you" (Barthas and da Fonseca 1947;8-9; Walsh 1954;39; and Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;12).

After this apparition, the children offered up their food and water as a sacrifice for the good of other people. A few weeks later, while the children were praying the formula taught to them, the figure suddenly appeared. This time he held a chalice in his left hand and a host suspended above it, from which some drops of blood fell into the chalice. Leaving the chalice and the host mysteriously suspended in the air, he prostrated himself, then made them repeat the following words three times: "*Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, I adore You profoundly, and I offer You the most precious Body, Soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ, present in all the tabernacles of the world, to repair the outrages by which He Himself offended. And, through the infinite merits of His most Sacred Heart, and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, I beg of You the conversion of poor sinners*". Then, rising from the ground, the figure gave the Host to Lúcia and the contents of the chalice to Francisco and Jacinta saying "take the Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ, horribly outraged by ungrateful men. Repair their sins and console your God". Once again he prostrated himself and repeated three times more the same prayer "Most Holy Trinity...", then disappeared (Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;12). Much impressed by what they had seen, they told nobody about their experience of being visited by a supernatural being.

Lúcia, had already made her first holy communion in Church: In the Catholic tradition the first holy communion is a first step towards adult membership of the Church. It can therefore be seen as an initiation ceremony, but also as the gateway into a liminal state between childhood and adulthood. Father John de Marchi believes that the angel "having fulfilled his mission, returned to Heaven, which would open

⁵ Father Martindale claims that "the book of Daniel warrants our assuming that angels may have nationalities as well as individual souls in their charge (1950; 150).

again six months later for the Mother of God to pass through" (de Marchi [1950] 1983;50). Was his "mission" just to distribute their first holy communion or to herald that someone very important was coming to them? According to the devotional accounts both could be correct (see Walsh 1954; de Marchi 1983; and Barthas and da Fonseca 1947).

The psychologist Michael Carroll regards the apparitions of the angel as simple hallucinations. His reasoning is that Jacinta had not received her first holy communion even though she had wanted it desperately. This may be due to the fact that Lúcia had already received communion at six because of her knowledge of catechism. Carroll reaches a conclusion that "the apparition of the angel was a hallucination that in a very direct way gratified the wish of a grieving six-year-old child" (Carroll 1986;176). Another point that also supports Carroll's argument is the fact that the children did not tell anyone else about their experience and even Francisco was not sure about what had happened because a few days later he asked Jacinta whether the angel gave him Holy Communion and Jacinta answered that they had received Holy Communion (Walsh 1954;42).

I wish to raise another point about the symbolism of bread and blood: Lúcia received the host and Francisco and Jacinta received the blood from the angel. Later on, in the second apparition of the Virgin Mary, they were told that Francisco and Jacinta would be taken to Heaven and Lúcia would stay in this world a little longer. Thus, it can be assumed that bread symbolises life and blood symbolises death⁶. As a matter of fact, on the 4th of April, 1919, Francisco died at the age of 11 and on the night of the 20th February, 1920 Jacinta died when she was just 10 years old.

III. 3. 2. The Apparitions of the Virgin Mary:

The main apparitions of Fátima took place in 1917. From May to October, the Virgin is said to have appeared to the three children on the

⁶ John O'Neil (1985;125) points out some other characteristics of blood and its place in social life: "In every human community, as in every human being, blood has always been regarded as the source and symbol of life. Furthermore, human blood is surrounded with religious awe. It is the mark of life and death, of health and fertility, of holy sacrifice and unholy murder. Blood is noble when spilled in battle, ignoble when menstruated. Blood is the vehicle of passion, of individual and national character. Blood, then, is a cultural object, and not only a biomedical object".

13th of each month (except August) at noon in the Cova da Iria which is about two kilometres from where the angel first appeared to them. The children involved were simple peasants and spent most of their time on the land. During the winter months of 1917, Lúcia's brother Manuel joined the army after passing his physical examination. Another of Jacinta's brothers had also gone to war. On May 5, Pope Benedict XV expressed his grief for the war in a letter praying God to bring peace "by the hands of the most holy Virgin" and he added the invocation "Queen of peace, pray for us" to the litany of Loreto" (quoted in Walsh 1954;49).

According to the descriptions of the events given by the children in the devotional accounts, the apparitions took place as follows:

Apparitions of the Virgin Mary on the 13th May 1917, having been to Mass, the children took their flocks to a piece of land known as the Cova da Iria. The land belonged to Lúcia's parents. While the sheep were grazing, they suddenly saw a flash of lightning and with fear of being caught by a storm, they decided to go home. Only half way down the slope, they saw another flash. A few steps further, on a small holmoak tree in front of them, they saw a "lady all dressed in white. She was more brilliant than the sun, and radiated a light, clearer and more intense than a crystal cup full of crystalline water penetrated by the rays of the most glaring sun. Her face was indescribably beautiful, not sad, not happy but serious" Walsh 1954;50: Barthas and da Fonseca 1947;12; de Marchi 1950;50-51; and Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;14).

The following dialogue took place between the "beautiful lady" and the children:

- "Do not be afraid. I will not harm you."

- "Where do you come from?" asked Lúcia.

- "I come from heaven"

- "What do you want of me?" asked Lúcia eagerly. (It should be noted that she says "me", not "us".)

- "I have come to ask you to come here for six months on the 13th of the month, at this same hour. Later on I will tell you who I am and what I want".

- "And shall I go to heaven?"

- "Yes you will", came the answer.

- "And Jacinta?"

- "She will go too"

- "And Francisco?"

- "Francisco too, but he will have to say many Rosaries first".

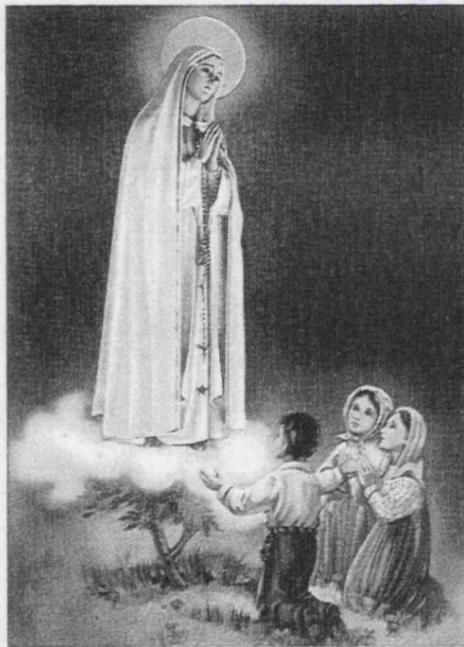
After a little while, the lady continued:

- "Will you offer yourselves to God and bear all the sufferings which He wills to send, as an act of reparation for sins by which He is offended, and of supplication for the conversion of sinners?"

- "Yes we will" Lúcia said in a decided voice.

- "Then you are going to have much to suffer, but the grace of God will be your strength".

Finally the lady in white said: "Say the Rosary every day, to bring peace to the world and the end of war".



APARIÇÃO DE N.ª S.ª AOS TRÊS PASTORINHOS
FÁTIMA

Then the lady disappeared into the immensity of space. The children spent the rest of the day at the Cova da Iria. They agreed to say nothing to anyone about what had happened but Jacinta, the youngest of the three, could not help exclaiming "what a beautiful lady!" and the same evening she revealed the secret to her mother. Obviously people did not

believe such a fantastic story and the children were treated badly. Despite their parents' disbelief, the children decided to go to the Cova da Iria on the 13th of June, the feast of *São Antonio* (St. Anthony) of Lisbon. At noon on this day, 13 June 1917, the second apparition of the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared to the three children, along with the first of many other pilgrims. Lúcia started the conversation by asking the lady a question:

- "What does your Excellency want of me?" (Again, as in the first apparition, Lúcia uses the first singular pronoun, as if Jacinta and Francisco do not see or hear anything.)

- "I want you to come here on the thirteenth day of the coming month, to recite the Rosary and pray "O my Jesus, forgive us and deliver us from the fire of hell : take all souls to Heaven especially those who are most in need. I want you to learn to read ". She promised to take Francisco and Jacinta to heaven and told Lúcia "you will stay here. Jesus wishes to make use of you to make me known and loved. He wants to establish in the world the devotion to my Immaculate Heart". She also assured Lúcia that her Immaculate Heart would be her refuge.

In this apparition there are some elements that need to be explained in detail:

First, unlike other people who heard the story, the children had never identified the "lady" of the first apparition as the Virgin Mary, but, in this second one, the lady used one of the titles of Mary: the Immaculate Heart. In the Lourdes apparitions, the notion of the Immaculate Conception gave the apparitions some sort of legitimacy and a support for the authority of the Pope (see Dahlberg 1987). According to the devotional accounts, the children were assumed not to have heard of this Marian title before.

Although Lúcia denied having heard the story of Lourdes before her own apparition, the account of O'Connell (1949;43-44), assumes that the story was known in Fátima because the local priest suggested some similarities between Lúcia's story and the story of Lourdes.

Second, the children and other people were asked to recite the rosary everyday in order to obtain world peace. Here are two associations between the Virgin Mary and the Rosary: first, the recitation of the

"Hail Mary", asking her to help people in need and second, the use of the rosary as an amulet against the calamities of this world.

After the second apparition, Lúcia's mother took her to the Parish Priest (Fr. Manuel Ferreira) for an interrogation. Not satisfied, the priest's conclusion was that "it might be a trick of the devil". So Lúcia decided not to go to the Cova da Iria on the 13th July for the third apparition but the other two children convinced her to go. At about noon on that day, the figure appeared to the children saying; "Continue to pray the Rosary everyday in honour of Our Lady of Rosary to obtain the peace for the world and the end of the war, because only she can obtain it". Lúcia asked her to perform a miracle. The answer was "in October I will say who I am and what I want. I will perform a miracle for all to see and believe". Lúcia also presented her with some requests for healing and conversions. The figure replied that people must pray the Rosary in order to obtain these graces. She continued: "make sacrifices for sinners and say: O Jesus, this is for love of You, for the conversion of sinners and in reparation for sins against the Immaculate Heart of Mary". After saying this she opened her arms and the children were shocked by a vision of hell with the souls of sinners in it. "The war will end, but if men do not cease to offend God another worse one will begin. When you see a night lit by a strange, unknown light, you will know that it is the sign that God gives you that he is going to punish the world for its crimes by means of war, hunger and the persecution of the Church and the Holy Father. To prevent it I shall come to ask for the consecration of Russia to my Immaculate Heart and the reparatory Communion of the First Saturdays. If my desires are fulfilled, Russia will be converted and there will be peace; if not, she will spread her errors throughout the world, causing wars and persecutions of the Church; the good will be martyred and the Holy Father will have much to suffer; various nations will be annihilated. But in the end my Immaculate Heart will triumph. The Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me and the world enjoy a period of peace. In Portugal the Dogma of Faith will always be conserved. You must not tell this to anyone except Francisco" (de Marchi 1950;77-79: Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;15-17).

In this apparition, there is again emphasis upon praying the Rosary. This time it is clear that in order to avoid danger, believers must say the Rosary. In his account of the origins and historical background of

the Rosary, Carroll (1989;17-18) suggests that there is a link between the Rosary devotion and external threats to the Church. He gives the third apparition at Fátima as an example of the association of the Rosary with the Church's fight against Communism. But he rejects this as the sole reason for the apparition, and argues that the original message of Fátima was that believers should pray for the conversion of the world, not only Russia. He goes on to claim that these anti-Communist and anti-Russian elements of the message were added in 1927 (Carroll 1986; 136-137). When the apparitions took place, Portugal had a socialist government and the Communists had not yet come to power in Russia. The removal of the socialist government by a *coup d'état* must have encouraged some people, like Lúcia, to express their dislike of Socialism, wrongly labelled 'Communism', in Portugal⁷.

After an interview with Lúcia, Fr. de Marchi says that Lúcia recognised the sign of God (a night illuminated by an unknown light) on the night of 24th-25th January 1938, almost two years before the Second World War started. But she could not do anything about it and was convinced that "the hour of mercy" had not yet arrived (de Marchi 1950;79).

In this third apparition, the Virgin Mary asserted her powers of intercession in a very convincing statement: "In the end my Immaculate Heart will triumph".

The very last sentence of the message gives rise to some doubts as to whether this apparition was seen and heard only by Lúcia and not by the others. It suggests more than a 10-year-old simple peasant girl's hallucination. It also begs the question of how a 10-year-old girl could remember such sophisticated political propaganda. Stories of these apparitions had spread all over Portugal. The general view of the administrative classes was not positive: they wanted to stop this religious feeling from developing. On the morning of the 13th of August, Arthur Santos (the Mayor of the Vila Nova de Ourém, the county which included Fátima), offered the children a lift to the Cova da Iria. Instead,

⁷ I was once told by Dr. Cristino, the Director of Fátima Studies at the shrine, that Lúcia was reported during the time of the apparitions exclaiming "viva a monarquia e baixa o comunismo!" (long live the Monarchy and down with Communism!).

he took them to the Vila Nova de Ourém's Town Hall and did not allow them back home until the 15th of August.

On the 19th of August, the children chose Valinhos as a site to graze their flocks and it was here that the Virgin Mary appeared again. In this fourth apparition, the "lady" repeated her promise of performing a miracle in October and again asked the children to pray and make sacrifices for sinners.

Bartas and da Fonseca claim that the lady expressed her sympathy for the children because they had been prevented from going to the Cova da Iria by adding that "because of the unbelief of the freethinkers, the miracle promised for October would be less striking" and they argue that that very day at Fátima a Congress of Propaganda and Protestation was held by the freethinkers against 'clerical lies' (Barthas and da Fonseca 1947;36).

Father de Marchi also believed that the Virgin Mary was supposed to say that St. Joseph would come with the Holy Child to bring peace to the world. (de Marchi 1950;105).

As in the previous apparitions we see emphasis upon sacrifice, especially for sinners. Unlike some other religions, in Christianity animals are not slaughtered for sacrifice to God. I think and unlike the Judaism of Biblical times, there is a relationship between the absence of animal sacrifice and the crucifixion of Jesus. In Christian doctrine, Jesus sacrificed himself for sinners and because of this, "lamb" is used to describe him. Catholics still believe that they should imitate Jesus and make as many sacrifices as possible to God. Here I use the term "sacrifice" with a special reference to suffering. It seems to me that Catholicism is a religion of suffering; the faithful must suffer in order to clean themselves from their sins and to obtain salvation. This sense of suffering appears to be one of the main discourses of the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Fátima. Pilgrims arrive at the sanctuary sometimes having walked hundreds of miles for days beforehand, many of them cross the sanctuary square on their knees as an offer of sacrifice. They make themselves humble and suffer. Here prayer, sacrifice, penance and suffering become mixed together.

On the 13th of September, when the fifth apparition took place, approximately 25.000 people were present at the Cova da Iria. This time the figure told Lúcia to "continue to pray the Rosary in order to obtain the end of the war.." and reiterated "in October I will perform a miracle so that all may believe" (Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;18: de Marchi 1950;114: Walsh 1954;127: da Fonseca and Barthas 1947;41).

On the 13 October 1917, at the sixth apparition of the Virgin Mary, some 70.000 people were present at the Cova da Iria. The continuous rain stopped abruptly right at the moment of the apparition. This time the figure told Lúcia that she wanted "a chapel is to be built here in my honour. I am the Lady of the Rosary. Continue to pray the Rosary every day. The war is going to end. Do not offend the Lord our God any more because He is already so much offended". Then she pointed up at the sun. Looking up towards the sun, the children had some other visions: the Child Jesus blessing the world; Our Lady of Sorrows; and lastly Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Lúcia asked the audience to look up the sun. At a certain point the sun seemed to stop and then began to move, or according to the typical expression of the people, "to dance". It stood still then began to dance once more until it was detached from the sky and seemed to be falling upon the people. At this moment those witnessing this phenomena were afraid that the end of the world had come and some people are believed to have converted to Catholicism. The Fátima apparitions thus came to an end (Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;19; de Marchi 1950;129-142; da Fonseca and Barthas 1947;45-48; and Walsh 1954;146-147).

It is interesting that the figure identified herself as Our Lady of the Rosary and not Our Lady of Fátima. Also in the visions some other Marian titles were used such as Our Lady of Mount Carmel and Our Lady of Sorrows. Even in their devotional accounts, de Marchi and Walsh, mention some discrepancies regarding the last apparition. When the children were interviewed, immediately following the apparition, Lúcia said that she saw Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lady of Mount Carmel and a half figure representation of Jesus, but Francisco and Jacinta, saw none of them (de Marchi 1950;143: Walsh 1954;151). But all three of them said that they had seen the Holy Family. Carroll argues that during the apparition Lúcia was heard to say "St. Joseph is going to bless us" (Walsh 1954;145); while she was saying this, she was in fact

communicating with her fellow visionaries, so it is not surprising that, like Lúcia, Francisco and Jacinta began to see an image of the Holy Family, which is one of the commonest iconographic images in Catholicism. But Lúcia did not mention Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lady of Mount Carmel. So, the other two did not see these images (Carroll 1986;127-128).

Lúcia had visions both before and after the events of 1916-1917 and, later, apparitions of the Virgin and Jesus in her convent room. She admitted that she had had a vision of "a woman without a head" (Martindale 1950;150) and specifically, "last year I had the vision of the same Lady [the clergy explains this to be an error by the interrogating priest, José Ferreira de Lacerda (Santuário de Fátima 1992;356)] in a place called Estrumeiras and told my mother about it, she mocked me and beat me; for this reason now I don't say anything. It was Jacinta who revealed it; later they asked me about it and I told everything I saw... I was very afraid but she said *that we should not be afraid*". (Lacerda, *Mensageiro* 15 November 1917, quoted in Santuário de Fátima 1992;356).

Father C. Martindale is also confused about this annotated vision (1950;150-51):

We have, it seems to me, three possibilities before us. Either between spring and autumn of 1916 Lúcia saw the triple apparition of a sort of ghost, was frightened by it, but spoke about it when questioned, and *also* the triple apparition of the Angel but said nothing about it at all. Or else, we must assume that both Maria Rosa and Lúcia were mistaken by a year about the spectral apparition and that it really happened in 1915, though I cannot see that this theory (now largely accepted) was mentioned till the angelic apparitions came up for discussion. In either case, the "sheeted form" would remain enigmatic, since it seems to have no religious significance. Or finally we may suppose that the triple apparitions were in fact identical, and that Lúcia simply had no words, or even clear ideas in which to describe her earlier experiences. This implies that there was much more to say about the "sheeted form" than she *could* say at the time, and that, as time went on, she "stylised" her account of the Angel and of the children's interior states not a little, which, so far as mere words go, she evidently did. Against this must be set the fact that when she saw the first, at any rate, of the spectral apparitions she was with three little girls and not with her cousins at all. Her

statement about the exhaustion induced by the angelic apparitions-that they were the first to be so clear (*assim manifesta*)-may mean either that she had seen something else before which was more vague, or, that they were the first of a series of "clear" apparitions (those of our Lady) which she was to see later.

III. 4. The Polemics of the Fátima Apparitions:

So far I have given the "official" and for some authors, the "modified" version of the events that were supposed to have had taken place in Fátima in the years of 1916 and 1917. Yet, "some authors" I have just referred to above believe that the story of Fátima went in two phases. The first period lasted from 1917 to 1938, in other words, until Sister Lúcia started to write her *Memoirs* . The second phase continues from 1938 to today.

Here I wish to give some disputed issues in the story of Fátima:

It is said that the Virgin told Lúcia in her last apparition that "the war was going to end that day". In fact, in the interrogations of the children by the members of the clergy after the apparitions, it was recorded that the children insisted on ending of the war that very day.

Father José Ferreira de Lacerda reported his interrogations of the children in the "Mensageiro" (a weekly Catholic paper published in Leiria) in two parts, first on 22 November 1917 and then on 29 November. In that report Lúcia was stated as having said:

"Que a guerra acabava ainda hoje que esperassem pelos nossos militares muito breve"⁸ (Santuário de Fátima 1992;360).

In his notes of conversations with the children Fr. António dos Santos Alves writes that "they said that she had been N. Senhora do Rozario; that the war had ended on that day..." (Santuário de Fátima 1992;323)⁹. Another clergy, Dr. Manuel Nunes Formigão, a professor of theology in

⁸ That the war has just ended this very day and you may expect our soldiers back soon.

⁹ The interrogations that were made during that time -without any exception- all agree on this statement. Like the Parish Priest's (Manuel Marques Ferreira) report dated 16 October 1917 (Santuário de Fátima 1992;23) and Nunes Formigão with his interview with Jacinta on 13 October 1917 (ibid., 123).

the Santarém seminary, right after his return from Lourdes having spent a month there, came to Fátima and interrogated the children (ibid., 37) on the days of each apparition. Jacinta told him that "the war ended that day" on 13th of October. A few days later, having seen that the war was going on, he returned to the house of children and asked Jacinta again (Santuário de Fátima 1992;143):

"- Did you say that the war ended that day or would end soon?

- Our Lady said that no sooner had she returned to Heaven than the war ended.

- But the war has not ended yet!

- It's ending, it's ending. I think it's ending on Sunday".

Having seen the contradiction in these statements, the clergy tried to change what was said by Lúcia. For example, she was reported as saying "do penances! Our Lady wants you to do penance. If you do penance, the war will end". In another "official" interrogation of Lúcia in her convent in Porto on 8th of July, 1924, she declared that "it seems to me that (Our Lady) talked in this manner: convert yourselves; the war is ending today, expect your soldiers back very soon. My cousin Jacinta told me at home that the Lady said it in this way: «convert yourselves that the war will end in a year's time» " (Martins dos Reis 1953;266). The same author, very anxious to clear the situation, also reports that on 26 June 1947 Lúcia said in an interview "I never heard the talk about «the war is ending today» but on the contrary, «convert yourselves, do penances» ... I had not heard the word "today". Others asked me this question and I always responded in this way" (ibid., 265-66).

There are many other contradictions in the children's accounts, like whether the Lady had earrings, the colour of her cloak, whether other figures (N. Senhora do Carmo, the Child, etc.) had been on this side or that side, whether the Lady wore stockings, shoes went or bare-footed, etc. All of those discrepancies might be attributed (as did the clergy) to the forgetfulness of the children and above all to their ages.

I would like to point out another contradiction that was denied afterwards. In the Lourdes apparitions a small girl threw a pebble at the "vision" in order to frighten Bernadette. In an interview with Father José Ferreira de Lacerda Jacinta stated that "the brother threw a stone

at the sheep and it passed next to her" (Santuário de Fátima 1992;335). Yet, the editors of the book *Documentação Crítica de Fátima* explain this confusing answer in a footnote, saying that it was not Francisco (brother of Jacinta) who threw the stone, but his brother João Marto who "threw the stone last year". Francisco also confirmed this suggestion that it was not him but his brother João who did it (Santuário de Fátima 1992;335). In another footnote we come across a "previous apparition a year earlier". Lúcia is said to have stated that before 1917 she had had another apparition which was called *vulto embrulhado* (a sheeted form) and João threw the stone at "her" (Santuário de Fátima 1992; 347)¹⁰.

III. 5. Some Aspects of the Marian Apparitions in Fátima:

If we think of history as the course of events in the mundane world, the apparitions of the Virgin Mary thus illustrate the sacred meaning of contemporary historical events such as wars, revolution. In this study, my approach to the apparitions will be different from that of the rationalist's point of view who rejects *a priori* the possibility of divine intervention in history. My view will be different from the Church's point of view: that God has always intervened with the secular actions in the world and will do so in the future (Lochet 1960;32). As an anthropologist, I am not interested in either verifying or falsifying the apparitions of Fátima but I am interested in their significance to the devotions of the Portuguese.

The message of Fátima contains both religious and secular/profane aspects. The secular interpretations contain political events that Our Lady was believed to have foretold to the little children; such as the Bolshevik Revolution, the end of World War I and the coming of World War II.

In the religious domain, the message consists of some fundamental aspects of Catholicism. First, there is a reference to prayer from the angel and Our Lady. Second, the children were asked several times to do penance as an act of reparation for the sinners. The works of penance are "everything you can sacrifice" (Second Apparition of the Angel).

¹⁰ Luis Gonzaga da Fonseca (1951) provides an answer to some of the criticisms cited above.

And every time the Virgin Mary appeared at Fátima she insisted on the prayer of the Rosary, not only in order to obtain personal favours, but also to receive favour for mankind. Also the lady, in her third apparition, made it clear that there was no division between the Church and the Pope: "if my requests are not heeded, Russia will spread her errors throughout the world, causing wars and persecutions of the Church, the good will be martyred and the Holy Father will have much to suffer"; to persecute the Church simply means to persecute the Pope.

III. 6. Pilgrimage and Ceremonies; some further details:

Pilgrimages take place at Fátima throughout the year reaching a peak on the 12th and 13th of each month from May to October. The number of pilgrims were estimated at 3.890.000 in 1984, and 3.528.000 in 1986 and at 3.608.000, (the population of Portugal is 10 million), from over 100 different countries, in 1987 (Rinschede 1988;67).

Each pilgrimage includes the following ceremonies: The recitation of the Rosary, the Candlelight Procession, Holy Mass, the Blessing of the Sick, and the Farewell *Adeus* Procession (Rossi and de Oliveira 1982;7).

The development of the pilgrimage center of Fátima, from the beginning to 1988, from the socio-geographical view, can be found in Rinschede's statistically rich article (Rinschede 1988). Here I want to summarise this development chronologically:

1-The number of people who were present at the apparitions:

- 13 May 1917: the three children (Lúcia, Francisco and Jacinta)
- 13 June 1917: about fifty people
- 13 July 1917: about 4.000 people
- 19 August 1917: the three children and Jacinta's brother John
- 13 September 1917: 25.000 people
- 13 October 1917: about 70.000 people

Important dates in the history of the pilgrimage are:

13 October 1921: permission was granted to celebrate the first Holy Mass in the Chapel of the Apparitions.

6 March 1922: the Chapel of the Apparitions was destroyed by dynamite and the Bishop of Leira nominates a commission of enquiry.

1926: visit to the site by the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon

1927: the Vatican grants the privilege of a votive mass at Fátima.

1928: the building of the Sanctuary began.

13 June 1929: the Virgin Mary appeared to Lúcia in Tuy, Spain and asked for the consecration of Russia to her Immaculate Heart.

October 1930: the Bishop of Leira, Dom José Alves Correira, in his pastoral letter, approved the cult of Our Lady of Fátima and declared the apparitions as worthy of belief, "the visions of the shepherd children in the Cova da Iria, parish of Fátima, in this diocese, from the 13th May to 13th October, 1917 and we permit officially the cult of Our Lady of Fátima" (de Marchi 1950;221).

1931: the pilgrimage of the Bishops of Portugal and consecration of Portugal to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

31 October 1942: the Pope Pius XII consecrated the World to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

13 October 1951: Cardinal Tedeschini, Pontifical Legate, closed the 1950 Holy year at Fátima.

13 May 1967: the Pope Paul VI, for the 50th anniversary of the Apparitions, visited Fátima as a pilgrim.

13 May 1982: one year after the assassination attempt against him, Pope John Paul II made a pilgrimage to Fátima and offered thanks to the Virgin (Rinschede, 1988 and Rossi and de Oliveira, 1982).

"On 24 March 1984 Pope John Paul II knelt before a white statuette of Our Lady of Fátima in St. Peter's Square and, watched by a crowd of 150.000 and a potential television audience of one billion, dedicated the planet to the Immaculate Heart of Mary" (Perry and Echeverria 1988;1).

III. 7. Nationalism and its Relationship with Religion in Portugal:

Elie Kedourie starts his book on the theme of nationalism with a definition of the term: "nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organisation of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government" (Kedourie 1985;9 and cf. Anderson 1983 and Gellner 1983).

Thus the doctrine of nationalism comprises a distinctive community with some special characteristics which mark that community off from others, and also it gives the people to protect and promote that distinctiveness within an autonomous state (or rather to put it rightly, a nation-state). For Kedourie, in nationalist doctrine, these elements constitute different aspects of the nation: language, race, culture, and sometimes religion (ibid., 73). If I understand Kedourie correctly, if a group of people, as a whole, speaks the same language, has the same culture and religion, they must be known as a nation. In the case of Portugal, according to Opello, homogeneity is the most distinctive feature of Portuguese society. "Consolidated and unified politically, economically, and linguistically in the thirteenth century, Portugal does not contain any readily identifiable subnational ethnic groups like the Catalans and Basques in Spain. Moreover, Portuguese society has never been plagued by the religious and the linguistic struggles that have marred the development of other nation-states in Western Europe" (Opello 1991;20).

What I deduce from Kedourie and Opello is that Portugal is a nation-state and a homogenous society, but what confuses me most is how a nationalistic feeling was provoked and aroused among the Portuguese because I believe that, as in the case of ethnicity, the notion of nationalism appears in a people when they encounter "others". So how was the nationalistic feeling created in Portugal? In order to answer this question, I will try to relate religion and nationalism because in my view, religion was the main medium which created the notion of nationalism in Portugal.

During World War I, Emile Durkheim observed the effects of nationalism on the French community and he implied that nationalism had the same social effects as traditional religions (quoted in Turner 1983;15). In the modern, industrialised world the "decay of the state is obscured and disguised by the rise of nationalism which creates an artificial meaning and significance for political life. A state which is maintained by nationalist ideology does not create a political arena within which citizens can mature morally and culturally. Nationalism is merely an instrument of political domination devoid of public normative legitimacy" (Turner 1983;42). In Portugal during the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime of Salazar, a number of collaborative agencies were de-

signed to harmonise class differences, unify the nation, and spread Salazar's corporatist ideology. Through the notion of nationalism the whole nation was led to obey Salazar blindly because the society could not mature morally and culturally. There was no room for politics because the *Estado Novo* controlled Portuguese political and social life through censorship. With the arrival of the *Estado Novo* "school curricula changed and textbooks were rewritten to reflect the official shift toward Salazar's Thomist Catholicism and nationalistic and authoritarian views" (Opello 1991;70). Since Salazar did not want the Portuguese to have any sort of political views, especially against his authoritative dictatorship, he created a feeling of, what I would like to call, a "national religion" through using the shrine of Fátima.

In Portugal, as Riegelhaupt observes, the "festa organisation is the one arena in which they [the participants] make public their recognition that there is strength in unity" (Riegelhaupt 1975;850). The rituals of festa play an important role in unifying the people against the outside world. The Portuguese nation was led to believe that the Virgin Mary had not appeared to save an individual Portuguese peasant but to give a message to all of Portugal. The celebrations at Fátima "are supralocal, national devotions, a gathering of solitary families and individual believers. A national and universal framework is increasingly propagated by a Church concerned with developing citizens for a 'modern state'" (ibid., 850). For people, their local *festas* were their collective identities which unite them against the conflict of their neighbouring parishes. But for the priests who "in country towns and provincial villages acted as dispensers of official propaganda and agents of social conformity and political vigilance" (Gallagher 1987;529) religious practice was one that only took place under the roof of the church, and which they could control. Thus, as Sally Cole argues, parish priests discouraged *festas* which took place outside church, and encouraged worship inside church. "Following directives from the national church, they also endorsed pilgrimages to supralocal, national shrines -especially to Fátima, but also to other regional shrines- a strategy that undermined community festas and encouraged people to view religion as an individual endeavour that takes place under the guidance of priests and the bounds of church" (Cole 1991;99 and Riegelhaupt 1984).

Like the Virgin of Guadalupe (Mexico), *Nossa Senhora da Fátima* links together family, politics and religion. The symbol of Fátima provides a cultural idiom through which the social relationships can be expressed (cf. Wolf 1958). The association of Fátima and being Portuguese is so advanced that the Portuguese immigrants in France think "Fátima, pour les Portugais ici, c'est quelque chose de nous-mêmes...qui fait partie de nous", "C'est une manière d'être Portugais ... Pour tous les migrants Portugais, c'est un coin...un morceau du Portugal", "Fátima représente ou rappelle...'notre pays', 'notre terre', 'mon village', 'mon église', 'ma famille'" (Lopes 1986;105). As Lopes calls it, the reality of Fátima has become the "totem" of Portugal, while Jane Vessels gives the title "Fátima: Beacon for Portugal's Faithful" for her article (Vessels 1980).

The importance of these apparitions is that they occurred in 1917 at a critical moment in Portugal's history and world history; in the middle of World War I and at the beginning of the social and political revolution in the world, that is, the communist Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Due to the extremely political content of the message given by the Virgin Mary at Fátima, the shrine was manipulated by politicians. Even the U.S. President Ronald Reagan, in his visit to the Portuguese Parliament, talked about Fátima: "In the prayers of simple people everywhere, simple people like the people of Fátima, there resides more power than in all the great armies and statesmen in the world ... " (quoted in Perry and Echeverría 1988;1). The *Estado Novo* regime of Salazar was "inseparable from the new Marian shrine" (ibid., 188). According to Mario Soares, "Salazarism and the Church in Portugal were intimately intertwined... For decades the twin powers were indistinguishable". For Dr. Soares, Fátima's political implications were "certainly beyond question" (ibid., 189). Professor Diego Pacheco de Amorim believes that Fátima is the cement of the Portuguese nation and as such "no government should ignore Fátima or disassociate itself from its patriotic significance... It is through Fátima that the Portuguese of today learn how to be more Portuguese" (ibid., 193).

Thus, if a shrine creates such a political discourse, this aspect of the pilgrimage to Fátima cannot be ignored. The news of the apparitions stirred the country, causing reactions from various groups in Portugal; some attacks came from the liberal-minded élites of the Republic, such

as the Masonic Lodge of Santarém, which carried out a bombing of the tree on which the Virgin was supposed to appear, during the night of October 23-24, 1917.

Yet the events of Fátima influenced the country in favour of the Church, in the unfavourable atmosphere generated by the *Lei da Separação*; great numbers of crowds gathered in the shrine day after day. Oliveira Marques argues that "the eclipse of the First World War favoured and intensified the faith in general and the cult of Mary in particular both in Portugal and other catholic countries" (1991;510) to the extent that Mary was said to have appeared to soldiers at Loublande (France) in September 1917, and, more importantly, there were rumours that Mary appeared to a shepherd boy at Barral (Viana do Castelo, Portugal) a week before (10 May 1917) the Fátima apparitions. The seer claimed to have had a dialogue with the Virgin, the contents of which were quite similar to those of Fátima (ibid.). The same author goes on to claim that the apparitions of Fátima served to "establish an intimate connection between the religious phenomenon and the opposition to the regime" (ibid., 511) of the Republic, with its anticlericalism and plans for the de-christianization of the country¹¹.

III. 8. Anticlericalism in Portugal:

First of all, I wish to give the general background to anticlericalism. Although there have been some regional studies¹², I rely heavily on José Sánchez's most celebrated work on anticlericalism.

Anticlericalism, like ritual, is an ambiguous term. To some it means a struggle against the wealthy, tyrannical and self-serving clergy by the supporters of democracy and freedom. To others it is an attack on the clergy, who serve to God in order to establish His ruling system on this earth, by the enemies of religion (e.g. atheists and agnostics). To un-

¹¹ The aftermath events of Fátima are detailed in Barthas 1969, and about the manipulation of such events (visions, apparitions, etc.) see Christian 1987.

¹² Some regional studies of anticlericalism are to be found in José Cutileiro's (1971) brilliant monograph on the Vila Velha in the south of Portugal (pious and secular anticlericalism); Joyce Riegelhaupt's (1984) paper on São Miguel in the west central of Portugal; Caroline B. Brettel's (1990) paper on Santa María del Monte; and finally João de Pina-Cabral's (1986) monograph on Alto Minho, North-eastern Portugal.

derstand anticlericalism well, we should understand first of all what clericalism means. C. A. Whittuck defines the term clericalism as "the outcome of a professional bias or rather of a perverted *esprit de corps*, prompting the clergy to make an immoderate, or illicit, use of their legitimate privileges for the benefits of their own class" (quoted in Sánchez 1972;7). In the beginning the clergy were humble people, chosen by the laity and servants of the laity but after the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine, and the Church's triumph over the Roman Empire, the clergy became state officials and had political, social and economic power. After the French Revolution in 1789, the power of the clergy was threatened for the first time in Christian history; their land was taken from them and their schools were closed. As a result, the clergy became more defensive. The humanists, the scientists, the Freemasons, and with the rise of proletarian movements, the socialists and communists, had formed a conspiracy against the clergy.

"In the broadest sense, anticlericalism can be defined as opposition to the power of clergy" (Sánchez 1972;7). This is a general definition of anticlericalism. Sánchez tries to narrow and refine it by labelling anticlericals according to the specific powers of the clergy they attack: "there are dogmatic anticlericals, political anticlericals, social anticlericals, economic anticlericals, educational anticlericals, etc." (ibid., 7-8). He also realises that from this point of view, there can be no intellectual anticlericalism which is "an ideological kind that has more to do with motivation than expression" (ibid., 8). According to Sánchez, in terms of motivation, there are two kinds of anticlericalism: ideological or pragmatic.

The main idea of ideological anticlericalism is to object to the right of the clergy to power because "clerical power is of itself wrong and destructive of whatever values the ideological anticlerical has, whether these values concern the state, the society, or the Church" (ibid., 8). On the other hand, pragmatic anticlericals "attack clerical power because that power happens to interfere with their aims at the moment". They may try to justify their actions with some ideological notions but their practice shows itself: "Pragmatic anticlericalism is limited in motivation, whereas ideological anticlericalism is unlimited" (ibid., 9).

Anticlericalism varies from criticism of the clergy to violence. The notion can be expressed in different ways such as joking about the clergy, prohibiting them from wearing their garbs, putting some restrictions on their land, and burning churches.

According to Sánchez the development of anticlericalism in Portugal has some common factors with that of Spain: "the loss of empire, the attempts to establish liberalism in the nineteenth century, the republican experiment in the twentieth, the evolution of land holdings -small in the north, large estates in the south-" (ibid., 161). The River Tagus, both geographically and socially, breaks Portugal into two; in the north people are much poorer because of a scarcity of land. Therefore people in the north were so busy with earning their daily bread that social anticlericalism could not develop among the masses.

Whatever the reasons for its development, the first signs of anticlericalism in Portugal came after Napoleon invaded the country in 1808. The nation did not resist until the Spanish arose against the French. Soon after, the British landed in Portugal and drove out the French. Meanwhile the anticlerical King John VI was resident in exile Brazil. He was the Grand Master of the Brazilian Freemasons but his second son, Dom Miguel, was the leader of the clericals. Dom Pedro, the older brother of Dom Miguel, named his daughter Maria da Gloria as Queen of Portugal. Dom Miguel, with the support of the most of the clergy, tried to seize power. But in 1833 Dom Pedro returned from Brazil and defeated Miguel and forced him into exile. His government soon began anticlerical activities, not primarily for ideological reasons but for the practical purpose of weakening the Miguelists. Virtually all the clergy were under the control of the state during this time, until the Republic was established on the 4th of October 1910.

The Republicans, who were the liberals and intellectuals of the country, were also positivist and directed their antipathy toward the clergy's role in history. Afonso Costa, the minister of justice, abolished religious instruction in schools and took other measures in order to make Catholicism disappear in a generation or two.

Significantly, as Sánchez notes, "there was little popular anticlericalism" (ibid., 167). Furthermore, with the miracle of Fátima, the rural masses

supported the clergy. "National unity was needed, and anticlericalism served only to alienate" (ibid., 168). After the first coup of Sidonio Pais, the military came to power, and in the 1920s passed laws allowing religious instruction in state schools.

In 1928, when Antonio de Oliveira Salazar came to power as finance minister, the end of anticlericalism was in sight. His constitution of 1933 repealed most of the anticlerical laws, and a concordat with the Vatican in 1940 provided for the legal return of the clergy and the state subsidy of private church schools.

CHAPTER IV



FATIMA TODAY

IV. 1. Introduction:

In the summer of 1992 I left London well equipped with some ethnographic books to read in the field, lots of plain paper and pencils to take notes, and above all with a great enthusiasm and curiosity to see Fátima on which I had read so many books and heard a lot of stories, to carry out my fieldwork. At last, after "doing" much anthropology, I was going to have my own "people" and professional "field place" professionally. I was looking forward to it. In the beginning of July I began my journey with my car to drive all the way down to Fátima through France and Spain. After Salamanca (Spain) on the way to Portugal I noticed so many Swiss registration plated cars passing me. I was surprised that they were driving very fast and carelessly. I thought the Swiss got their fame as careful drivers undeservedly. Later at a coffee break in one of the road service stations in Portugal I realised that they were not Swiss but Portuguese immigrant workers on holiday to visit their families. One of them, on seeing me struggling to make a call from a pay phone approached me with an intention to help, but immediately encountering someone who could speak English, I began to complain about how bad the roads, the telephone, the coffee, etc. had been. She listened to me with a smile and added "you're not in England, this is what we have in Portugal". Upon this answer I felt embarrassed and told myself not to complain any more. She later gave me directions to Fátima and suggested that I take the motorway.

On the motorway when I first saw the signs for Fátima my heart leapt. The closer I got to Fátima the bigger my excitement grew. Around 5 o'clock in the morning of July 6th I arrived at the Fátima motorway toll. After paying I asked the cashier the directions to the shrine. I am sure now that he did not understand me but he promptly assumed that I could not have asked anything else. So he gave me the directions in the end of which he added something like "you can't miss it". He was extremely right! The *Santuário* (shrine

or sanctuary) is situated in the centre of the town and no matter which direction you enter all the roads lead up to the shrine with its huge square 540m long and 160m width in the very centre of the Cova da Iria. At such an early hour the roads were deserted and only a handful of pilgrims were sitting on the benches of the *Capelinha* (Chapel) in the square, some murmuring rosary prayers, others trying to sleep. Then I decided to go back to my car to have a rest after having had a long drive. Around midday I woke up to find surrounded by hundreds of other cars and bustling people around me. Now I was satisfied that I had found my "people" to whom I could talk, or rather, ask so many questions.

Later I learnt that the place I was in was not Fátima but Cova da Iria ("St. Irene's Hollow"), a *lugar* (place)¹ of Fátima, and the majority of people who lived there were not from Fátima either. Unfortunately my realisation came very late, towards the end of my field study, otherwise I could have made more contacts with the people of Fátima and other hamlets. Without going into detail, I could say that the Fátimense (people of Fátima) and the inhabitants of the Cova da Iria differ from each other mainly in mentality and manner; the former are more rural (despite the fact that from administrative point of view they live in an urban setting) and a lot more friendly in their social contacts, the latter are definitely urban and because of their profession, are more "this-worldly" in their social environment. I had been frustrated from their ignorance of my presence because as soon as they realised that they did not have any profit from me (I did not stay in their hotels, I did not eat in their restaurants or buy souvenirs from their shops) they would avoid me and my constant attempts to befriend them.

Therefore, throughout this thesis the general use of the name of Fátima is the result of the people's common habit of calling the

¹ This is a troublesome word for me because I am never quite sure what to make of it because for example it is said that Fátima consists of several *lugares* like Moita, Lomba d'Égua and Cova da Iria. If Fátima were a city these places could be called towns or villages but since Fátima is a village (smaller administrative unit than a city) these places, then, could be called "hamlets".

place by this name. Nonetheless, the proper names of the hamlets will be used in specific references to these places.

IV. 2. The History of the Town:

For the first time in history the place appears on the tax registration list of 1527 with the name of "vintena de Serra e Aljustrel" and in this year it had 36 hearths (Cristino 1992:19). Francisco Pereira de Oliveira also mentions a map drawn by a Vernardo Alvaro Secco, dated 20 May 1560, on which appear some hamlets in the Fátima region such as Motello (Montelo), Aliustrel (Aljustrel), Ourém, and Bacalna (Batalha) (1982:49). According to the historical sources in 1568 in the place of Fátima a parish was set up and later integrated into the diocese of Leiria. In spite of scarce resources due to the aridity of the Serra, the population gradually grew up to 255 hearths in 1757 and 320 houses in 1874 (Soares 1874:152).

From the religious point of view, it had been a spiritually rich place; apart from the parish church there were four more chapels around the town in the 17th century (Baptista 1876:324).

In this century, Fátima was ~~struck~~ by wars; some young people were taken to the Portuguese colonies in Africa, for example. During World War I, Manuel dos Santos Rosa, the brother of Jacinta, went to Cabo Verde; and later, a further 32 young men went to the Western front where they fought in the battle of La Lys, in France (Oliveira 1982:57). Dr. L. Cristino claims that these events helped to increase a religious fervour in the people (Cristino 1992:19-20). I came across an article published in the *Mensagerio* (a Leiria newspaper) in the Archives of the Leiria Municipal Library, saying that a great upsurge in the devotion of the rosary had occurred all around Ourém parishes (21.10.1914). I suspect the seers of the Fátima apparitions were very much influenced by this so-called rosary devotion. At that time any ordinary house "was decorated with pictures of "santinhos" [little saints] as an indication of popular devotion. Apart from a table with a cross on it and some statues in

the guest room, the walls were adorned with frames which were called "bentinhos". Among the many saints were the most well-known, such as Santo António, Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres (the patron saint of the parish), Senhora do Livramento, Santa Luzia, etc.... If there were an oratory, it contained a cross, a rosary beads, as well as some insignia of brotherhoods or confraternities which were common among the people of the *aldeia* (town)" (Oliveira 1982:27).

Obviously, the name of the place (Fátima) is not originally Portuguese. The legend has it that, on the 24 of June in 1158, Gonçalo Hermigues, a one of the Knights Templar, set up an ambush and captured a group of youths when they were leaving the castle of Alcacer do Sal for a day's rejoicing along the river Sado. Fátima was among the captives, she and Gonçalo saw each other and fell in love and married (Soares 1874:152). Apparently, after the apparitions this legend has been politicised with an attempt to make the place look more important, noble and interesting²: First of all, Fátima has had to become a princess, the daughter of the *vali* (governor) of Alcacer do Sal, Gonçalo Hermigues, ~~one of the~~ brave cavalier who presented the captive to the first Portuguese King Afonso Henriques. Gonçalo asked from the King the hand of Fátima, and the King accepted this on condition that she converted to Christianity, she did eventually and was baptised with the name of Oureana (modern Ourém) but died very soon. Gonçalo became a monk and later was appointed as a parish priest of Montelo. Thus, the name of Fátima came from a young Moorish girl (Galamba and Barthas 1947;3).

² Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in his address at the International Congress to the closing of the Holy Year at Fátima, in October, 1951, answers the question of "why should Our Lady be known by the same name as a converted descendant of Mohammed?" as follows: "It is because Our Lady came for the conversion not merely of the carriers of the hammer and the sickle, but also the carriers of the crescent and star. And in the defeats of the two great 'Red Forces' of history which we have seen already on the Iberian Peninsula. . . we may now hope to see something better and greater than defeat: Conversion" (quoted in Haffert 1971:175).

IV. 3. Fátima Today:

Fátima is situated in the Estremadura region of Portugal, some 140 Km north of Lisbon and it is administratively a council of Ourém, a parish of Leiria-Fátima diocese and in the telephone network of Tomar. Unlike most other small villages, it is kept reasonably well with asphalted roads. Thanks to the Santuário, the village is well laid out. The parish seat is Fátima where the parish church and cemetery, a restaurant, some café shops and a few houses are situated. As the seat of the parish, the *Junta da Freguesia* (council) is also set up here.



Junta de Fregueisa de Fátima.

Traditionally every village in Portugal has a patron saint. Annually in the last week-end of August the village of Fátima celebrates its patron saint's day in honour of Saint Antonio. Most of the baptisms, marriages and funerals take place in the parish church. Portugal is divided into several units for administrative purpose. Fátima was elevated to the level of *Vila* (Town, smaller than city and bigger than village) on 19th of August (anniversary of the fourth ap-

partition) in 1977; as a result it has some smaller hamlets (lugares) like Cova da Iria, Moita Redonda, Lomba d'Égua, Aljustrel³, etc. All these places have also their patron saints and *festas* (feast days) of their own. The only exception to this rule is the Cova da Iria. It is said that its patron saint is Our Lady but there is no annual feast day with celebrations like other village festas.



The Parish Church and the Parish Cemetery.

Fátima has also a football team (known in the country as priest's team) in the second division of the National Football League. When I was there, this football team reached quarter finals in the Portuguese cup to play against Sporting Clube de Portugal in Lisbon. I had a chance to travel to the Sporting's stadium to watch the game with the players. On the way I was told that the *bandeira* (flag) of the team had been consecrated in the Santuário and the team was dedicated to Our Lady of Fátima. This occasion was reflected in the newspapers with a great sensation with the

³ The population of these places is as follows:
"Cova da Iria: 2712,
Moita Redonda: 801,
Lomba d'Égua: 168,
Fátima: 560 and
Aljustrel: 380" (Oliveira 1990;90).

headlines that Fátima would travel from the Santuário of Our Lady to the Santuário of the Portuguese football, Alvalade (the home of the Sporting Clube), "Fátima comes to "pray" at Alvalade" and "Fátima asks for a miracle"(A Bola, 16.1.1993). I was also invited to the lunch given by the president of the Sporting Clube for the occasion. After the meal, the two presidents exchanged some gifts: a marble statue of Our Lady of Fátima and a lion (symbol of the Sporting Clube). In the game Sporting beat Fátima 3-2. As everywhere else in Portugal., football is the main sports event in Fátima. The home games of Fátima are watched by a crowd of at least one thousand.

As was said earlier, Fátima as a town consists of a few hamlets around the *Vila de Fátima* and one may be misled into thinking that all the pilgrimage happenings take place in that town; for example, if one assumes that one reaches the Sanctuary by train either from Lisbon or Porto, the Fátima train station is situated some 20 km north-east of Fátima from which one must take a bus (which is highly infrequent) or a taxi to the Cova da Iria, and not to Fátima. The inter-city bus company of Portugal, *Rodaviaria*, runs buses from major cities to the Cova da Iria and back, not to the town of Fátima. It must be a political decision, for in order to promote Fátima and for the convenience of pilgrims, the bus station is also set up in the Cova da Iria.

Therefore, the Cova da Iria is *the pilgrimage center* of Fátima. It was not inhabited until 1917: before the apparitions it was a place where only sheep grazed in the wilderness. As its name *Cova* (hollow) suggests, it was not suitable for agriculture, except, for a small cultivable plot which belonged to the parents of Lúcia. At a distance of 2 km from Aljustrel, the little shepherds would bring their flock here. It is situated by the north-west side of the main road between Fátima and Batalha. The first man-made thing in the place was a wooden arch and a table to be used as an altar after the June apparition in 1917. The apparitions were the *raison d'être* of an emerging town on the map. Soon after the building of a chapel, which were destroyed by the Jacobins of Santarém on the 6th of

March in 1922, people began to inhabit the place. Rodrigues identifies four different phases of population development at the Cova da Iria (1974;78 ff.) :

In the first phase from 1923 to 1928 only 32 people were settled at the Cova da Iria.

The second phase, which lasted seven years from 1928 to 1935, saw some construction workers settling in the place due to beginning of the building of the Basilica.

In the third phase there was a slight increase in population because of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War; due to the lack of pilgrims during this time (1936-1949).

The last phase, from 1950 to the present, is the period that the Cova da Iria saw the highest population in its history, owing to the increase of pilgrims from all over the country and abroad, especially the Holy Year of 1951 and the fiftieth anniversary of the apparitions.

Today, the population of the Cova da Iria is a little more than 3000 which is almost half the total population of the Fátima town⁴. Around a third of them lives in 39 female and 15 male religious institutions. The rest could be divided into two groups; the first, those who perform pilgrimage-related works such as hotels, souvenir shops, restaurant and cafés, the second group is those who work to support the needs of the town, for example, supermarkets, cloths, furniture or construction business⁵.

⁴ The population of Fátima and surrounding places was as follows in 1990:

Cova da Iria: 2712

Moita Redonda: 801

Lomba d'Égua: 168

Fátima: 560

Aljustrel: 380 (Oliveira 1990;90).

⁵ In order to give at least a vague idea on the density of business in Fátima I would like to give some figures of commercial activities:

Souvenir shops: 132

Cafés and restaurants: 13

Hotels: 5

Pensions: 20

Supermarkets: 4

Factories of;

religious articles: 6

furniture: 3

marble: 2

The business is concentrated on the two main roads running from the two roundabouts just outside the centre to the sanctuary. The roads Jacinta Marto and Francisco Marto are packed with shops, hotels and some religious institutions almost all of them named after saints or holy places such as Hotel Santa Maria, Pensão 13 de Maio, and Restaurante Calvario. There are also two *praçetas* (little plazas) on either side of the shrine which have some 40 kiosk-like souvenir shops with their goods piled up on tables on the pavements selling votive candles in all possible sizes, wax figures of every human organ like legs, arms, hearts, etc., devotional pictures, plastic miniatures of the Basilica enclosed in snow storms, crucifixes, television sets which would produce different slide pictures of Fátima. One can buy rosaries in so many sizes and models and colours that I cannot possibly give an adequate description of them here. But most of all they sell Virgins. These were carved in wood (madeira), cast in plastic, set on tiny plinths, some of them would wear a crown made of tin. These shops belong to the Santuário but are run by those who had had small plots before the construction of the shrine at the Cova da Iria. The shrine rents them for a small amount of money in return of their lands used for the Santuário.

The Cova da Iria is *the* destination of pilgrims. In other words, it is a pilgrimage centre, because the Santuário, with its spectacular religious ceremonies, differs from other churches. The seasonality of pilgrims concentrates on the summer months, specifically the apparition days of 12th and 13th of each month from May to October. According to my observation, May is the favourite pilgrimage month of the Portuguese whereas August, due to its being a vacation time for immigrant workers in Europe, is preferred by "tourist-pilgrims", that is, both genuine pilgrims and tourists who come to Fátima out of curiosity.

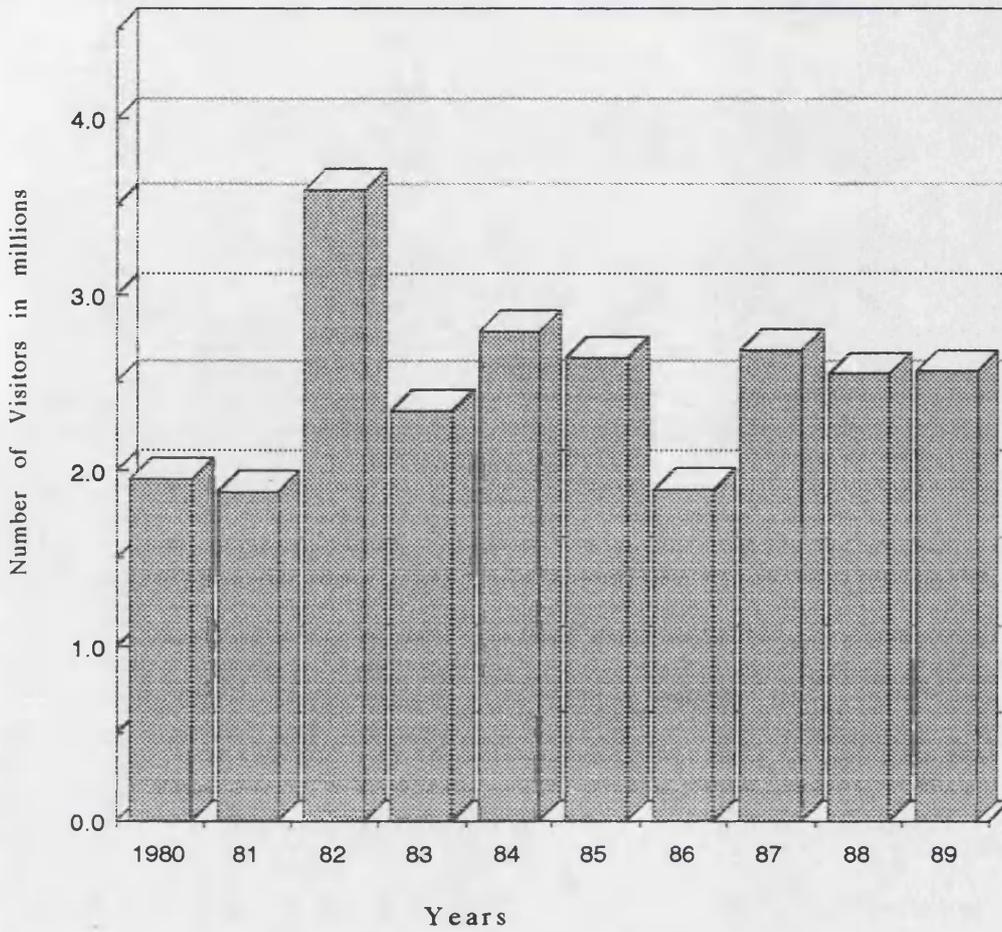
Books and stationary shops: 5

Banks: 5 branches

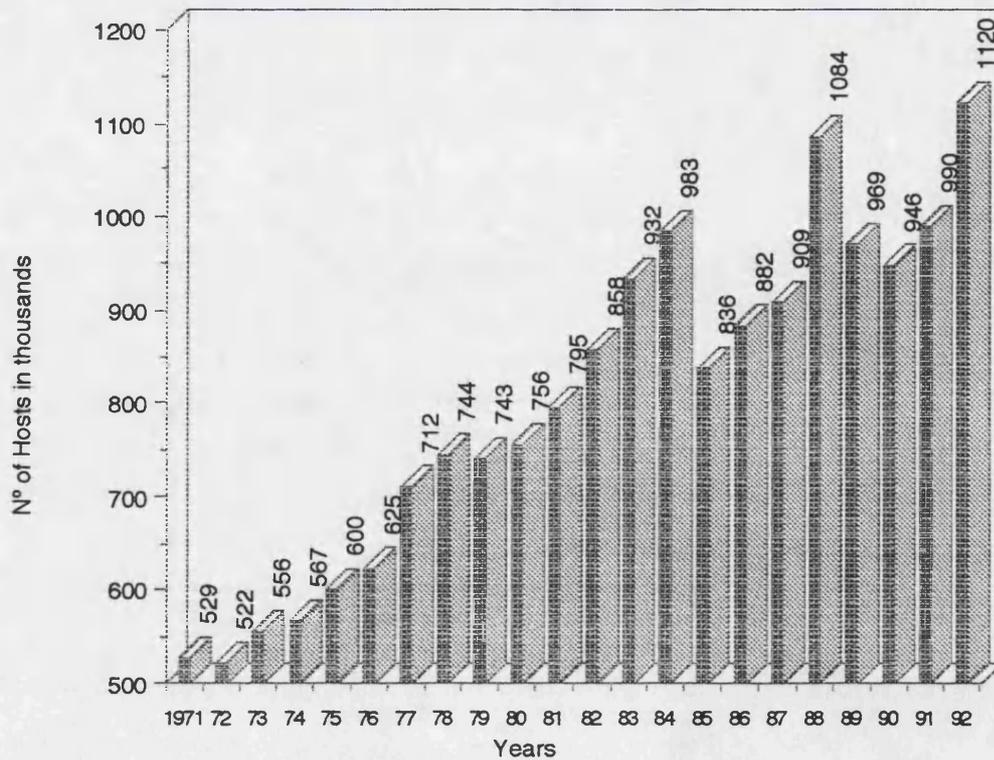
Insurance agents: 3

These hotels, pensions and houses of the religious institutions could accommodate at least 3056 persons in their 1835 rooms (Oliveira 1990:92-93).

Estimated Number of Visitors in Fátima



Nº of Hosts given in Fátima



IV. 4. The Media and Fátima:



The adverts of the TVI and the film *Aparição* in the shrine.

In the evenings at 6.30 the rosary prayer which takes place in the Capelinha is transmitted live on the *Radio Renascença*. Incidentally, this is the church's radio station (60% belongs to the Diocese of Leiria-Fátima and the rest to the Episcopal Conference of Portugal). It has two national and one international (aimed at the Portuguese immigrants workers in Europe; today from time to time I listen to this channel in London lest I should forget my Portuguese) channels transmitting in medium wave and FM bands. RFM (*Renascença FM*) caters for higher classes, especially university students because the majority of its programmes consist of American and European music. RR has also several regional studios in Lisbon, Leiria, Porto,

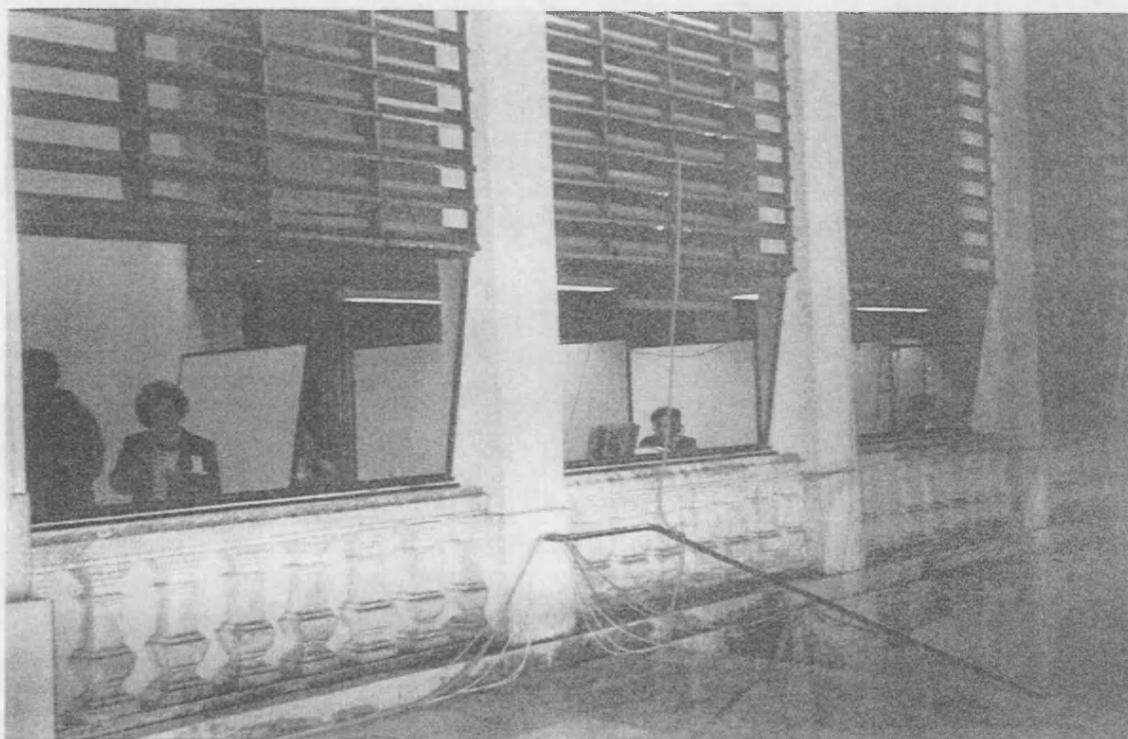
Braga, Vila Real, Évora and Viseu. I learned all of this in an interview with the person responsible for the Fátima studio of the RR which is situated in the Casa de Nossa Senhora de Carmo (administrative building of the Santuário). This studio in Fátima covers everything in the town (todo em Fátima) especially news related to religion for example meetings of bishops (which takes place always in Fátima), church organisations' activities, meetings of religious institutions' superiors, religious art (Património Igreja de Arte), and *Misericórdia* meeting (before 1974 hospitals in Portugal belonged to the Church but after the Revolution all of them were nationalised in that particular week when I interviewed Antonio [14.6.1993] hospitals would be reunited after a twenty years' break). Antonio told me that RR was not interested in apparitions but rather life and dynamics of the Church. He also claimed that it was a normal radio station, except that its principals were "Catholic". Since radio is a universal medium of reaching people everywhere, RR tries to be *Bíblia na mão* (Bible in hand) of people who have neither time nor means to read or study it. Right after the Revolution of 25 of April in 1974 RR was occupied by "communists" and the bishops asked people to make a silent demonstration. Today RR continues its broadcast as it used to before 1974 quite independent from the state. During my stay in Portugal two new private TV channels were launched nation-wide in the country in addition to two existing state channels. The first one was SIC (Sociedade Independente de Comunicações) which is quite liberal and another one was TVI (Televisão Independente) with an emblem of 4. This TV station belongs to the church and some 25 % of whose capital belongs to RR. Since this channel belongs to the Church the Santuário's boards are full of TVI advertisement posters depicting a TV screen on which ^{is placed} a church bell tower. Most of TVI programmes are conservative in nature and a strict censor operates throughout. Although its officials claim that they try to be a "normal" channel, most of its directors are either priests or lay brothers. What is more, everyday a priest comments on the day's news after the main evening bulletin. TVI also tries to invoke a nationalistic and religious fervour in people, for example, on Sundays the *Angelus* of the Pope is transmitted live from the

Vatican and in the evenings they advertise *uma noite verdadeiramente Portuguesa* (a truly Portuguese night) which consists of first, *O Grande Noite de Fado* (The Great Night of Fado) is broadcast live from famous Fado houses in Lisbon, Porto or Coimbra; second, it is followed old Portuguese films which are usually black and white and starred by the great Portuguese *fadista* (fado singer) Amália Rodrigues. Once I met the director of TVI Roberto Carneiro (ex-Secretary for Education) in Fátima. He said that there was a crusade against the Church in Portugal, therefore, the Church had to use the recent developments in the technology of social communication in order to protect itself from the secular attacks (in fact I saw myself the headquarters of TVI in Lisbon which was equipped with the latest technology of broadcasting). They were working with an *esprito missionario* and if a *telenovela* (soap opera), sports or film were a powerful penetrant into the minds of people, they had to use this social language. He claimed that previous Saturday's transmission of *Marcha de Lisboa* (fiesta of St. Anthony, patron saint of Lisbon) were watched by more than 2.5 million people on TVI which he classified as evangelization.

The live broadcast of the May Pilgrimage from Fátima has been done by the RTP (Radio Televisão Portuguesa) which is the national state TV channel but after the launch of the TVI, both channels realised the 1993 transmission with co-ordination. I believe that in future all the broadcast from Fátima will be made by the TVI.



RTP's live broadcast of the ceremonies.



Radio and TV commentators in the shrine.

Fátima also boasts a quite high number of periodical publications which include:

Voz de Fátima: the official newspaper of the Santuário, published monthly,

Stella: a monthly journal for Catholic women published by the "Instituto das Religiosas Reparadoras de Nossa Senhora das Dores",

Fátima Missionária: the Consolata Missions publishes this journal monthly,

Rosário de Fátima: this journal is published by the "Movimento Nacional do Rosário" under the control of the Dominican Fathers,

Videntes de Fátima: the "Postulação dos Videntes Jacinta e Francisco" publishes this journal quarterly in Portuguese, English, French, Spanish, German and Hungarian to give the latest information on the causes of beatification of the two seers,

Looking East: the Byzantine Center of the Blue Army publishes this journal monthly,

Friends of Fátima: this is a publication of the "Dominicanas do Rosário Perpétuo" (Oliveira 1990;91).

There is also a daily newspaper circulated around Fátima which is called "Notícias de Fátima".

IV. 5. The Santuário de Nossa Senhora de Fátima:

The *religious center* in Fátima is the area of the *Santuário* (sanctuary) in the Cova da Iria. The shrine is composed of the following entities: On the north side is the Basilica⁶ of the Rosary and the stations of the cross under the colonnade both on left and

⁶ In its broadest sense, "basilica" is an architectural term designating a certain type of rectangular building often used as a public hall in antiquity, and later adopted, with modifications, as the basic form of the early Christian churches. The basilican form is still used in the design of certain Catholic churches today. A canonical distinction is made, within the Church, between major and minor basilicas, in their hierarchical status and liturgical function (Turner and Turner 1978;166).



A general view of the Santuário.

right sides of the Basilica. In front of the Basilica are steps descending into a huge square with an area of 86.400 square metres which could accommodate some 300.000 persons⁷. In the *Recinto do Santuário* (sanctuary square) there is a *Capelinha das Aparições* (chapel of apparitions) and the *Azinheira Grande* (holm oak) between the Capelinha and the Basilica. In the center of the Recinto is a *Fontanário* (the spring and monument to the Heart of Jesus) to whose water some miraculous cures are attributed. There is an information office to the south of the Capelinha and in between are two stands on which pilgrims can light their candles and an offertory place where individuals can put their votive

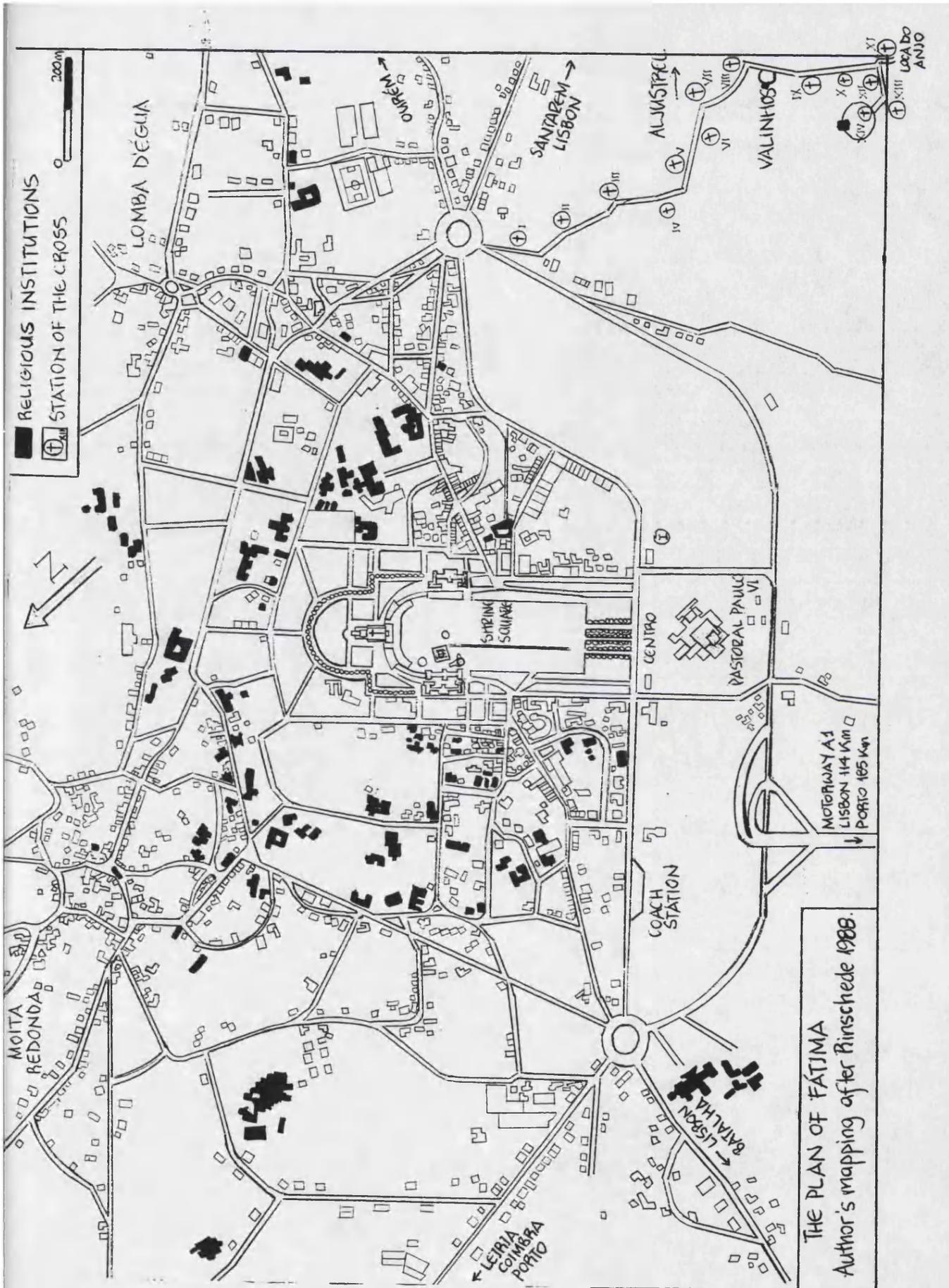
⁷ Therefore, many estimates about the number of pilgrims in the Santuário are over-estimated because there are figures such as one million, 800.000 etc., present in the shrine.

offerings which are wax figures ranging from life-size human bodies, all sorts of human organs to houses, boats, books and animals⁸. Pilgrims can buy their candles (all sizes from human height to 20 cm) from the two self-service candle stands behind the Capelinha. On the extreme south of the Santuário the *Praça Pio XII* (Plaza of Pius XII) is found. In it is a big metal cross with 27 m height (Cruz Alta) which was made to commemorate the closure of the Holy Year of 1951. Right behind this cross there is a statue of Pius XII from which lies a strip (about 300 m long and 1 m width) to the Capelinha. On this strip pilgrims perform their *promessa de joelhos* (about this vow, see chapter 5). In addition to these 'holy' places on both sides of the Recinto there is a hospital building (*Albergue dos Doentes*) and *Casa de Nossa Senhora de Carmo* which is the administration building of the Santuário. *Centro Pastoral de Paulo VI* (Pastoral Center of Paul VI) is situated on the other side of the main access road to the south, which was officially inaugurated by John Paul II on the 13th of May 1982, here the spiritual and pastoral activities take place such as conferences and courses.

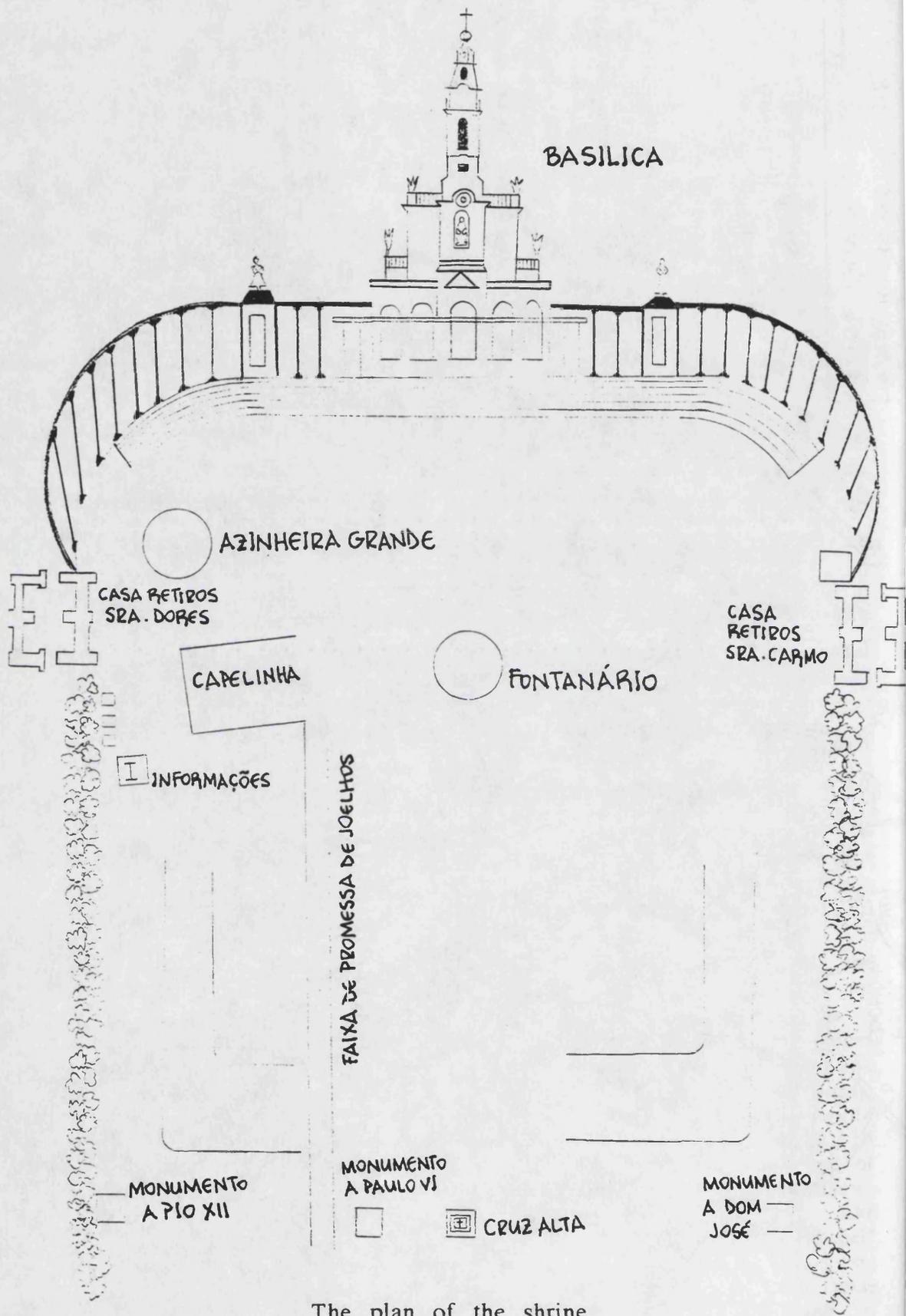
The Capelinha⁹ is the *coração do Santuário* (heart of the shrine) where most of the religious activities take place such as *missa* in different vernaculars and *terço* (prayer of the rosary), etc. Although there is an official time-table of the religious activities at

⁸ Giordana Charuty sees this action as a "rite de substitution" in which the vow is constantly defined as a counter-gift: this gift reminds the offerer of the peril which is now past (1992:47).

⁹ Here I wish to add a few words about the linguistic aspects of the word capelinha. The diminutive form is widely used in Portuguese. According to my observations, the Portuguese prefer the diminutive forms of many words, *obrigadinho* being the most common. It derives from the word *obrigado* (thank you) contrary to its literal meaning (obrigado- small thank-you) it actually means something like in English "thanks a million". This form of the word has the qualities of courtesy, respect and more importantly it shows a mutual closeness and affection between the speaker and the receiver, like the word *maezinha* (*mae* =mother). In Portuguese *capela* means "chapel" (small or private church). There are a few *capelas* in the Santuário for example Capela da Reconciliação where the confessions are made. But none of them has, for the pilgrims, the quality of affection and the feeling of closeness to the divine like capelinha.



The plan of Fátima.



The plan of the shrine.

the Capelinha almost all the pilgrim priests want to celebrate a mass with their respective pilgrim groups. During the peak season, however, their wish cannot be granted by the officials of the Santuário; therefore they seek another chapel outside the shrine such as the chapels of the Blue Army, Hotel Verbo Divino or Casa de Beato Nuno.

IV. 6. Religious Activities of the Pilgrims:

The Santuário offers its clientele a variety of rituals ranging from High Mass to Sacrament of Reconciliation (confession). There are two venues for masses celebrated in the shrine; first, there are a few mass celebrations in the Capelinha during the day in different vernaculars according to the nationalities of pilgrim groups present in the town on that particular day. Some of the priests would begin their homilies in the mass with a thankful statement that they felt privileged to be able to celebrate a mass "*aos pés de Maria*" (at the feet of Mary), because the statue of the Virgin Mary stands on a column, the wood of which is said to have come from Siberia (Russia), behind the altar. This is a holy spot chosen by Our Lady. I heard some rumours from a nun that some miracles were attributed to the statue. The first rumour goes that when an American priest was celebrating the mass some young 'girls' from his group witnessed the statue bowing its head and smiling to a Portuguese lady who was performing her *promessa de joelhos* (promise to walk on knees) inside the Capelinha. Second, the statue is taken after midnight to its special place in the doll-house-like chapel, but on that particular night the guard could not remove it himself and asked another guard to help him to no avail. They informed the Reitor (Rector of the Shrine) who came to the Capelinha with some other priests and they decided to make a "holy hour" after which the same guard found that he could easily remove it. Third, it is a custom for pilgrims to bring some presents to Our Lady and they leave it on a specifically designed place for this purpose. Their

presents usually are flowers but one day there was a cardboard box left there. One of the guards heard a female voice inside his head



The statue of Our Lady of Fátima.

several times saying that he should be careful about that box. Later he opened the box and found a bomb inside.

As shown in Table 7 (p.130), another main activity which takes place in the Capelinha is the rosary prayer. Everyday at noon (I believe it is because the Virgin Mary's apparitions occurred at this time of the day) usually a priest and a few nuns or lay women perform this ritual. One of them recites the first half of the Ave Maria and the congregation completes the second half. In Portuguese this ritual is called *terço* (a third) because the proper rosary praying consists of the 15 mysteries (in the lives of Mary and Jesus), therefore with 10 Ave Marias for each of them makes 150 times of Ave Maria, but in the Portuguese tradition this prayer is said only 50 times which is only one prayer for the rosary beads.

Of course after each 10 Ave Marias (a mystery) a *Pater Nostra* (Our Father) prayer is recited.



The praying of the Rosary in the Capelinha.

Table7. ACTIVIDADES DE SANTUARIO (31.3.93)

Basilica Masses	Capelinha Masses	Capelinha
7.30	7.00 (Port.)	12.00 (Terço)
9.00	8.00 (Novena de Francisco)	18.30 (Terço RR)
11.00	9.30 (Ing.)	
15.00	10.30 (Port.)	
16.30	12.30 (Port.)	
18.30	17.00 (Ing.)	
	21.00 (Ing.)	

The second venue for religious rituals in the shrine is the *Basilica missa internacional* (international mass). Apart from celebrations of the Mass some wedding ceremonies occasionally take place here. I was informed that some families all around Portugal would bring their children to be baptised in the Basilica but I have never

witnessed any myself. Basilica is also used for some other special rituals: Christmas and Easter masses and there used to be some confessional boxes on the both sides of the church each one being situated behind a scene from the *Via Sacra* (Way of Cross) but after the opening of the *Capela de Reconciliação* (Chapel of Reconciliation) under the north-east colonnades, confessions take place there. Once I participated in *Oração de Anjo* (prayer of Angel) in the Basilica in which some members of the congregation imitated the posture of the angel who was supposed to have appeared to the children prostrating themselves unto the ground. The religious people of Fátima try to participate in some of these events in the Basilica: First, they attend the 6.30 mass on Sundays coming from all around Fátima as far as Aljustrel, Boleiros and Moita Redonda. I think this is the only religious activity that unites the Fátimense and pilgrims. Second, due to the lack of pilgrims during the Christmas time, the Christmas mass is almost exclusively celebrated with the participation of the Fátimense. For the first time in my life I witnessed a ritual for three days following Christmas day in which people queued for long hours to kiss the feet of a baby Jesus statue from the hands of a priest who also had a cloth sack for the donations after the kiss.

Pilgrims visit another chapel in the Santuário: *Capela do Sagrado Lausperene* (Chapel of Adoration) in which the *Santíssimo Sacramento* (the most Holy Sacrament, that is, a consecrated host) has been exposed permanently since 1960. A nun from the *Religiosas Reparadoras de Nossa Senhora* (an order dedicated to prayer and under the patronage of Our Lady) makes adoration constantly in different shifts. This is a very silent room or perhaps, the most silent place in the Santuário. Some pilgrims and few very religious inhabitants of Fátima go to this place, sit on a chair and pray to the host in exhibition.

In addition to these rituals in which individuals participate of their own accord, the shrine officials organise a "guided pilgrimage" in summer months with an innocent title of "Um Dia em Peregrinação" (A Day in Pilgrimage). In this way they again impose their power

on pilgrims, instructing them on what to do in Fátima and how to behave in a pilgrimage centre. This programme runs from May to October everyday except Sundays, Holy Days and 12 and 13th of each month.

Table8. UM DIA EM PEREGRINAÇÃO

10.15	Saudação a Nossa Senhora na Capelinha
10.30	Visita guiada ao Santuário
	Basilica
	Capela de S. José
	Capela de Lausperene
12.00	Terço na Capelinha
12.30	Missa na Capelinha (Português)
15.00	Audiovisual sobre a Mensagem de Fátima
15.45	Visita guiada aos Valinhos
	Via Sacra (Valinhos)
	Loca do Anjo
	Casa dos Pastorinhos
	(em autocarro do Santuário; ao Sábado, a pé, pela Via Sacra)
17.30	Regresso ao Santuário

The tour begins at 10.15 with a salute to (the statue of) Our Lady in the Capelinha after which the group visits the Santuário under the leadership of a guide, this includes the Basilica, the chapels of São José (in the Basilica) and Adoration. At noon they go back to the Capelinha to pray rosary and attend the mass following the rosary prayer. After lunch break they would assemble at the Albergue de Nossa Senhora das Dores in which they watch some slides on the message of Fátima. Later (Mondays to Fridays by a bus of Santuário and Saturdays on foot through Via Sacra), they would go to Valinhos, walk on the Via Sacra to the place where an angel appeared to children and visit the houses of the little shepherds (pastorinhos). At 5.30 in the afternoon they would return to the Santuário.

This programme reflects exactly what the clergy expect from the Fátima pilgrims. They should participate at least once in a mass and a collective rosary prayer, and learn about the so-called Fátima message of the Virgin Mary through a slide show, and a visit to the houses of the seers. Of course, not every pilgrim follows this programme; they would rather go to the Capelinha to fulfil their promessas, put wax figures as a votive offering and light a candle, etc. The majority of pilgrims do not know a great deal of the apparitions let alone the message. Their knowledge is restricted to the fact which has come down to them through generations. The pilgrims' interest lies on a personal relationship with the Virgin Mary on the basis of gaining something from her.

Apart from the normal pilgrimage rituals, Marian festivals¹⁰ are emphasised at the shrine. On these occasions various offices are said in honour of Mary such as the hymn of the Akathistos or Theotokos. These days, especially the birthday of Mary on September 8th and her Assumption (dormition or falling asleep of the Virgin) day on August 15 attract many pilgrims as well, for example I witnessed a special celebration on the 8th of September, 1993 at the Capelinha in which a consecration of the TVI took place in presence of a few Portuguese celebrities like Amália Rodrigues (fado singer), Roberto Carneiro (president of TVI), etc.

One of the celebrations that surprised me was a special prayer for Sister Lúcia on her 45th anniversary of entering into the Carmelite convent in Coimbra (in fact in 1925 Lúcia began her postulate at Pontevedra, Spain by joining the Sisters of Dorothy but in 1948 she left the Sisters of Dorothy, with permission of the Holy See, to Carmel of Coimbra). This unusual rosary prayer took place in the

¹⁰ These festivals include:

1. The Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September),
2. The Presentation of Mary in the temple (21 November),
3. The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 December),
4. The Annunciation of the Lord (25 March),
5. The visitation of Mary (31 May),
6. The Assumption of Mary (15 August), and
7. The Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God (1 January).

Capelinha on 6 January 1993 and led by the Reitor Mons. Luciano Guerra.

IV. 7. The Great Pilgrimages:

I call the pilgrimages of the 13th of each month from May to October the great pilgrimages. The only reason for such a classification is the number of people present in the town and the clergy's emphasis on the more colourful and spectacular celebrations^{which} take place in the shrine. In fact, the May great pilgrimage is the one which attracts most of the pilgrims in a specific time span.

Any great pilgrimage would begin with the arrival of pilgrims at Fátima in the afternoon of the 12th. Officially pilgrimage commences with a formal announcement in the Capelinha at 7 o'clock in the evening. Later on, pilgrims assemble in the Capelinha again at 9 o'clock to say the rosary prayer. People would bring their own candles with them and during the rosary an assisting priest lights his candle and passes its fire to the others, in this way, every one's candle would be lit. After the rosary praying, the statue of Our Lady of Fátima would be put on a catafalque and carried from the Capelinha to the Cruz Alta from which to the huge altar in the Recinto. This movement is called "candle-lit procession". The organisation of the procession is as follows: First, the statue and then a group of clergy which is followed by the lay people. After the procession there is a mass celebrated at the *Altar do Recinto*. This mass is followed by an "all-night vigil" which takes seven hours from midnight to 7 o'clock in the next morning. In contrast to the mass in the Recinto, this vigil is attended by only a small number of pilgrims (their number never exceeds 100). Although I attended all the vigils while I was in Fátima, here I will give a detailed account of the vigil of 12-13 July in 1992 (more or less all of them resemble each other).

The vigil started at midnight with a Via Sacra of Faith in the Recinto. There was a fluorescent-lighted cross carried by a lay per-

son and six readers who announced the stations and told the story of each station. They also sang hymns throughout 15 stations. At 1.30 a.m. all the people assembled in the North Colonnade to attend the Eucharist and adore the Santíssimo Sacramento which conducted by the *Missionários do Espírito Santo* (Missionaries of the Holy Spirit, Porto branch). They played, in a theatrical fashion, the Mystery of the Faith. This ritual is concluded by a prayer of the Pope John Paul II which is addressed to the Virgin Mary: It went like this: "We have come to You, Mother of the Church and Mother of the Faith, the Hope and the Charity. Teach us how to encounter with Your Son. Guide us to Him...". The congregation returned to the Capelinha at 3.30 a.m. for the rosary prayer which lasted one hour. They later attended a votive mass for the Santíssimo (*Missã Votiva do Santíssimo*) in the North Colonnade. This mass was followed by the Sunday hymns (6.00 to 7.00 a.m.). This vigil ended with the Credo written by the Pope Paul VI.



Eucharistic Procession.

Now it is the morning of the 13th of July and the day started with the *Procissão Eucharística* (Eucharistic Procession) with the bells of the Basilica chiming 7 o'clock. In this ritual the rector, fully dressed in regalia, carried the Santíssimo (consecrated host) under a canopy, all around the Recinto. Later I asked the reason of this ritual a priest who told me that it was made to wake the pilgrims up in order to prepare for the 9.15 terço in the Capelinha. Meanwhile, during this two-hour time pilgrims would dress and have their breakfast.

Some pilgrims prefer to come to Fátima on the 13th, especially when this day falls on a weekend. Thanks to the motorway¹¹, people would arrive at Fátima by their private cars in 2 to 3 hours' time. In this way they could catch the morning terço.

Perhaps the terço on the 13th is the most attended one in Fátima which lasts, as usual, half an hour. After this, again, there is another procession, this time the flags of the countries which are represented in this pilgrimage and the flags of religious organisations which brought their own pilgrim groups to Fátima would participate. At ten o'clock, the final celebration begins with a salutation in as many different languages as foreign pilgrim groups. This is followed by the high mass celebrated in the Recinto. At the conclusion of the mass, the bishop of Leiria-Fátima would bless the sick who are put in their wheelchairs and stretches in the North Colonnade now. Unlike the Blessing of the Sick in Lourdes which is full of miracle expectations, in Fátima this is rather a quiet moment. A few minutes later an officiating priest would announce the end of the pilgrimage at which the pilgrims wave their white handkerchiefs¹². Then, they would start to leave the Santuário and Fátima.

¹¹ Incidentally, there is only one motor way network in Portugal which runs from Lisbon through Fátima to Porto. Fátima is the only place (apart from Lisbon and Porto) which the motor way serves almost to the heart of the town. In other cases, villages and cities are connected to the motor way by connection roads which are at least 5-6 km to the centres.

¹² I remember seeing this waving of white handkerchief in the end of bullfight in Madrid, which, I was told, means the spectators liked the fight and were happy.

Having given some accounts of the individual pilgrimages, now I would like to describe a group pilgrimage which I accompanied two days -17 and 18th of July 1993- in Fátima. This pilgrimage was organised by the *Movimento dos Cruzados de Fátima* (Movement of Crusades of Fátima) at the national level. Some 200 members of the Movement arrived at Fátima from seven different dioceses. First, they gathered at Cruz Alta in the Recinto at 16.30 on the 17th of July, then went straight to the Capelinha. Members of the pilgrimage distinguished themselves from others as they were wearing a special badge made for this occasion as well as carrying banners of their dioceses. Having saluted the statue of Our Lady of Fátima they had their dinner at the Centro Pastoral Paulo VI. At 9 o'clock in the evening they participated at the rosary prayer in the Capelinha which was led by the Reitor Mons. Luciano Guerra. There was, as usual, a candle light procession in which the statue was carried by the representatives of the diocese of Lamego. The procession was followed by the Eucharist in the Recinto after which the group was led by the members from Algarve in the Via Sacra to the Valinhos, this walking took three hours from midnight to 3 o'clock in the morning. They returned to the Capelinha to celebrate the so-called Marian Prayer (*Oração Mariana*) which consists of hymns praising Mary. Then, two hours of Eucharistic Adoration in the Basilica, the first led by the diocese of Beja and the second Bragança. At 5 o'clock they made a Eucharistic procession in the Recinto. Later there was a special rosary prayer and procession in the shrine square; at 10.30. By this time they had been fasting to receive communion in the 11 o'clock mass. After this celebration pilgrims were free either to go back to their towns or participate in yet another procession at 5.30 in the afternoon.

As it can be seen from the account of two different pilgrimages, the clergy is more able to assert its power on pilgrims in the group pilgrimages whereas individuals are more free to express their needs and expectation from their journey to Fátima. The groups are under a strict control of their religious leaders who emphasise the spiritual aspects of the pilgrimage which mean nothing less than to

comply with the teachings of the Church. The group leaders ask the pilgrims to behave in a manner proper to Christians (*este gesto traduza um acto de fé próprio dos cristãos*). They also lay out five golden rules for a *boa peregrinação* (good pilgrimage) which should be paid special attention to by the pilgrims: First, *antes de sair da terra* (before leaving one's land) which means to correct individual's intentions for the pilgrimage. Second, *durante a viagem* (during the journey) pilgrims must keep their spirits up by singing hymns to praise Mary, and above all, praying the rosary. Third, *vivência no Santuário* (their time in the shrine) is also important as they are "guests" of Our Lady of Fátima and they should behave accordingly in her presence, especially being quiet and praying as much as possible. Fourth, they must commit (*compromisso*) themselves to the pledge of the religious group they belong which often means to consecrate oneself personally, his/ her family and parish to Mary and keep the five consecutive first Saturdays of each month. Last, they must be loyal to this commitment (*fidelidade ao compromisso*). They are also expected to carry out the Christian charity to others especially those who are in need, the sick and their families.

IV. 8. Other Activities of Pilgrims:

Pilgrims, as the major and exclusive category of visitors in Fátima, go there on pilgrimage. Their main purpose is to participate in shrine rituals (mass, rosary praying, Benediction, etc.) and fulfil their promises. However, they are also inclined to do "other" things as well. Here pilgrims could be divided into two groups: the Portuguese and the foreign pilgrims.

The Portuguese, as one of the pilgrims told me, love all sorts of outing and excursions. Of course Fátima is one of these excursions.



Some pilgrims picnicking in the shrine.

They go to Fátima like they go to the beach; ("vamos p'ra praia" and "vamos p'ra Fátima") "let's go to the beach" and "let's go to the Fátima". They prepare their picnic meals, card games and balls before the journey. After arriving at Fátima, whether by their private vehicles or, in the case of a group, a hired coach, they set out their meals on concrete tables (which are already there for this purpose) around the Santuário, especially made for such occasions, have their meals with usually red wine. In the meantime some elder members of the family (usually the mother) or group would go to the Capelinha "to pay their respects to the lady [hostess?] of the house ". They say that [the statue of the] Our Lady of the Fátima is the landlady of the house, it would be improper if one does not show the due respect to her. While mothers are engaged in the Santuário, the children would begin their ball games among the parks and coaches. If this is a one-day-only visit, they would leave Fátima in the evening. The majority of the Portuguese pilgrims go to Fátima on the great pilgrimage days (the 12th and 13th of summer months). In this case they arrive in Fátima in the afternoon of the 12th. They set up their tents. Cooking utensils, etc. (only a small minority of them could afford hotels and perhaps up to a third of them would eat in the restaurants). I asked the Reitor of the Santuário if they could provide accommodation for the pilgrims. He said that the shrine had a section specifically designed

for the needs of pilgrims *a pé* (on foot), who walk to Fátima which is called SEAL (Serviço de Alojamento); according to the shrine statistics in 1991, 6562 pilgrims were provided with a one-night-only bed and 20514 *refeições* (light meal or snacks). On the night of the 12th some family members attend the mass and procession while others left behind would play ball, card games, domino, etc. or go to a café in the town, never mixing with locals whose café choices are different from that one of the pilgrims. There are no amusement arcades in Fátima; only one billiards saloon in which are some pool tables, and some coin operated computer games in cafés which are situated out of sight in lower grounds of the café. In Fátima there are so many souvenir shops selling religious images, which also sell other items such as toys for children and shoes. Pilgrims could buy some clothing items in other three shops as well. Yet, these shopping activities of pilgrims are strongly opposed by the Santuário officials on grounds that they should not buy anything in Fátima which could be bought in their home towns.

The second group of pilgrims is that of foreigners. The shrine statistics show that pilgrims come to Fátima from more than 100 different countries all over the world. The usual length of stay of the foreign pilgrims in Fátima is between a week and ten days. I could divide these pilgrims into two further categories: the one with more religiously oriented and another one which is curiosity and tourism oriented. Those foreign pilgrims who come to Fátima purely on pilgrimage (as a group based on their local communities, parishes or sometimes as members of a religious organisation like the Blue Army, Franciscans, etc.) follow up their group leaders who are usually their parish priests in the Santuário. They get up very early in the morning, and if there is a mass in the Capelinha or in their hotel chapel they would attend the ritual (it could be at 5 o'clock in the morning). After the mass they would have their breakfast and begin their daily visits to the Casa de Lúcia, Valinhos, Loka do Cabeço or Via Sacra, rosary beads in their hands. During their free time they would chat in their hotel's cafeteria. or answer the anthropologist's never ending questions (whenever they come across with me on their second pilgrimage in the following year

they would greet me with "oh hello '22 question' man, are you still here?"). After dinner they would all participate in the 9 o'clock procession following the mass in the Capelinha. Their evenings are filled with either a film about Fátima or a lengthy priest talk.

Another sub-group of foreign pilgrims would choose their date of arrival other than great pilgrimage days. They tend to stay in more luxurious hotels like the Hotel de Fátima with 4-stars. Having paid a visit to the Santuário to quench their curiosity, they would get bored and begin to look for other "exciting" places nearby Fátima such as Batalha with its magnificent Mosteiro (Monastery), the Castle of Tomar, the well-preserved old town of Obidos or holiday villages on the Atlantic coast returning their hotel in the evenings. Tourists, or less religiously motivated pilgrims, may also visit the *grutas* (underground caves) to see the wonders of water some 50 meters down the earth. Of course I cannot claim that only this kind of pilgrims would go on daily excursions because those religiously oriented pilgrims visit nearby churches: especially the one in Santarém which is said to have a miraculously bleeding host. Some of them visit the Carmelite enclosed convent in Coimbra (130 Km. away from Fátima) where Sister Lúcia lives today but ordinary visitors (those who do not have a permit from the Vatican) cannot meet her. The "tourist-like" pilgrims spend their evenings in the wine parties held at their hotel lobbies and several times I witnessed their Bingo games. Tourists are also distinguished from pilgrims by their behaviour. One pilgrim informed me that a tourist "was here only to look at buildings and places and take pictures with their cameras and camcorders, wander aimlessly among the faithful whereas a pilgrim never misses the opportunity to pray".

On my way to Fátima I spent a day in Lourdes (south of France). I remember my surprise at finding a very commercialised pilgrimage town with so many hotels (245 to be precise which is more than the number of hotels in Paris), a few amusement arcades and two cinemas. In fact, when I was there, one was showing the films "Je vous salut Marie" and the other, "Bernadette"; of course both of them

were about the Lourdes apparitions¹³. But my surprise was even greater when I went to Santiago de Compostela, another pilgrimage place in Northern Spain in the Holy Year of 1992. There were 5 daily masses (one with "Bota Fumeiro", a huge incense cup swinging inside) in the Cathedral: this was the only religious activity in town (I am disregarding other parish church rituals). Everything else was under the control of the Xunta de Galicia (Galician Parliament); it was they who would organise rock music concerts (almost all the famous singers in the world gave a concert there), aquatic and laser shows and classical music concerts and ballet shows, etc. The old part of the city around the Cathedral was full of buskers and street artists including some from Covent Garden. The music and noise would go on until the small hours of the day. I visited Santiago after spending a year in Fátima. Compared to Fátima, it was heaven for me. I could use the University library, talk to the academics from the departments of anthropology, sociology and history, on pilgrimage or other subjects, I could go to a cinema, etc. In these aspects Fátima is a dull and boring place if one is not a particularly religious person who is after peace and reconciliation with the supernatural figure of his/her religious belief. This is exactly what the shrine priests boast and they say that "aqui morre o turismo" (here the tourism dies). They also claim that owing to lack of tourist attractions, most of the people who come to Fátima are pilgrims rather than tourists because there is nothing to see or enjoy in the town but only penance and suffering.

In his address at the World Congress of WAPTT (World Association for Professional Training in Tourism) the Rector of the Sanctuary of Fátima, Mons. Luciano Guerra accepted that pilgrimages would include some tourist destinations and activities which would dilute the religious content. He called for an intermediate activity which was both touristic and religious, "religious tourism". He also admitted that "while the tourist component in pilgrimages is less than the religious, ... out of logical reasoning, that religious tourism

¹³ Later I learned from Patrick Marnham's most celebrated book on Lourdes that after the pilgrimage season in winter months "the cinemas start to include blue movies in their programmes" (1981:72).

equals about 50% "(Guerra 1989:291). He went on to claim that the real motive of modern tourism was found in the pilgrimages. Therefore, journeys to pilgrimage centres fulfil human needs of travel and at the same time to achieve spiritual satisfaction.

The Portuguese tourist authority appreciates the economic importance of the Fátima shrine and publishes brochures, guides and maps of Fátima. It also recommends a car tour of "through history and faith "which includes Obidos, Caldas da Rainha, Alcobaça and of course Fátima".

Policarpo Lopes, who had studied the relationship between Portuguese immigrant workers and Fátima, makes a distinction between a pilgrim and a tourist; the former "sees" the sacred place with reflection whereas the latter has a curiosity without reflection (1992:294). He also classifies pilgrims into 3 groups. The first is the *pèlerin marcheur* (walking pilgrim) who comes to Fátima on foot who is also an example of the medieval pilgrim one of the main attributes of whom is suffering. The second type is the *pèlerin voyageur* (journeying pilgrim) who travels from a pilgrimage centre to another. I encountered some foreign pilgrims in Fátima who came from Lourdes (France) or Santiago de Compostela. The Portuguese would visit different shrines in the country for example, the *Bom Jesus* in Braga, Our Lady of Nazaré, etc. The third kind of pilgrim is the tourist-pilgrim. His/ her main interest is to see, admire or show the sacred place to her children (1992:294-301). I agree with Lopes on this classification of pilgrims, though perhaps, as he is a priest, he assumes that anybody who comes to Fátima has a religious motive. My experience both in Fátima and Santiago de Compostela, however, challenges his assumption. I came across many people in these places who were not Catholic or even Christian. They would, for instance, come to Fátima with a tourist group whose itinerary included a visit to the town or, some would call at Fátima on their way to somewhere else.

IV. 9. Fátima in America:

Perhaps, Fátima would not be as famous as now in the world if some American zealots had not taken Fátima to their hearts. Their interest is mainly political, rather than purely religious.

Among the religious or lay organisations of Fátima in the world, the biggest one is the Blue Army of Fátima. The name of the Blue Army reminds us of the militant aspect of Marian associations and it is not the only one in Christendom. Three others exist in the world: The *Army of Mary* which was founded in Canada. The *Militia of the Immaculate* was founded by Maximillian Kolbe with a purpose of knowing Mary and to make her known as the instrument of God for bringing about the triumph of Jesus in the world. The *Legion of Mary* is a parish apostolate which tries to bring souls to Jesus through Mary (Haffert 1982:29-30). The Blue Army of Fátima is of a different character from the above mentioned Marian association in that it took Russia as its main target whereas the others, without any specific country to challenge, were uncompromisingly anti-socialist, anti-Masonic or anti-Protestant.

The story of its foundation was told me by the chaplain of the Blue Army international centre in Fátima in an interview which went like this: In 1946 Fr. Harold Colgan, while he was the parish priest of St. Mary's, parish, Plainfield, N.J., was taken to a hospital where he was diagnosed with an incurable heart disease and given just two months to live. His assistant told him about an international congress of youth at Fátima that year with a resolution passed that a statue of Our Lady should be carried processionaly from Fátima to Russia. Fr. Colgan did not pay attention to this event at that time but later, in the hospital he thought about this and turned to pray to the Virgin Mary under the title of Our Lady of Fátima. He asked her, if it was God's will, to cure him, then he would spread her message. After a while the doctor checked him again but was puzzled. He would carry on checking him all day again and again. The doctor was embarrassed and said to Fr. Colgan "Father, two days ago you had an irreversible heart disease but it is not there any

more, I don't understand this". Yet, Fr. Colgan understood and remembered the deal with Our Lady of Fátima he had made. He returned to his parish and started to do research on Fátima. In 1947, World War II had ended as had Fascism but Russia was taking over Eastern Europe bringing more and more people under Soviet power. The "Domination of Communism" had already started and 60% of the world population would eventually come under the influence of that ideology. Communism emerged as a problem after Fascism. At this time the US began to help many countries, under the Marshall programme, to stand up against Communism.

In the meantime Fr. Colgan asked everybody in his parish to wear something blue (the colour of Our Lady) to honour the Virgin Mary. His sermons attracted so many people that his church was jammed. He emphasised the threat of Russia and said "atheists have developed a Red Army... In this parish let us be a Blue Army of Our Lady to fulfil her conditions for their conversion". This was how all began. The Blue Army spread from state to state and then to other countries (110 countries world-wide with more than 25 million members). It began to bring pilgrims to Fátima but there was a need to accommodate them.

Fr. McSherry (the chaplain of the Blue Army) also said that some love Fátima because they make money. The Church neither opposes blatantly to their business activities nor encourages them. The first bishop of Fátima after restoration of the diocese, D. José Alves Correia da Silva, had bought the fields around the Santuário to keep out commercial activities. Fr. Colgan bought the area from the bishop on which to build a pilgrim centre. It was the second bishop (D. João Pereira Venancio) who helped the building of the International Centre of Blue Army with its 120 rooms to accommodate the member pilgrims in Fátima. This onion-domed center with a Russian cross on top it, is one of the major buildings after the Basilica in Fátima. There is included a Byzantium rite chapel in it to pray for the Russians. In a Byzantine mass at the International Centre, Archbishop Fulton Sheen prophesied that from that day (31 October 1951, the closing celebration of the Holy

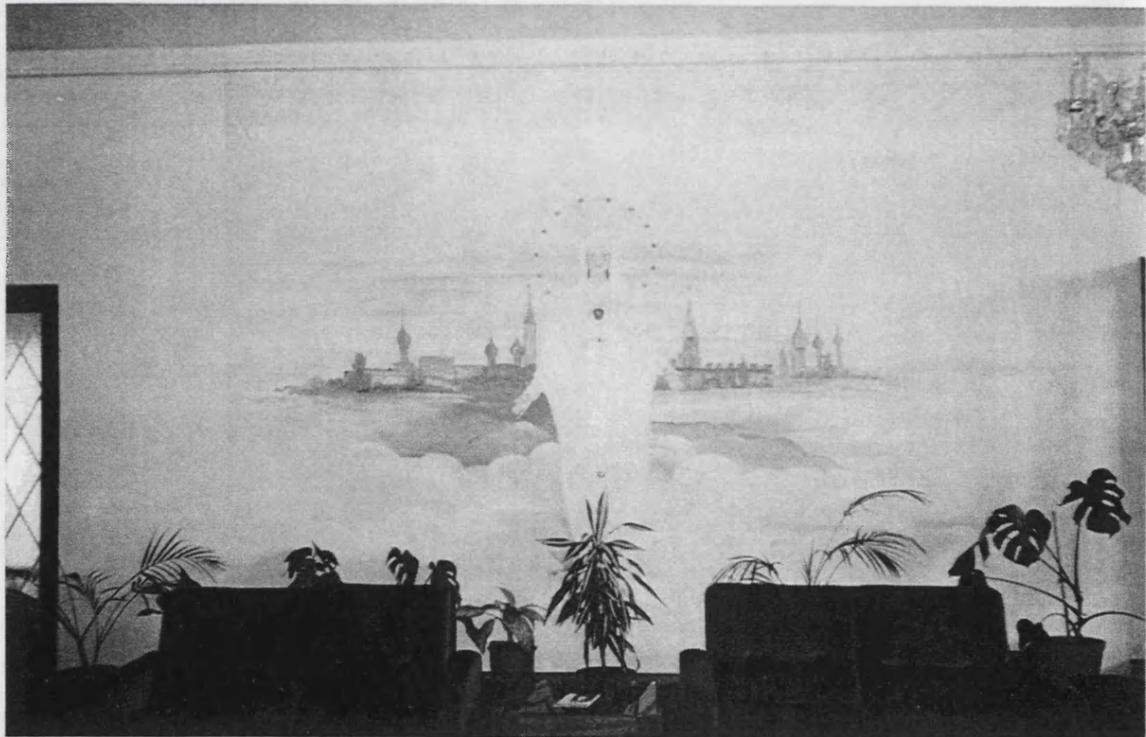
Year in Fátima) on "Russia had been converted but the news had not leaked out yet" (quoted in Haffert 1982:175). He also added that "by 1985 Our Lady would be reviewing Her troops in Red Square", on condition that there had been an adequate response to her Fátima message.

The Blue Army's headquarters is in Washington, N.J. with a Fátima shrine in it. The association had been very active until recent years. They had a *Fátima Travel Agency* and an aeroplane was bought (the Queen of the World) both to bring over pilgrims from the U.S. to Fátima and take the *Virgem Peregrino* (Pilgrim Virgin, a replica of the statue of Our Lady of Fátima which was blessed by the Bishop D. Verancio in 1947) almost all the countries in the world. There are rumours of miraculous events attributed to this statue such as weeping (Hebert 1984) and being accompanied by two doves (Haffert 1982). They had also a T.V. programme in the 60s in New York every Saturday night at 9 p.m. which was called first "Zero, 1960" and later, "Crisis". The programme hosted many celebrated figures of that time including President Kennedy and Senator Humphrey to discuss the message of Fátima (Haffert 1982:116).

The Blue Army has also two youth sub-associations. The *Handmaids of Mary Immaculate* for girls was founded by an Ursuline nun, Mother Stanislaus from Helena, Montana, with its centre in Detroit, Michigan. Fr. Robert J. Fox founded the *Blue Army Cadets* in 1975 for boys. The aim of these two associations was to involve young people in the message of Fátima. Until today they had brought more than 120.000 youths to Fátima in two programmes: "Youth Retreats" and "Youth for Mary".

The only reaction from the former Soviet Union was an article published in *Science and Religion* in October, 1967 in which Hitler, the Cold War and the Blue Army were stated as the three principal reasons why Russia's revolution had not yet gained the whole world (Haffert 1982:28).

The lay champion of the Blue Army, John Haffert claims that "an army is for battle-and we cannot expect our Queen to have Her victory over Satan and to bring about an era of peace 'for mankind' without suffering" (1982:263). Today, one of the walls of the International Centre's launch in Fátima has a painting which depicts the Virgin Mary in front of the Kremlin at the Red Square. I was told that before she was painted crushing a Russian soldier under her feet but later the soldier was removed due to many attacks from the pilgrims on the militaristic side of the association. Their objections resulted in changing the name of it to the "World Apostolate of Fátima" and the international centre was renamed as *Domus Pacis* (Peace House).



A mural depicting the Virgin Mary in front of the Kremlin.

As one of my informants stated, the Blue Army is dying today. Its activities are restricted only to the hotel, restaurant and souvenir business in Fátima, and to occasional film shows at its theatre, in addition to publishing its magazine in English (*Soul*) and Spanish (*Sol*). Fr. McSherry also expressed his discontent with these commercial activities. The closing of the Blue Army's Fátima Travel Agency allowed secular-minded agents and guides to step in. He was afraid that the pilgrimage was becoming seen as an interesting place, a circus or Disneyland rather than an opportunity to "know more about the story of Fátima and the message behind it".

IV. 10. Russia in Fátima:

Perhaps in the history of Marian apparitions the Virgin had mentioned only one country: Russia. At the time of Fátima apparitions the seer Lúcia did not understand Mary when she pronounced the word Russia. Later Lúcia admitted that she took it to be a name of a wicked woman.

Until 1985 the devotees of Fátima kept their hopes high for the conversion of that country. With President Gorbachev's policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika", especially after the summit between Gorbachev and the Pope John Paul II on December 1, 1989, the message Mary gave in Fátima in 1917 hit the headlines again. Many people believed that the developments in the former Soviet Union were the direct result of Mary's intervention (see, for example, Tindal-Robertson 1992).

The first pilgrim group from the Iron Curtain was Hungarians and on that day (12 May 1989) in a televised speech Fr. Luis Kondor claimed in the shrine that they were "helping the conversion of Russia" (quoted in Esteves 1990:6). People also attributed the "openness" of Russia to the act of the Pope John Paul II's consecration of the country to the Immaculate Heart of Mary in 1984. However, for some, despite the "freeing of Poland -the most Catholic of all the countries conquered by communism- from the

atheist grip" (Carroll 1990:2) the conversion of Russia has not yet been accomplished. Yet, with the intercession of Mary through the rosary, a most powerful weapon to overcome the devil, it may be near.

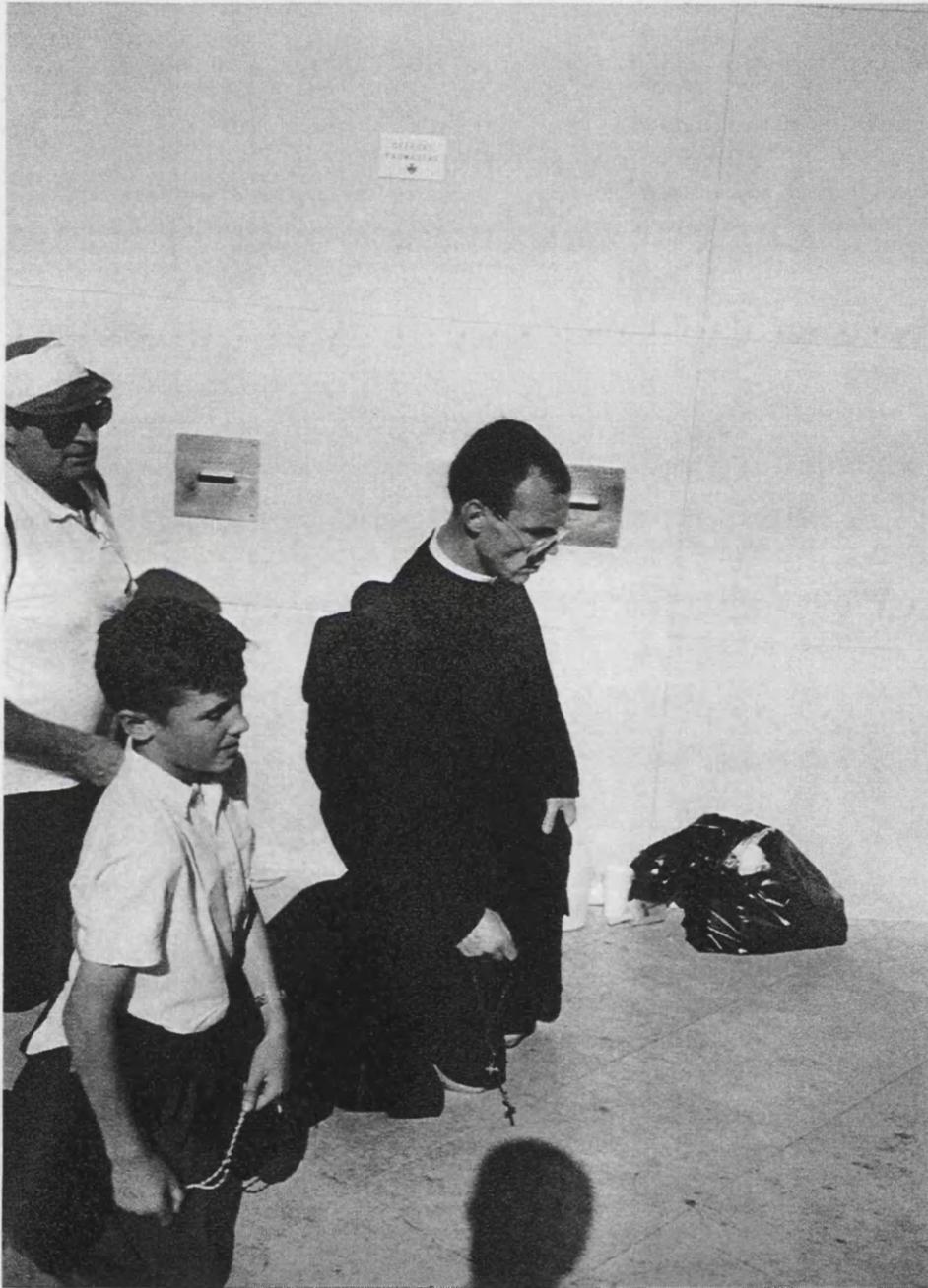
Some pilgrims had also noticed that the *coup* attempt of 1991 in the Soviet Union by the old communist hard-liners coincided with the Virgin Mary's apparition of August, 19. The same year witnessed a group of Russian pilgrims in Fátima during the 74th anniversary of October apparitions under the Catholic archbishop of Moscow, Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz. He also visited Sister Lúcia at her Carmelite convent in Coimbra.

On October, 13 in 1991 some of the celebrations in Fátima were broadcast on 150 TV and 350 radio stations all over the world. This was the first programme watched in Russia (there were also some shots inside the International Centre of Blue Army).

In an article of *Time* magazine dated 30 December, it was stated that "in due time the world will recognize that the defeat of Communism came through the intercession of the Mother of Jesus" (quoted in Martins 1992;XII).

During my stay in Fátima I could not help but noticing the excitement among the clergy and lay devotees whenever a pilgrim group from any ex-communist countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary) arrived at the shrine. Once I talked to a Polish priest who had prayed to Mary for the health of the Pope who had been taken to a hospital for some problem. He said that his country was going back to Catholicism, thanks to Our Lady of Fátima and Czestochowa.

CHAPTER V



PILGRIMAGE AS AN ARENA FOR DIFFERENT DISCOURSES

V. 1. THE DISCOURSE OF THE SHRINE

"Quero dizer-te que façam
aqui uma capela em minha
honra"¹

V.1.1. Introduction

"There is no sacredness here!" exclaimed my friend who visited me in the "field" after I had showed him the *Santuário* (sanctuary or shrine) and its environs. I shared my friend's perception that there was nothing sacred in Fátima. This chapter aims to explain the way in which the sacredness of Fátima is created and maintained throughout the pilgrimage. This process is not only elaborated and intensified at the shrine itself but also it requires a conscious and active participation by the pilgrims as well.

The notion of sacred, more precisely sacred place, is one of the most prominent and conspicuous dimension of religious expression. By and large, all religions designate some places as sacred, and it is this designation that attracts believers to those sites. Their visit to these areas, which is usually in the guise of a believer, also puts responsibility on religious authorities to keep them for future generations. Some clergymen, however, I observed in Fátima, are more zealous than others. They were very eager to maintain the place as sacred as possible. One day the Rector of the shrine told me that they did their best to keep Fátima apart from the atmosphere of a *romaria*, that is, contrary to joyous, noisy, and to some extent areligious ambience of *romarias*, Fátima would remain silent (he meant solemn) as a place for prayer. This statement provoked me to look into the sacredness of Fátima more closely. Despite his disregard of believers' response to the idea of sacred, I tried to explore the pilgrims' own idea of a "sacred place".

Let me make it clear at the outset that my aim in this chapter is to deal with what the people said to me about the sacredness of this place. However,

¹ "I want to tell you that a chapel be built here in my honour", Our Lady of Fátima in her last apparition, 13 October 1917.

the more I try to escape from my ethnocentric views on sacredness of a place, the more I am confused. Outsiders (maybe non-religious, non-Catholic or agnostics) assume "sacred" as something *special* ; it should be ritualised, venerated, respected. More importantly, some sort of activities are forbidden, whether during a sacred span of time or on sacred grounds. One of the reasons for my confusion over the sacredness of the shrine came from my observation that pilgrims made their beds on the shrine grounds (especially under the colonnades on both sides of the Basilica) even during the all-night vigils. I found it hard to comprehend this situation because a group of priests were reciting prayers and performing all sorts of ritual acts but a few yards away from them people were lying down on their blanket beds trying to sleep. When I was in the shrine I didn't think to check whether any of the couples were making love (because now I think that perhaps love-making on the shrine grounds was regarded by pilgrims as something they could not do). Today, when I look back, I do not think that love-making was possible without being seen or noticed by the crowd of pilgrims around. Yet, eating and drinking were not regarded as sacrilegious, on the contrary, commensality and offering food to fellow pilgrims (in opposition to Turner's notion of *communitas*, not to strangers but to those who came to Fátima together) were basic activities of pilgrims. As to smoking inside the shrine, it was quite a different matter. Most pilgrims obeyed this rule of the Santuário and occasional smokers were warned by the guards or priests.

The Santuário's view on "what cannot be done" inside the shrine was rather different from the pilgrims. In each of the six gates of the shrine stood a metal sign on which written a statement about the holiness of the place in six different languages and twelve pictures depicting an improper visitor. For the Santuário, eating, drinking, smoking, wearing swimming suits and shorts, listening to radio (music?), playing ball games and speaking loudly were all forbidden acts. By and large all these rules were obeyed except speaking; from the further signs warning people against speaking loudly it was evident that the Santuário officials suffered a great deal from the noise. For the Santuário officials silence represented respect to the place, turning individual inner thoughts towards self and the supernatural which ultimately leads to sacredness of the place. Therefore sacredness is negotiated between the

Santuário and pilgrims as lay people's model of sacredness differs from that of the Church hierarchy.

Here I wish to suggest a sort of two-tiered model of sacredness: high and low. As was seen in the maps and plans of the shrine, the Santuário spreads over a very large plot encompassing car parks, wooded areas suitable for picnicking, public conveniences and drinking water fountains. While boys and girls play ball games in these areas which are in the immediate vicinity of the shrine, they never do so in the Santuário square, let alone in the Basilica or Capelinha. People would listen to music from their car stereos (men would listen to live football broadcasts at weekends), talk as loud as they like, buy food from the car boots, etc. but they are not allowed to do any of this *inside* the Recinto. In fact, this is exactly what the officials wish to achieve by creating a sharp contrast between outside and inside. Their aim is to make the shrine *different* from this world.

As it can be seen from the above ethnographic data, sacredness is created as a result of negotiations between officials and pilgrims. However, whereas eating and drinking are allowed to some extent, smoking is strictly forbidden inside the shrine. Probably this is because smoking is regarded as more disrespectful than other activities. Although I have never come across any document about smoking in the churches in Portugal, William Christian ([1972] 1989) reports several occasions in which men would smoke inside churches in Spain². The clergy opposed to this act bitterly because it was a manifestation of anti-clericalism.

Another prohibitive rule that is exercised inside the shrine is the dress code. Basically this code is for women because I saw many men wearing shorts who would wander around without attracting any attention. Yet, any woman in shorts or low-cut dress would be asked by the guards either to leave the Santuário grounds or go to the information bureau in the Recinto to ask for a skirt to wear or a shawl to put on their shoulders. Once I was entering the shrine when I saw three girls wearing shorts arguing with a guard. He asked me to tell them in English that they could not enter the Santuário in their clothes. The girls were from England visiting Portugal. They came to Fátima from a

² I was told that in Palermo (Sicily) men would smoke in the churches, yet I do not know whether this incident is a common feature of Sicilian Catholicism or just an uncommon example (Gell, personal communication).

nearby beach. They could not believe that they could be barred from entering a shrine simply because of their dress and they were the only ones who would argue with a Santuário official. Eventually I took them to the information desk where Anna gave them skirts and shawls. She told me angrily in Portuguese that they had known the regulations and had behaved like this on purpose. Obviously this is tourist behaviour and a tourist's understanding of a shrine is different from a devout person's. However, I observed that some tourists, especially non-believers, would respect the Santuário more than some local inhabitants. Perhaps this kind of behaviour results from the assumption that generally religion (and specifically the shrine) is not their own territory. On the other hand, as I have shown elsewhere, local people and pilgrims who were familiar with the shrine would feel at ease and act more freely than others. (I know this from my own experience: in the beginning I was a bit timid but towards the end of my fieldwork, I began to feel at home in the shrine.)

At the micro level, high and low sacredness would blur with each other as it depends on the individual's own concept of sacredness. Besides, the different cultural traditions which pilgrims bring to Fátima, they also bring with them their understanding of sacredness. Although the teachings of the Church are the same everywhere, local variations become conspicuous at the shrine; for example for a Goan (Catholic) woman wearing a sari blouse which exposes her belly would not cause any problem; whereas for a Northern Portuguese widow, black dress, even in the heat of summer, would be the only proper attire in the shrine.

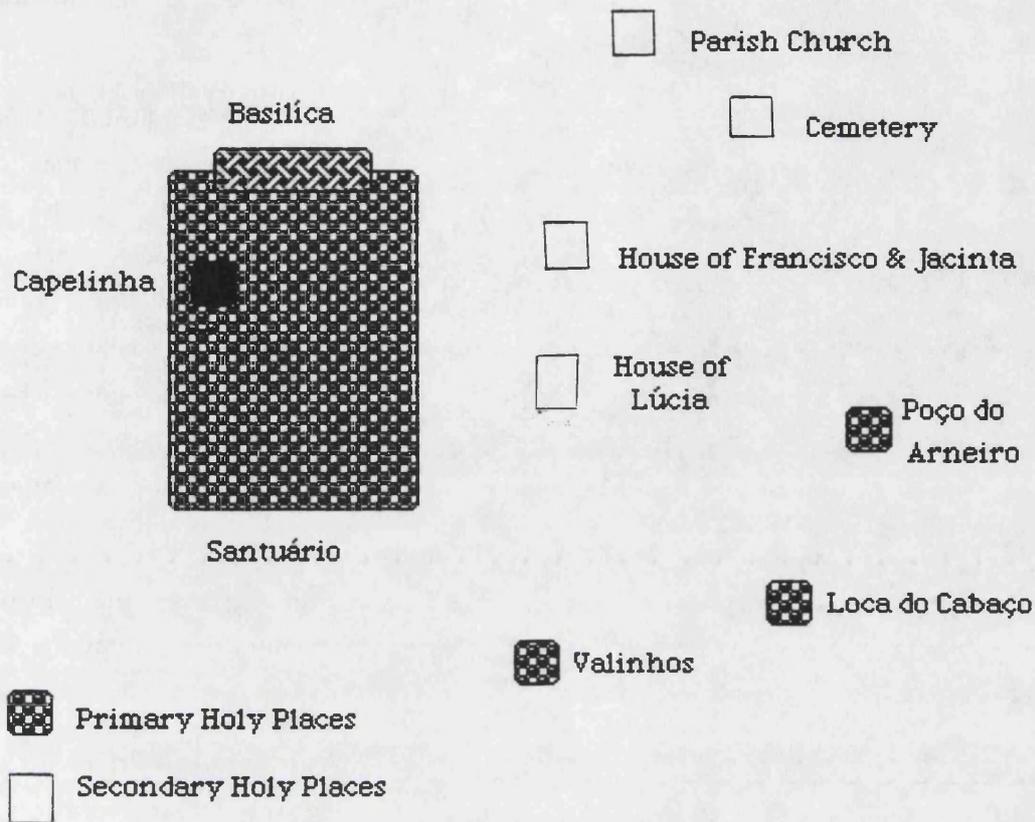
The macro³ level of sacredness constitutes the clergy's perspective. A guide book (which was entitled "Para Melhor Conhecer Fátima" n. d. and prepared by the Santuário) ranks different areas around Fátima in order of their sacredness. The book starts with a statement which is written on every notice board of the Santuário: that Fátima is "um lugar de oração e paz" (a place of prayer and peace). Although the whole town is a place of prayer, there are some places which are holier than

³ These two terms (micro and macro reflect entirely my own classification. However, I use these terms in order to distinguish between two different perspectives of the sacredness of Fátima. I should also make it clear that these terms could be used interchangeably in order to avoid any favouritism over one another.

others. The shrine square occupies the top of the sacredness ranking. As its full official name, Recinto de Oração, suggests, it is a huge space of prayer and should be behaved in accordingly. The second sacred place is the Chapel of Apparitions (Capelinha de Aparições) whose importance comes from the belief that the Virgin of Fátima appeared there. In fact, this is the spatial core of the Fátima cult. All the other surrounding places derive their sacredness from this belief. It is also said that the Capelinha is the heart of the shrine (coração de Santuário) which is chosen by God for Mary to appear and talk to men. In the official discourse, man encounters God through Mary at this very spot on earth. The Basilica is the third sacred place in the shrine. In the fourth ranking order of sacredness, there are other chapels in the shrine, for example; the Chapel of Adoration and the Chapel of the Holy Family. A pilgrim should also visit other "complementary" places in order to "understand" or "know" Fátima better. Casa de Francisco and Jacinta and Casa de Lúcia (the houses of the seen) are situated in Aljustrel and today are visited by a large number of pilgrims, like a museum.

The sacred topography of Fátima is not limited only to the places mentioned above. For example, just 2 Km away from Aljustrel is a shrine called the "Santuário de Nossa Senhora de Ortiga" where the Virgin Mary was supposed to have appeared in the 16th century. Today the place has a local festa and attracts some pilgrims. There are also some rumours that in the 17th century Our Lady had appeared to a horseman who was persecuted by the Satan in Nazaré, which is some 60 Km away from Fátima. A shrine was built at that spot to commemorate the event and it is regarded as a sacred place by many pilgrims who visit the shrine of Our Lady of Nazaré. As one approaches Fátima, s/he cannot fail to notice some wayside marble crosses, along with banners which proclaim "Deus chama-te" (God calls you), sacred landmarks reminding the traveller s/he is entering into a sacred zone.

In Table9 I try to show the hierarchy of the sacred places or sacred areas in Fátima very roughly (without any scale but considering their locations).



The Hierarchy of Holy Places in Fátima

Today there also exist some zealous persons who try to show that the Cova da Iria was *designated* as a sacred topography centuries ago. According to legend (Evaristo 1992;7),

on the historic morning of the battle against Castille in 1385, as D. Nuno and his men headed for Aljubarrota, they spotted a small church dedicated to Our Lady in a village called Ceica in the county of Ourém. . . Here D. Nuno stopped, dismounted and entered this church, kneeling before the altar of Our Lady, invoking one last time before the battle, that she grant them victory, and promising to return and visit if she answered his request. After joining his company, D. Nuno headed for the battle passing through what is today the village of Fátima. As the knights crossed the hill that today overlooks the Shrine at the Cova da Iria, they felt a mystical presence which immediately caused all of the regiment's horses to kneel. D. Nuno and his men took this as a heavenly sign (which it was), assuring them of the future victory. The knights also claimed to have seen angels singing and St. Michael with his sword raised in Victory on the mount, which today is popu-

larly called: Mount St. Michael, and houses a college in the archangel's honor.

After the victorious triumph of the Portuguese in the battle, D. Nuno kept his promise to Our Lady, and returned to the village in the Fátima municipality, to give thanks. This time as D. Nuno crossed the hill near the Cova da Iria in Fátima, his horse led him to the Cova and miraculously knelt. It was then that it was divinely revealed to the warrior-saint that this ground was holy and had been chosen by God as a site where Our Lady would appear 532 years later, promising victory over evil and an era of world peace. So moved was D. Nuno to be privileged to know this that he dismounted and with tear filled eyes prayed at the spot where Lúcia, Jacinta, and Francisco would hear The Blessed Virgin speak.

After this historic victory against the Castilian army, the Portuguese King João gave orders for a monastery to be built in Batalha, 22 Km. away from Fátima⁴.

What perplexes me most in this whole sacredness issue is that if a place is considered to be sacred on account of a divine manifestation, then three other locales must be as sacred as the Capelinha: first, a place called Loca do Cabeço in Aljustrel where an angel was said to have twice appeared to children in 1916; second, the well (Poço do Arneiro) in the backyard of Lúcia's house, once, when on the 13th of August in 1917 children were taken into captivity by the administrator of Ourém, on the 19th the Virgin Mary apparently appeared at a place called Valinhos, again in Aljustrel. Yet, far less emphasis is put on these places both by the officials and pilgrims. Today a statue of Our Lady, an angel and three children, and a statue looking vaguely reminiscent of an angel, are situated in these places to commemorate their respective apparitions. The reason for this lack of emphasis could be the fact that these places lie at a little distance (1.5 km) from the Cova da Iria, where the actual shrine is situated. Nonetheless, the clergy do not miss any opportunity to promote these places; in the evening of the 19th of August 1992, I joined a group of pilgrims led by the Rector of the shrine walking to the Valinhos in procession, singing hymns on the way, carrying an illuminated cross and a mobile hi-fi. But compared to the

⁴ For the imposed relationship between D. Nuno (who was the last Portuguese beatified by the Church) and Mary, see Visconde de Montello (pseudonym) 1921;55.

actual number of pilgrims in the shrine on that day, only a small group (about 50) made the expedition to the Valinhos.

The last sacred place in Fátima is the Via Sacra (Way of Cross) starting from the roundabout of Santa Teresa de Ourém passing through the Valinhos and Loca do Cabeço and ending at the Loca do Anjo where the Hungarian chapel is (so called because it is built by the donations of Hungarian pilgrims). Here, some more restrictions are added to those in the Santuário, such as driving and cycling.

All the different emphases on the sacred places could be summarised into a diagram which follows:

Name of the place	Church Hierarchy	Pilgrims	Local Inhabitants	Tourists
The village of Fátima	+	-	-	-
The Santuário	+	mostly	few	few
The Capelinha	+	+	+	+
The Valinhos	+	+	some	few
The Loca do Cabeço	+	for some	for some	for some
The houses of children	to some extent	for some	-	-
The Via Sacra	+	for some	-	-

Table 10. Different emphases on the sacred places in Fátima.

The vast literature on this theme is founded on the work of Mircea Eliade entitled *The Sacred and The Profane*. He tries to explore why a certain place is converted into a sacred one and suggests that designation of a place as holy requires deeper and ^{more} abstract implications than just the physicality of the place. Mircea Eliade differentiates two experiences of space in terms of religiosity; for a religious man, what he calls "the profane experience", "maintains the homogeneity and hence

the relativity of space" (Eliade 1961;23). The awareness of the sacredness of a place by man is the result of a manifestation of its sacredness to him. For this manifestation, he proposes the term *hierophany* which literally means "something sacred shows itself to us" (1961;11). This term suggests a direct involvement of a deity on earth. Yet, sometimes the manifestation of a deity becomes more subjective, that is, a sign fraught with religious meaning; he calls this events a *theophany* (manifestation or appearance of a god to man), wherever it occurs the place becomes consecrated as a passage between heaven and earth (1961;26-27). Theophany is best exemplified by the case of Fátima, where the deity chooses a human being to appear and give a message which is interpreted by the religious authorities for others. Most pilgrims in Fátima believed that the place was sacred because the Virgin Mary had chosen the spot for them as a passageway to Heaven. They never expressed it in such profound terms but simply as a taken-for-granted belief of the apparition of Our Lady at the very spot. They never questioned it.

The notion is also regarded by Emile Durkheim as constituting the defining feature of the religious phenomenon in society (Durkheim, 1915). I totally agree with Durkheim's argument that the quality of the sacred stems from society itself and it is one expression of collective solidarity. The sacred does not exist itself but it is the attachment and reverence of people that makes something sacred. It is remarkable that the concept is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as "*made* holy by religious association" (emphasis added).

From many definitions of sacred place, Jackson and Henrie's one (1983;94) lends a great support to my argument. They define sacred place as a particular

portion of the earth's surface which is recognised by individuals or groups as worthy of devotion, loyalty or esteem. Space is sharply discriminated from the non-sacred or profane world around it. Sacred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterises it through his culture, experience and goals.

Therefore, any spot or milieu on earth could well be designated as holy without any apparent reason to a secular-minded non-believer. Nonetheless, if it is delved into, some sort of myth surfaces. It is this

myth that separates faithful from non-religious; I argue that if one believes the myth, the place is, therefore, defined as sacred, whereas for a non-believer, as are some tourists who visit the Santuário out of curiosity or a few local inhabitants who may be over-familiarised with the sacredness of Fátima, the shrine does not possess any holiness at all.

The Cova da Iria (where Our Lady was supposed to have appeared to three children) seems to be a theatrical stage on which different actors play their parts to create the sacredness of this place. In the following parts I will try to elaborate the enactment of this creation and re-creation.

I must stress that I am not using the concept of myth here as in daily language to mean "a false tale", I treat the notion as a social product that, on the surface, seems irrational: two thousand years after her death the Virgin Mary is believed to have appeared in Fátima, a phenomenon that could be called an opposition of nature and supernature. This opposition has easily been accepted by the believers as a manifestation of divine intervention. Perhaps this is the easiest explanation of a non-explicable phenomenon to a rational mind. For whenever humans cannot understand any event, some sort of supernatural intervention is invoked.

In recent times, throughout the last century and the beginning of this one, Our Lady seems to have become increasingly concerned with the affairs of men. The reading and hearing of awe-inspiring stories of the visitations of the Mother of God to her children on earth, increase devotion to Our Lady and also make those places into pilgrimage centres that are regarded as sacred. Here I wish to underline the complementary aspects of myth and ritual: devotees go on pilgrimage to Fátima because of the myth of Our Lady's supposed presence some 75 years ago.

V. 1. 2. The Shrine of Our Lady of Fátima:

Spatial considerations during the Fátima pilgrimage are exceedingly complex. Although many people (especially Santuário officials) regard the town itself as "*um sítio de oração*" (a place of prayer) it is the shrine that becomes a dramatic set in one moment, a sacred precinct in another. Despite the fact that the Basilica, the Capelinha and the statue of Our Lady are permanently sacred, the Recinto temporarily becomes

so if a procession moves on it; when the statue is carried in procession, a wake of sacred space is generated. Since she is taken from the Capelinha to the huge altar in the Recinto, the effect is to momentarily sacralize the time. During the procession a hierarchical space is also created; this space belongs to the statue and the clergy (bishops and priests). I have never seen nuns and sisters participating in the procession, although the action itself can be seen as a veneration of a female deity (Our Lady), the female members of the Church are only spectators in this pageantry. Everything is handled by men.

In my opinion the Capelinha is the main instrument which creates a sacredness at the Cova da Iria; the spot where the statue of Our Lady stands constitutes the religious Centre as one of the pilgrims stated *mais perto da Capelinha, mais sagrado* (the closer to the Capelinha, the more sacred). The story of the apparitions is the charter which warrants her special standing, as recognised by the Vatican and the devotees of the cult of Fátima. Ordinarily she (because people refer to the statue as "she", not "it") sits high in her special place in the Capelinha to receive prayers but periodically she makes visits riding in a catafalque carried by people who have been chosen by the Santuário officials. Just behind the statue is a tiny chapel like a doll-house where the hosts are deposited. This tiny chapel symbolises (as was explained to me by an Indian priest), the womb of the Virgin Mary from which the host "flesh of Jesus" comes out and is distributed to the faithful during communion.

The presence of the Statue makes the place sacred (spatial sacredness) and the big candle on the altar in the Capelinha marks the sacred time (temporal sacredness) because outside the religious activities this candle is not lit. In order to understand why this statue is "holy", and her replicas sold in the souvenir shops outside the Santuário are not, we must consider the other activities in which the statue is involved. First of all it is this statue that is used during the candle-lit processions in the Recinto. She is also venerated by the priests and nuns; whenever they have to pass in front of the statue they stop for a moment and bow their heads with respect. When Pope John Paul II came to Fátima as a pilgrim, he prayed in front of this image and kissed her feet (this particular moment is always reminded people by the posters, calendars and book covers ^{depicting} the Pope kneeling before the statue and praying). This event also clearly shows the Church's attitude towards the Fátima pilgrimage: the main objective being "Fátima as a place of prayer" rather

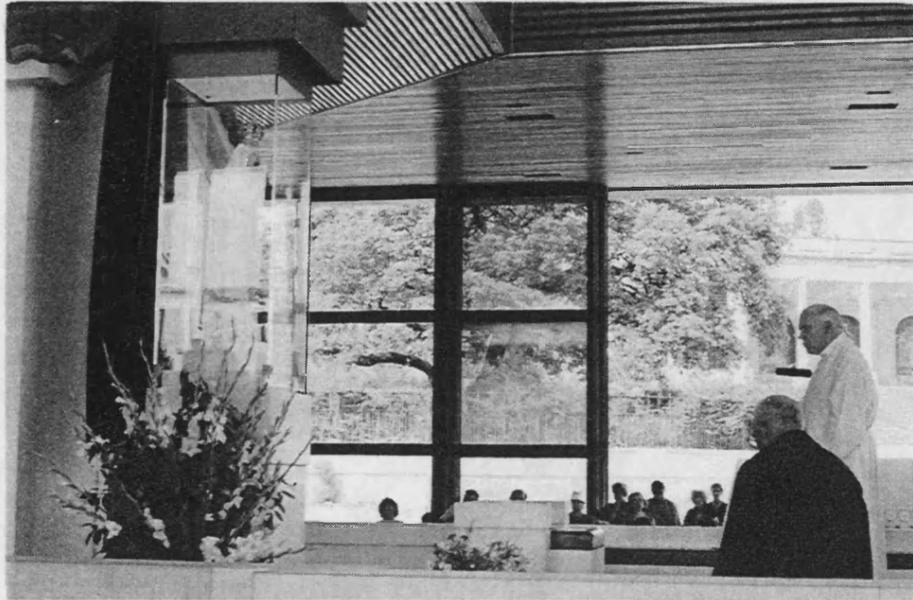
than a place in which miraculous cures occur from time to time (for the shift from "miraculous discourse" to "sacrificial discourse", see the individual papers in Eade and Sallnow 1991).



When the Statue is taken away in procession the Capelinha loses its importance (sacredness?) for a while.



Pope John Paul II is praying in front of the Statue.



The Rector of the shrine bows his head in front of the Statue.

Unlike the very modern but simple style of the Capelinha, it is the Basilica with its neo-hellenic and neo-roman style, which looks more "religious", in other words, "sacred" in the Santuário. Although it is a work of a Dutch architect (Gerard van Kriechen) and the statue of the Immaculate Heart of Mary on its façade is a work of an American sculptor (Thomas McGlyn), the Basilica caters to the Portuguese pilgrims since all the religious celebrations are in the Portuguese language; therefore the little chapel is for "others" but the Basilica is only for the Portuguese. For "other" pilgrims the Basilica is an ordinary church, which they can see anywhere else, because they rarely participate in a Portuguese mass or a local wedding ceremony on Saturdays. Therefore they have very little interest in the Basilica. The presence of the Basilica, however, helps to create a sacred space in the Santuário, especially the murals which depict the Way of the Cross in the colonnades (for the importance of the murals in religious imagination and their role in formulating the definitions of sacred power and space, see Campo 1987 and 1990).

A pilgrimage center is universally regarded as a place of intersection between everyday life and the life of God (Eliadian dichotomy of sacred and profane). Due to being a scene of a manifestation of divine power or

having an association with a holy person, it is worthy of reverence: otherwise it is just an ordinary geographical location like any other. The main Christian idea of pilgrimage is of going to Palestine to understand holy scripture better; when one sees with one's own eyes Judea with its ruins of ancient cities, one lets the Bible come alive. But today Jerusalem seems to be losing its importance for Catholics (although I am aware that many of them would like to go there) and they prefer local, more accessible shrines, especially Marian shrines such as Guadalupe and Lourdes. According to the statistics, each year more than four million people visit Lourdes: I calculate that the total number of Catholic pilgrims to Guadalupe, Lourdes, Fátima and Rome outweighs the number who go to the Holy Land from the whole of Christendom. The reasons Marian shrines are preferred are beyond the scope of this work and will be dealt with elsewhere. Returning to my theme, the Santuário of Fátima was a scene of a divine intervention and it is this mere belief of intervention that makes the place sacred on the part of the faithful.

The priests and nuns, in their habits, create another notion of sacredness when they walk around either in the Santuário or its environs. It is not infrequent to see a priest blessing some religious objects in the hands of old women.

The statues of Jesus Christ, the saints, the two popes (Paul VI and Pius XIII) and most importantly the *Cruz Alta* (High Cross) which marks the end of the Holy Year in 1950, can be counted as sanctity-conferring objects in the Santuário.

Now I wish to touch upon the politics of spatial organisation in the Santuário very briefly. During my stay in Fátima I have observed that the Portuguese have a passion for the activities which take place in the open-air. I have participated in several local *festas* (feasts) in the villages of Fátima. Although a local festa in honour of the patron saint of the village consists of a celebration of Eucharist in the church very few (mainly old women) go to church. But when it comes to the more profane activities in the *arraial* (open place), almost everybody, including some people from the neighbouring villages participate in them, and they stay up very late, sometimes until the next morning. The clergy, in general, prefer all the religious activities to be under the "roof" of the church. The passion of the people for activities in the open-air and the clergy's insistence of everything being under a roof resulted in an

open-air church in the Santuário. In this way the people have an arraial, and the clergy a church in which they can control all the activities under an invisible "roof". The official discourse gives support to my interpretation of the spatial organisation in the Santuário. They claim that Recinto *is* like a big open-air church which has a Cross, an Altar, a Way of the Cross and images of saints (*como uma grande igreja ao ar livre que é, tem uma Cruz, um Altar, uma Via-Sacra e imagens de santos*). (For an anthropological study of local festas, see Sanchis 1983).

Above all, during my stay in Fátima, what struck me most was the pilgrims who walk on their knees on an especially-made smooth path starting from the Cruz Alta to the Capelinha (the length of which is some 150 m.). As far as I am aware, walking on one's knees is a disputed subject between the Santuário officials and the pilgrims. The officials, and the religious experts in general, are against this *promessa* (vow) but the only thing they could do was to prohibit walking on all fours. Nevertheless, I have witnessed, especially late at night, some pilgrims walking -it is not walking actually, maybe crawling- with their faces on the ground. In my opinion, this self-inflicted violence, also, makes the space seem sacred (Talal Asad deals with the subject of body pain in medieval Christian ritual from a Foucaultian viewpoint; Asad 1983).

V. 1. 3. The Artigos Religiosos or the souvenir shops:

Pilgrimage is not only a matter of visiting designated sacred places, or rather, shrines. Pilgrimage stimulates economic as well as religious transactions in a wide system of exchange. Due to the influx of the pilgrims, almost all the pilgrimage towns have developed an economic infra-structure such as hotels, restaurants, banks, shopping centres, and, naturally, souvenir shops which sell all sorts of religious articles like statuettes, devotional pictures, candles, holy water, etc.. In fact, souvenirs are tangible evidences of travel that are shared with family and friends back at home. But on the other hand, spending more time in the souvenir shops, rather than in the shrine, and buying souvenirs are very often considered to be a tourist's, not a pilgrim's behaviour. Many of the "real" pilgrims asserted their dislike of commercialism, usually making a comparison between Lourdes and Fátima, hoping that Fátima should never become another Lourdes. Fátima is not very commercialised like Lourdes, but the Santuário controls the "religious industry"

in a sense; the Santuário owns a big book shop and an *artigos religiosos* (religious articles) shop in the immediate vicinity of the shrine, and another shop nearby. When I asked the officials why the Santuário possesses these shops, I was told that they want to keep the prices low. There are two shopping centres on both sides of the shrine built by the Santuário. These shopping centres are u-shaped and have 45 small, kiosk-like souvenir shops. The Santuário gave these shops to people in return for their land at the Cova da Iria on which the Santuário was built. According to the local people, any person who wants to set up a business (such as a hotel or a new shopping Center) should comply with the shrine regulations concerning the town planning of Fátima; for example one cannot have a building higher than the Basilica or any building which obscures the view of the shrine and one also cannot have a bar selling alcoholic drinks in the radius of 3 Km. from the shrine, etc.. This clearly shows how the Santuário exercises its power both on the religious and economic exchange.

What is relevant to the purpose of this chapter is how these shops help to create a religious atmosphere in the town. As was said earlier, there are so many attempts to create sacredness inside the shrine; in my opinion, the statuettes and devotional pictures create a sort of sacredness outside the shrine. One can hardly avoid these religious articles because the hotels have a souvenir shop, and almost all the restaurants and cafés (which are supposed to be the secular centres of the town) have a small corner inside the shop to sell souvenirs. I even saw a butcher selling these articles. Everywhere in the town one feels as if in a church.

However much these shops are of interest to the pilgrims, and of economic interest to those who run them, people outside this business more than often referred to these shops as "*as casas dos santos*" (the houses of the saints). They would usually complain about these articles and state they would like to see other articles in the shops at Fátima. I personally was distressed at seeing nothing but the statues of saints all around me in the town and very often had recourse to neighbouring towns like Leiria or Ourém just to do window-shopping.

V. 1. 4. The pilgrims:

Os peregrinos (the pilgrims) are the most important actors in this play to create a "sacredness". The process of creating the sacred, on the pilgrims' part, starts before the journey when they hear or read about Fátima for the first time. With the help of "approval" by the Vatican, they develop a myth of Fátima.

Policarpo Lopes claims that the pilgrimage center has a different significance to different people, according to their existential experience and their different types of collective lives. He successfully demonstrates how the phenomenon of Fátima makes the identity of immigrant actors sacred in a double process of myth and rites of pilgrimage (see Lopes 1986 and 1992):

"... nous voyons le pèlerinage comme une acte global de sacralisation. Départ et ses motivations, déplacement spatial dans une <voie Sacrée>, rencontre avec un <locus> imprégné de sacralité, captation de la puissance sacrale à travers les et pratiques individuelles et collectives, retour dans la société de départ et mémoire d'un vécu, forment un tout sacralisant" (Lopes 1986;92).

As we have seen from this quote, the Portuguese immigrant worker in Belgium, even before his journey to Fátima, has already made his mind up that he is travelling into a sacred place, in other words the sacredness of Fátima exists in his mind to fill the "*paradis perdu*". Like the Portuguese immigrant workers, pilgrims easily accept the sacredness of Fátima as their guides or guide-books suggest (the Santuário being the "most sacred" place and Aljustrel, Valinhos, and the children's houses being "other holy" sites). As an answer to my question of "what do you feel in Fátima?" the pilgrims respond "such peace!" to echo the Turners, they were coming from a profane center (and sacred periphery) to a religious, holy centre to seek *communitas* (Turner and Turner 1978).

As Jose da Silva Lima argues, although in many churches of Minho (Northern Portugal) there is an altar for *Nossa Senhora de Fátima*, people still go to the Cova da Iria, despite the clergy saying "it is the same Mother of God". They prefer going to Fátima because the *Nossa Senhora de Fátima* in their church lacks

-the fascination of distance,

-the long history of her outstanding abilities,

-the rumour and the hope of miracles, and

-the attraction of personal investment of the difficulty of journey which is a merit itself and a way of expressing one's love (Lima 1991).

The pilgrims are also under the exercise of power by the Santuário; they are reminded of the sacredness of the shrine every time they enter it by the warning plates stating "este lugar é sagrado entre como um peregrino" (this is a holy place enter as a pilgrim) in six different languages. Even the mere presence of these plates makes me question whether the place is sacred because nowhere in the world can one see such warning before entering a temple may it be a church, a synagogue or a mosque because everybody knows that that place is sacred; maybe not for himself but followers of that particular religion to which the temple belongs. What I am trying to say is if the place is sacred, why need to remind people by trying to make them believe that the space is considered to be sacred? Because they have already decided that this place is *santa* (holy, sacred) and they believe that Our Lady is present here and she chose to appear on this *terra* (land), and they are concerned that those entering the shrine should treat her with respect:

"Welcome Pilgrim!

In this PLACE OF PRAYER we consider it shocking and unseemly to wear shorts, bathing dress, and other unbecoming form of attire which leave the body uncovered.

Dear pilgrim, leave outside the curiosity and the manner of dress proper to a tourist. In heart and soul, you deserve that Fátima should be for you a time and place of prayer, a time and place of peace!

Rectory of the Sanctuary

As it can be seen from this announcement the shrine officials designate the space and time as holy. Therefore the pilgrims are under pressure to obey the power of the shrine and believe that Fátima is a sacred place, which is formulated as such by the clergy.

I would like to conclude this section by stating that there is a constant attempt to create and maintain the sacredness of Fátima but, as it is a metaphysical notion, the sacred exists only in the minds of people who have faith and look for it. In other words, the sacred does not exist naturally, it is man who gives this particular place its sacred quality.



The Recinto of the shrine.

V. 2. THE DISCOURSE OF THE CLERGY

V. 2. 1. Introduction:

Having used the previous section to analyse the discourse of the pilgrims, that is, to analyse their motives for making the Fátima pilgrimage, their expectations from both the shrine and the Virgin Mary, now I shall attempt to unravel the discourse of the clergy. I will classify their discourse into two levels. First, the ideological level in which I wish to give an account on the role of the clergy in promoting Fátima nationally and internationally and their attempts to "protect" the shrine's reputation of being associated with the "official" Universal Church. At the practical level I will show how they control the actions of the pilgrims and exercise their power in various stages of the pilgrimage.

V. 2. 2. The Ideological Level of the Clergy's Discourse:

On my second day in Fátima I was asked by one of the Santuário priests to meet the Reitor, Mons. Luciano Guerra, to be granted permission to do a study in the shrine. I was surprised that he knew about my past: that I had graduated from a theology faculty in Turkey, I had done an MA at SOAS and was doing a PhD at LSE, etc. He asked me about the curriculum of theology faculties in Turkey, the degree of my adherence to Islam and my opinions on Christianity. In the end he told me that I was a student in a British university, therefore he expected me to be impartial and gave me permission to study (which meant to wander around the shrine freely and ask questions of whoever volunteered to answer) in the shrine on condition that I was not to write anything against Fátima. Later, I realised that at an earlier date the shrine had helped some people who came to Fátima to write a book on the place but their works turned out to be "against Fátima".

Gérard de Sède, a French journalist, visited the Santuário in 1975, right after the Revolution of 25 April 1974. The outcome of this visit was a book entitled *Fátima: Enquête sur une Imposture* in which he claimed the notion of Fátima pilgrimage to be an invention of the clergy. He based his argument on two premises. First, the scenario of the apparitions of Fátima was a copy of the Lourdes apparitions (1858) which were themselves an imitation of La Salette (1846) visions. These last two apparitions that took place in France in the 19th century when the papacy was desperate to defend itself against the principles of political liberalism, came very handy. Thus, Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) promoted the apparitions of La Salette and Lourdes as part of the struggle to restore the privileges of the Catholic hierarchy. The circumstances in which the Fátima apparitions took place were similar to those of earlier apparitions: in that the political struggle to promulgate the first Portuguese Republic (1910) was anti-clerical. The Fátima apparitions were used by the Portuguese clergy to counter-attack the Republic's political hierarchy. Second, Fátima was promoted by the clergy from the very beginning; most of the books defending Fátima were written by priests and the few works which criticised Fátima were excluded from libraries: such as the books of Prosper Alfarc, *A Fabricação de Fátima* (*The Fabrication of Fátima*, originally in French *Comment se Crée un Lieu Saint*) and João Ilharco's *Fátima Desmascarada* (*Fátima Unmasked*) both of which were published in 1971, before the Revolution of 25 April 1974 but after the death of Salazar in 1970.

The international fame of the pilgrimage centre also came with a public statement of Pope XII in May 1951: "The Pope of Fátima, it is me!" (Séde 1977;10-11). I could add a few more points to show the role of the clergy in the promotion of Fátima. For example, Cardinal Manuel Cerejeira, the Patriarch of Lisbon, declared in the preface of a book by Fr. Galamba de Oliveira that in Fátima "everything had been a work of God... Fátima was not a work of men. It imposed itself against their wishes" (Oliveira 1982;3). In the same book we find other declarations on the authenticity of the apparitions, made by the members of the Catholic hierarchy: such as the first bishop

of Leiria-Fátima, D. José da Silva, the third bishop of the diocese, D. Cosme Amaral. The entire book is based upon such declarations, as if to prove the apparitions worthy of belief.

The clergy of Fátima have always enjoyed a special privilege from their superiors, both the National and the Universal Church. Cardinal Cerejeira, who was a close friend of António Salazar, supported Fátima right from the beginning. At this point I must mention the support given by the State in earlier years to Fátima. Under the leadership (or dictatorship) of Salazar, Portugal became an authoritarian state emphasising patriarchal authority. At the family level, 'father' was made head of the household and represented the ultimate authority. At the national level *patria* (land) became the focal point; even linguistically these two terms, "father" *pai* and "fatherland" *patria* are related. The head of state, as father of the nation, was again someone to be respected, loved and feared, as was the father of the family. The traces of this policy show parallels with the patriarchal, hierarchical authority of the Catholic Church. To give just one example of political support for the Fátima shrine, I wish to refer to a cartoon taken from a mathematics textbook used in primary schools. The illustration shows a maths exercise in which pupils are asked to answer questions such as "the people you see in the above picture are pilgrims who are going to Fátima to fulfil their promessas. If the coach travels to Fátima at 30 Km per hour, how many hours does it take them to reach Fátima? If they pay 2\$00 per Km., how much do they pay for their round trip?), etc.:

— 76 —

Adicionar 58 unidades, 1 unidade e seis centésimas a 81 décimas-milésimas.

— 77 —

$409,63 : 50,1 =$

— 78 —

Subtrair oito unidades e vinte e oito centésimas de oito mil noventa e quatro unidades:

— 79 —

$5308,4 : 2,54 =$

— 80 —

$24 : 48 =$

— 81 —

$46 \cdot 7,5 =$



— 1 —

As pessoas que se vêem acima são peregrinos que seguem para Fátima e que vão satisfazer promessas a Nossa Senhora do Rosário.

¿ Quantas horas demoraram a chegar a Fátima, sabendo-se que as caminhetas percorreram, em média, 30 quilómetros por hora?

<i>Indicação</i>	<i>Efectuação</i>
------------------	-------------------

R.:

— 2 —

Se aquêlê cirio, que o homem conduz, estivesse sempre a arder, no altar de Nossa Senhora, ¿ quantos dias levaria a consumir-se, se, em cada dia, fôsse gastas doze centésimas do mesmo cirio?

<i>Indicação</i>	<i>Efectuação</i>
------------------	-------------------

R.:

— 3 —

¿ Em quanto importou o aluguer de cada caminheta (ida e volta), sabendo-se que não levava nenhum lugar vazio?

<i>Indicação</i>	<i>Efectuação</i>
------------------	-------------------

R.:

¿ E quanto gastou cadaromeiro no transporte?

<i>Indicação</i>	<i>Efectuação</i>
------------------	-------------------

R.:

A maths exercise for the 3rd class.

Support for Fátima also came from the highest authority in the Church, that is, from the Vatican. It is said that Pope Pius XI handed out Fátima picture cards to his visitors on January 9th, 1929, before the cult's official authorisation (de Faria 1954;353). The same Pope, in his letter *Ex Officios Litteris* wrote to Cardinal Cerejeira on 10 November 1933 that Portugal had been recently favoured in an extraordinary way by the Most Blessed Virgin. Another Pope, Pius XII, in his Apostolic Letter *Saeculo Exteunte Octavo* dated 13 June 1940, praised the Portuguese colonial expeditions "to subject the barbarians to the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ" and he invoked Our Lady of Fátima in prayers for more missionary vocations.

Another way of giving support to Fátima was through the visits of high-ranking members of the Church hierarchy, like cardinals, papal nuncios and legates, some of whom were to become Popes later on. Meanwhile, the most important of these visits were made by two Popes, during their pontificates.

There are also some other events that have helped Fátima to gain international fame, which include:

- the coronation of the statue of Our Lady of Fátima by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Aloysius Masella, on May 13th, 1946,
- the closing ceremony of the Holy Year on 13 October 1951 which was presided by another Papal Legate, Cardinal Tedeschini.

Another point I would like to make is that the story of the apparitions has always been under the strict control of the Portuguese clergy. First of all, the story comes to us from the mouth of Lúcia only, despite there being two more seers. It is said that Francisco, another visionary, was mentally handicapped and could not answer the questions that were put to him after the apparitions by various priests. Jacinta, the youngest of the three, only 7 years of age at the time, could not even understand the questions, answering that her cousin Lúcia would understand them better. Yet, in later publications these two children were shown as "prophets" (Rengers 1986) or as saints whose help should be sought (Lumi

1958;63-64 and Rolim 1947). From the very beginning to the present day everything we know about Fátima has been the "official version" of the clergy. Lúcia has never been allowed to talk freely; she is and was always "hidden" in this or that convent. Even today no-one can see her except those who have a "permit" from the Vatican. The literature is based upon Lúcia's *Memoirs* which were supposed to have been written by her in her convent. To prove that the account was all hers, her handwritings were also published but one is never sure that her words were not dictated by another. She answers briefly to those who have been fortunate enough to see and talk to her, that everything is to be found in her *Memoirs*.

The Portuguese clergy have also encouraged some lay authors to write books on Fátima, presumably to rival Lourdes. F. Werfel wrote a novel, later turned into a film, about the Lourdes apparitions. An American Catholic was asked to write a similar work for Fátima: the result was *The Lady and the Sun: A Novel about Fátima* (Dockman 1954). The shrine has also commissioned a film on Fátima entitled *Aparição* by Daniel Costelle (who had already made a film on Lourdes), which the Santuário officials encouraged the pilgrims to watch in the Centro Pastoral de Paulo VI. In order to imitate Lourdes, an architect, Norberto Corrêa, was sent to Lourdes to find out what "could be 'copied' in Fátima like museums and other complementary institutions which could attract a great interest not only to tourists but also to all pilgrims" (Oliveira 1982;31). Consequently, the houses of Jacinta and Francisco Marto, and Lúcia dos Santos, were declared part of the national heritage and an old house was bought to make a "Casa Museu" to show visitors how a house looked like at the time of apparitions.

The shrine officials are also very anxious for the beatification of Jacinta and Francisco because Fátima has not yet been able to produce a saint like Bernadette of Lourdes. When the beatification is complete, the children's house, and that of Lúcia, will "become, with more reason, sacred places" (Guerra 1992;31).

The Santuário tries to be associated with Lourdes, because they do not consider it as a rival but a sister. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Lourdes is approved by the Vatican but other places, such as Medjugorje (Bosnia- Hercegovina) and San Sebastian de Garabandal (Spain), where Marian apparitions have not yet been declared "worthy of belief", are taboo words not to be mentioned in the shrine precincts. This disassociation clearly shows that Fátima does not like "rivals" and it is following in the Vatican's footsteps.

There have been two Marian apparitions in Portugal after Fátima. The first was at a place called Vilar Chão in 1946 and the second at, Ladeira do Pinheiro in 1962. Neither has been recognised by the Church. In the first apparition a sick girl, Amélia da Natividade Rodrigues, 22 years old in 1946, claimed to have seen an angel and the Virgin Mary. The parish priest told her to ask Mary to cure her illnesses as a proof and the next day Amélia was not only cured but a cross was formed in her hand. She continued to have visions of Mary and in the end, on 11 October 1946, some dozens of persons said they had witnessed some extraordinary movements of the sun, turning into a blue disc. Later, Amélia was accused of being a fraud and her apparitions were dismissed by the Bragança clergy (Anastácio 1986;29-30). These visions could not threaten Fátima on two accounts; first, the relatively long distance (some 400 km) between Fátima and Vilar Chão means that pilgrims could not visit these two places in one journey. Second, no church institutions have been built in Vilar Chão.

Meanwhile, the apparitions of Ladeira do Pinheiro could pose a threat to the one and only Church-approved national Marian shrine of the country, Fátima. First of all, the seer Maria da Conceição Mendes declared a message, which was supposed to have been given by the Virgin Mary, as a continuation of the one given in Fátima. Maria da Conceição also claimed that she had never heard anything about Fátima (Alves 1978;19). The recipient of the vision was cured by the Virgin Mary and prophesied the events of 25 April 1974 (the end of the Salazarian dictatorship) in the beginning of that year which also meant the end of her own maltreatment by

the state (Anastácio 1986;79). These persecutions reached such a point that on August 20, 1972, some 5000 foreign pilgrims assembled in Fátima declared that the government could not close a shrine which belonged to all humanity. They also made it clear that they would enter Ladeira at all costs. This led to a fight against the Portuguese at two places near the village, resulting in many casualties on both sides (ibid., 72-73).

I will now describe what I saw at Ladeira, and contrast it with Fátima. When I visited the "Santuário" of Ladeira (Sunday, 7 February 1993), it was becoming, at the very least, a national shrine for Portugal. Although there is no state support, such as roads, regular coach services or an officiating priest, it still attracts pilgrims who have to walk to the shrine. On the way to the "Santuário", pilgrims stop at the ruins of Maria's house (destroyed by the military forces), which is a sacred ground and light candles. Behind the ruins of the house, Maria's old backyard has become a *Jardim de Paraiso* (Garden of Paradise), where olive trees and flowers are grown. Having stopped at these holy places and paid their respects pilgrims carry on walking towards the Santuário.

The Santuário consists of a convent, Maria's new house, a fruit stand, a kitchen and a stables where some animals are kept. These buildings are situated around a yard in which is a statue of the Virgin Mary and some ex-voto offerings in the form of marble or stone tablets, mementoes on which read inscriptions thanking Our Lady who had cured their illnesses. On the east side of the Santuário some devotees have built their houses and behind it I saw the foundations of a church under construction. Since the Catholic Church is not interested in these apparitions, the Orthodox Church has decided to support this shrine and has begun to build a large church. It is as if sanctity were a quality that could be claimed or franchised. The Church is being built at the end of a Via Sacra. On this Way of the Cross I witnessed some women who were praying and singing hymns loudly and some of them were weeping. At that moment I thought how free they were to express their emotions, unlike Fátima where pilgrims are constantly under the control of a

priest who always carries out his duties according to the official version of the church, not allowing any "deviance". In the afternoon I participated in an Orthodox mass officiated by the Orthodox bishop of the Iberian peninsula, in the end "Mãe Maria" (devotees call her affectionately Mother Maria) led a Rosary prayer (the wording of the Ave Maria was a little bit different from the traditional Portuguese version, and this was, I was told, due to its translation from the Greek) in the garden of the church. At the intervals they sang hymns composed for both Ladeira and Fátima; but there was one hymn that the congregation sang with greater fervour: it went like this:

Quem este povo?	Who is this people?
Que povo este?	What people is this?
Este é o povo que	This is the people who
Vai morar	Will inhabit
Vai morar	Will inhabit
Lá, no céu.	There, in heaven.

However, I noticed that the Portuguese were not very enthusiastic about the rituals, perhaps because they were taking place on an Orthodox ground. The audience of "Mãe Maria" mainly consisted of foreign (usually Spanish) devotees dressed in white, including a white lace head scarf. These women called themselves the "Exercito Branco de Mãe Maria" (White Army of Mother Maria). In the shrine one can also see the "miraculous hair" of Maria de Conceição. Although it was cut several years back, it is said to continue to grow. Mãe Maria performs another miracle as well; from time to time a host appears mysteriously on her tongue. She is also said to have visited heaven.

The Portuguese Church declared, first by the Patriarchate of Lisbon (4.2.1965), and second by the bishop of Santarém (17.6.1977), that the "events" that occurred at Ladeira do Pinheiro do not present any clear indication of supernatural intervention which could lend itself to be stored in the deposit of faith. Therefore, having been unauthorised, no Catholic clergy, of whatever nationality, are allowed to celebrate any liturgical act whether in public or in

private. In the same manner, the faithful who participate in any religious act at Ladeira do Pinheiro, are in disobedience and not in communion with the church (quoted in Alves 1978;63).

In addition to these interdictions, the bishop of Leiria-Fátima published a letter to the pilgrims of Fátima, which was stuck on the news boards of the shrine for a while. The bishop said in that letter that it had come to his attention that some pilgrims were visiting Ladeira do Pinheiro, after going to Fátima. He continued to declare that "the pilgrimages and visits to the Santuário of Fátima under no circumstances could constitute an occasion in favour of a participation which is not in union of our faith as Christians. Moreover, we think that our rejection [of the events of Ladeira] is to protect Fátima from all disturbances, discredits or manipulations, to defend it at the same time against all ideological and pseudo-spiritual parasites that wish to be located under its shadow." (quoted in Alves 1978;64). The bishop also asked people who insist on visiting Ladeira, even if it is out of curiosity, not to come to Fátima anymore. In this decree of the bishop, the shrine clergy of Fátima are not permitted to talk about Ladeira as well. In fact, my questions about Ladeira always went unanswered by both the priests and pilgrims; nobody admitted to have heard about Ladeira.

As was shown above, Fátima does not like rivals whether it be another institution or, in the case of a Catholic priest, a member of the clergy. The dissidence comes from what I think, is a minor disagreement on the fulfilment of a condition in the message of the Virgin Mary given in Fátima. In the so-called "Fátima Message", a subject to which I will return shortly, it is said that Our Lady asked the Pope to consecrate Russia to her Immaculate Heart. The only condition for this act was it should be done collegiately, that is, in union with all the bishops around the world. There were many attempts to prod the Pope into fulfilling this request of Mary: by Lúcia herself and by the Portuguese clergy by writing letters several times to the Vatican. The head of the Church (Pius XII) responded to this request and consecrated the world on October 31st, 1942, but there was no special mention of Russia in that act. Later,

the Fátima officials persistently asked the Pope to renew the consecration. As a result, the Pope consecrated Russia to Mary's Immaculate Heart on July 7th, 1952. Yet, some authorities insisted that the consecration had not been made according to the wishes of Mary which meant, the Pope did not associate with his act the bishops of the whole world. After 1952 and until March 13th, 1982, the Church was virtually silent for 30 years. This silence is attributed to ecclesiastical policy but was broken for an instant by Pope Paul VI who proclaimed Mary the "Mother of the Church" on November 21st, 1964 and recalled the consecration of the world to Mary made by Pius XII. He also sent "the Golden Rose" to the sanctuary of Fátima at the closing session of the Second Vatican council. The gift was presented to the bishop of Leiria-Fátima on May 13th, 1965 at the Fátima shrine. It is said that the Golden Rose is a papal sign of special honour and recognition. It has been given to churches, countries and cities, and also to rulers and other individuals who have shown some special love for the Catholic faith (Rengers 1986;121 and Carreira 1965;6). Two years later, the Pope visited Fátima on 13 May 1967 as an "ordinary pilgrim". Although he did not go to Lisbon for political reasons (I think he did not want to appear to support Dr. Salazar's regime), he received both the President Américo Thomaz and the Chief of Government António Salazar during his pilgrimage in Fátima¹.

After Pope Paul VI, another Pope, John Paul II, visited Fátima as a pilgrim on May 13th, 1982. Two years later he consecrated the planet to the Immaculate Heart of Mary at St. Peter's Square in Vatican City (25 March 1984). However, a Canadian priest, Fr. Nicholas Grunner, has claimed that the consecration was not made according to the conditions set by Mary because the Pope did not refer to Russia explicitly. Fr. Grunner has been campaigning since the date of consecration and sometimes he organises seminars and symposiums. The last debate he organised coincided with the

¹ For more information on Paul VI's pilgrimage see the books by the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth, an institution founded in the Salazarian era for the formation of the youth), *Mensagem de um Peregrino de Fátima: Paulo VI em 13 de Maio de 1967*.

official "International Symposium on the Pastoral of Fátima" held by the shrine clergy in Fátima on October 13th, 1992. Two days earlier he was reported to have tried to enter Lúcia's convent in Coimbra, while the ex-president of the Philippines, Corazon Aquino, was meeting Lúcia (Público, 13 October 1992). A few days later, I heard that Fr. Grunner had wanted to enter the Santuário but one of the shrine guards tried to stop him and eventually beat him up. I checked this event with Dr. Cristino (Head of the Fátima Studies Centre of the shrine), he told me that the shrine was a public place and that they could not control everybody coming in and out. However, they had to protect it from malicious attacks by putting a *cordon sanitaire* around Fátima.

I conclude, from these two examples of the attitudes of the shrine officials, that the officials cannot tolerate any difference from their own. They claim that they would do anything to protect and defend their shrine.

V. 2. 3. The Message of Fátima:

From my own observations, the clergy's main occupation appears to be the promotion of Fátima, using the message given by the Virgin Mary at the apparitions. The message is said to consist of three items: penance, Rosary, and devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

The books written on Fátima follow an invariable pattern in which a historical account of the apparitions is preceded by an interpretation of what the Virgin had said to the children. Yet, this so-called "message" is interpreted differently by various persons. For example, the rector of the shrine states that *mensagem de Fátima* is all about prayer and penance (Guerra 1992;30); for another author, the key word to the message of Fátima is "conversion" (Agius 1951;13), Father Martindale claims in his book *The Message of Fátima* that the series of apparitions at Fátima was a lesson to the faithful to "amend their lives" and "advance towards holiness" (Martindale 1950;182). It is also argued that Our Lady

came to Fátima with a plan to save the world by asking people to wear a brown scapular and to observe the five first Saturdays (see the Blue Army's leaflets).

Therefore, it could be said that the discourse of the clergy is quite different from that of the pilgrims, in that the former tries to direct the believers towards the official Church teachings, whereas the latter are inclined to "use" Fátima for their own ends, in other words, to obtain the help of Mary in their practical daily lives.

In their sermons at the shrine the priests try to teach the "basics" of the Catholic Church. They often mention the words prayer, penance, atonement, repentance from one's sins and conversion. In short, they try to associate Fátima with the Gospel itself; the Trinity, the Mystery of the Redemption of Christ, the Mystery of the Eucharist, the sense of solidarity of all Christians in the Mystical Body of Christ, etc. For them, the message of Fátima, being a summary of the Bible, never contradicts it. They attempt to create a mother figure, or a model for all Catholics, from the person of Mary, by praising her attributes such as obedience, caring for other people, avoidance from sin and participation in the sufferings of Jesus. Many Mass-celebrating priests designate Mary as a way to reach her son, Jesus. Once, the rector began a Rosary prayer in the Capelinha with a statement about the nature of the Rosary, claiming that when one recites the Ave Maria, and meditates upon the 15 Mysteries, in fact one mediates with Jesus Christ.

Another recurrent theme that priests mention about the message of Fátima is the notion of sacrifice. The faithful are asked to suffer, perhaps by enduring difficulties in their lives, or injustices from fellow believers, or physical sufferings sent by God, and offer it up to the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the conversion of sinners. Therefore, what the clergy is asking from believers is that they should become obedient to the authorities of the Church and, it is implied, to secular institutions.

V. 2. 4. The Practical Level of the Clergy's Discourse:

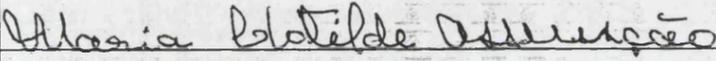
One could say that the "Message of Fátima" shapes the clergy's expectations of pilgrims. To this end the clergy have published pilgrimage manuals, novenas and general works on pilgrimages. Above all, the pilgrimages of the two Popes to Fátima (Paul VI and John Paul II) are emphasised as a model for all pilgrims. Both of them made it clear that they were visiting Fátima only as "pilgrims". This is explicit in the speech of John Paul II on his first pilgrimage to Fátima: "And here I am with you, a pilgrim among pilgrims... with Rosary beads in hand, the name of Mary on lips and the song of God's compassion in heart" (Freire 1983;37).

The clergy asks pilgrims to come to Fátima not as a payment of an earlier favour made by Mary, not as a habit of participating in *romarias* (local pilgrimages with a festive atmosphere), not as tourists and certainly not with a critical mind but as pilgrims who make confession, do penance, participate in the Mass and receive Communion, pray the Rosary and more importantly, pray constantly during their time in Fátima.

The shift from what Dahlberg (1987) calls "miraculous" discourse to the spiritual one, shows itself explicitly in the "official" publications on Fátima. The books written before the Second Vatican Council gave accounts of "miraculous" cures obtained in the shrine, but recent works never mention any such cures or any other supernatural event which may have taken place in the Santuário. Nor could I find any reference to the practice of "promessa de joelhos", neither is the strip on which pilgrims carry out their vows by walking on their knees mentioned in any guide books, although much information is given on all the other places in the town of Fátima.

S. Wilson claims that the clergy had been empowered through the inclusion of a litany for the saints in the Eucharist and the introduction of votive Mass (1983;11). In this way, the clergy are able to control many popular aspects of cult devotion by bringing it under

their control. This process also benefits the clergy financially as they charge the lay population for every votive Mass they celebrate. They control not only the economy of salvation but the economy of their flock as well. Here I reproduce the copy of a cheque of PE 500.000\$00 made out to the Santuário of Fátima by an old lady, with the sole request that a votive Mass be said after her death:

		CAIXA GERAL DE DEPOSITOS	
0615023405900		D 07-47291539 PESO DA REGUA 610	
MARIA CLOTILDE ASSUNCAO		Pague por este cheque, ESCUDOS 500.000 \$00	
Assinaturas		Local de emissão	
			
		Data	
		30 14 1993	
à ordem de		Santuário de Nossa Senhora Fátima	
a quantia de		Quinhentos Mil Escudos	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Z. Interbancária	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Número de Conta	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Número de Cheque	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Importância
00350615< 00023405900+ 0747291539>		12+	
Serie		É favor não escrever nem carimbar neste espaço	

The Santuário also receives votive offerings of pilgrims in many forms apart from monetary donations: golden objects such as earrings, necklaces, wedding rings, chains, medals, rings, wristwatches, brooches, crosses and rosaries; food of all kinds (olive oil, flour, chickens, eggs, vegetables and fruits) for the chaplains of the shrine; and clothes to be given to the poor. In Fátima I heard rumours from many people about the financial situation of the Santuário. For example, there are said to be underground tunnels leading to the alms boxes in the Recinto; three people are employed to sort this money out, working in two shifts; and above all, there is a graffito in the town which reads *Santuário é um banco* (Santuário is a bank). In fact, these rumours are not altogether unsubstantiated as it suffices to pay a visit to the residence of the shrine priests (Casa Nossa Senhora do Carmo) in order to see them

confirmed. The clergy live in near-luxury of all kinds, ranging from their bedrooms to the food they eat. Upon seeing the comfortable life of the clergy, the Fátimense (people of Fátima) do not spare their harsh criticisms and complain that they do not want to see a priest driving a nice car. However, I do not want to do an injustice to the clergy, by exaggerating their life-styles, as if they were living in luxury compared to their congregation (like the monastery in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*) because one could claim that there are no poor in Fátima. Yet the Fátimense, perhaps because of their anti-clerical attitudes, want their priests to fulfil their vows of poverty².

During the great pilgrimage of October 1993 the rector Luciano Guerra asked in his sermon that pilgrims should not spend much money on flowers offered to the shrine and not buy huge candles, as small ones would do. Later some pilgrims commented that the rector wanted them to give the money to the Santuário instead.

It would be a far-fetched argument to claim that the clergy controls the activities of pilgrims because they are richer financially than devotees. Yet their gain is twofold: First, they officialize popular devotion, and second, they make money out of this process. For example, you would be grateful if you were poor and received money, clothes or food from the clergy. The Santuário also exercises its financial hegemony over the poorer churches in Portugal by helping them financially or sending them *gratis* statues of Our Lady of Fátima.

The financial situation of the shrine also gives the clergy the power of negotiation with civil authorities.

The main worry of the shrine clergy is that Fátima may one day become a *romaria* , which is "a popular pilgrimage to a place made

² Like many other Latin countries, Fátima does not lack anti-clerical jokes but there are also some serious accusations of the clergy breaking their vows of celibacy: for example, there is a rumour that a Santuário priest has been living with a widow.

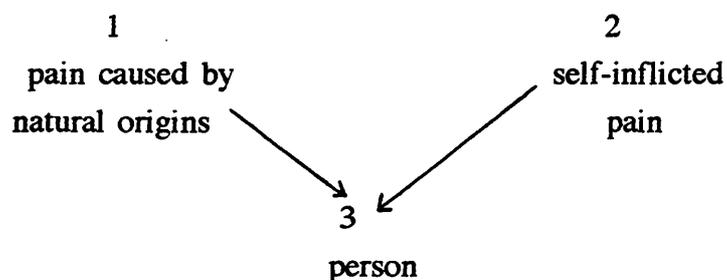
sacred by the special presence of a saint" (Sanchis 1983;261). Every measure is taken to keep Fátima as solemn and "official" as possible, unlike the festive atmosphere of romarias. The clergy do not want Fátima to become a romaria because it would easily escape from their control and they would lose their intermediary role between the individual, God, and the saints. Power mechanisms are quite explicit in all the rituals that take place in the Santuário. For example, the procession is a ritual in which popular participation reaches its peak because everybody walks behind the statue of Our Lady of Fátima. Yet, there is a hierarchical order of procession. At the front is the statue, just behind it comes the clergy in order of rank (cardinal, bishop, rector, shrine chaplains, other priests and nuns). The laity follows at the end of the procession. Then the statue is left on the left side of the Recinto Altar, while the clergy take over and begin to exercise their power by using Mary to control the congregation. The focal point shifts dramatically from the Virgin Mary to the clergy.

The clergy is also aware of the enthusiasm and devotion invoked by the pilgrimage and they wish to channel this enthusiasm into the Church. They ask the pilgrims not to forget their experiences in Fátima after returning home and to continue to attend, at least, weekly Masses and pray the Rosary. For this reason the Santuário encourages group pilgrimages from the different classes of society, such as the "Children's Pilgrimage", "Youth Pilgrimage", "Armed Forces Pilgrimage", "Police Pilgrimage", and national group pilgrimages organised by religious orders (like those of the Franciscans or Dominicans), etc. In this way Fátima creates a category of people whom I call "the Friends of Fátima" who will, supposedly, come back to Fátima all their lives, and increase the "clientele" of the shrine by promoting Fátima in their home towns. Therefore, it is not surprising that the rector keeps asking pilgrims to call at the shrine whenever they pass near Fátima.

V. 3. THE DISCOURSE OF THE PILGRIMS

V. 3. 1. Introduction:

The most striking feature of the Fátima pilgrimage is perhaps the people's participation in the daily activities of the Santuário. Pilgrims enter a dyadic relationship with a divine being (see the chapter on the Cultus Marialis). This relationship is coloured with an ideology of *devoção*. Yet, as will be shown in the following sections, devotion is not the only predominant motive in Fátima's pilgrims. They would often start their conversation with me with a statement of how they loved Mary, how devoted they are to her, but, as the conversation went on, they then told me their personal problems, and afflictions. Only a small portion of them would continue stating their pure devotion and piety at the end. What I have been trying to say is that nobody becomes a devotee overnight. Almost all the pilgrims had had a personal reason for going to Mary. This reason was concerned with personal and existential suffering. Devotees deny themselves such comforts of life as food, or sex, or sometimes they counter the pain coming from outside with an inside one, that is, with a voluntarily self-inflicted pain in order to prepare themselves for some kind of extraordinary role to attract divine attention. They think that they gain prominence through suffering:



As will be seen in the ethnographic data, one of the main motives of the pilgrims who undertake a pilgrimage to Fátima is their contractual relationship with the Virgin Mary which consists of three phases:

1- The individual undergoes some pain (disease, whether in his or her own body or that of a family member) and/or suffering (economic, educational, etc.) which leads him or her to a psychological state in which he or she realises her own limitations and need for supernatural help.

2- He or she makes a *promessa* (vow) to the Virgin and attributes the cure or release from financial problems to the saint, as a result of which he or she feels compelled to make a counter-gift.

3- This phase could be called a "rite de substitution" where a reproduction of the pain in the first phase occurs. This time it is caused by the individual on a voluntary basis, and is a repayment of the *graça* (favour) granted to him or her.

Moreover, nobody becomes a devotee of the Virgin Mary overnight; individuals have to undergo a process of becoming a devotee. I shall call this process "mediatrixation" which involves, almost always, a life crisis. Interestingly, the devotees are seldom willing to share the personal life crisis, which had caused them to become a devotee of this or that invocation of Mary, with a third party. However, during my fieldwork in Fátima I befriended some devotees of Our Lady of Fátima and on their second coming to the town I was able to talk with them about their mediatrixation stories. I believe it will suffice to cite three such stories to support my argument:

Chloé is a 65 years old lady from Massachusetts. Since 1987 she comes to Fátima regularly, with a group of 13 (because Our Lady appeared on the 13th of each month). In 1987 she was diagnosed as having cancer and was given six months to live. She had not been particularly religious, let alone a devotee of the Virgin Mary, prior to that shocking news. She promised herself, if she were cured, to come to Fátima every year on pilgrimage until she dies.

She says she finds such peace here. In February this year (1992) her doctor told her that she was cured.

Michael is a 68 years old man from South Carolina. He claims his life is a *pilgrimage* every day because he runs very fast, has 8 children, and has, on the whole, a successful family. Having learned he had cancer, he began to attend his local parish church and met a Blue Army group there in 1984. The group leader gave him a bottle of water from Fátima. He did not have a special devotion to Our Lady and did not need that water. He came here for the first time in 1985 just to please his wife. During that visit he realised that this was a spiritual healing centre. He had had a massive tumour, but he was cured totally. He said to me: "I didn't have any cancer cells after visiting Fátima, the results of prostate tests showed 0.02 level of cancer. It was through the intercession of Our Lady". He, like many other devotees, promised to come here every year till he dies. He brought his wife, three children and two brothers to Fátima. It was here that his children gained their spiritual faith. In 1988 he had a heart attack when he heard his son, George, had lost his faith and became an atheist. Michael was taken to a hospital but showed no vital signs in surgery. George promised that if "Dad" came alive, he would change his life. Unfortunately, George was killed in a traffic accident in November 1988, before he was able to visit Fátima. Michael believes that all these events tied him to Our Lady of Fátima and to this place.

Ulrika is a 52 years old Dutch lady. She has always been a Catholic, although she did not go to Mass or confession regularly, but when she was young she even thought about being a nun. Anyway, she married and had four children (three daughters and a son). She was a salesperson and she enjoyed her job. During the 1982 recession in the Netherlands she lost her job. After some difficult times she began to work in a hospital. Meanwhile, she developed some health problems (backache and she did not taste food properly) and above all she lost her husband that year. Her health deteriorated. Four years ago, just before Christmas, she went to her parish church and the priest, through blessing, cured her, but the doctors did not

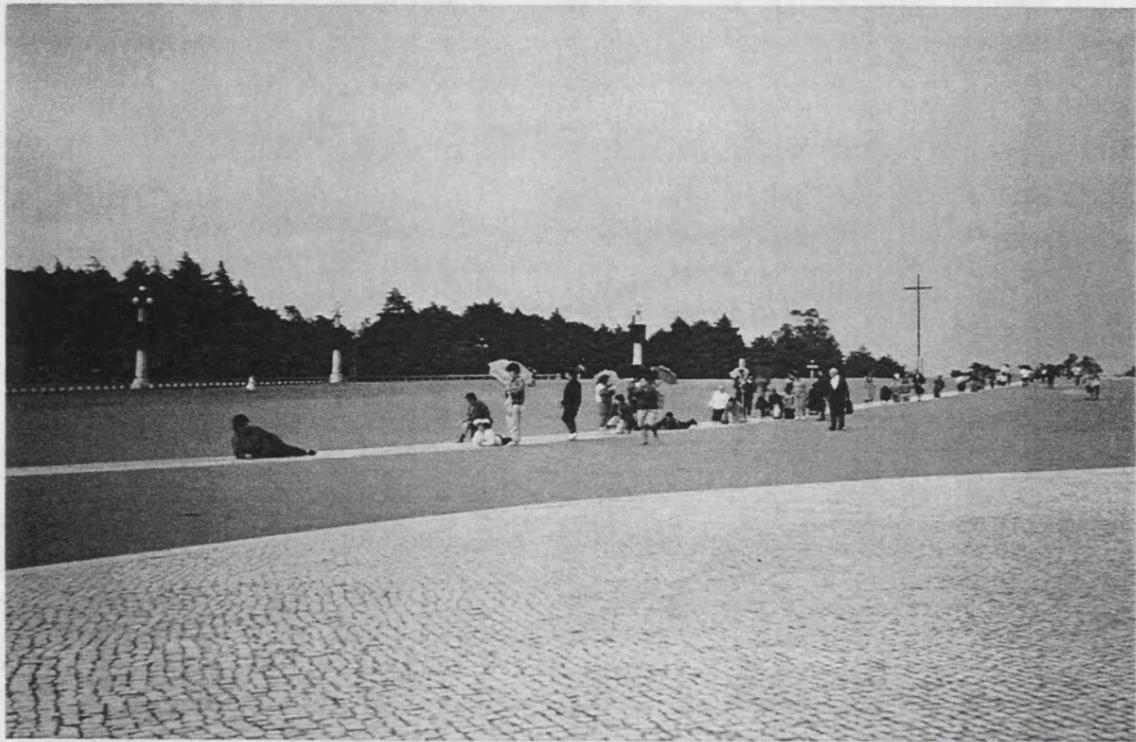
believe her. They insisted she should continue to have medication. Her relationship with her children became worse and worse every day. Her neighbours complained to the local authorities about her (high volume music, tall trees in the garden, etc.). She was even put in a mental hospital. In 1989 she met a man who organised a walking pilgrimage to Lourdes, Santiago de Compostela and Rome. She began to walk with them but on the fourth day she felt she could not carry on with other people and returned to her village, where she found a sponsor who gave her 1.000 guilders and a bicycle from her brother. She cycled to Lourdes and Santiago. I met her in Fátima with her bicycle. She left Fátima after a week, for Garabandal, another pilgrimage place in Northern Spain. She was in constant misery because she lost first her husband, second her job and then her children (they have not died but distanced themselves from her). She tries to comfort herself that she has never been left alone; as she says, "He always accompanies her".

The fulfilment of the *promessa de joelhos* (a vow to walk on one's knees) is an expression of the individual's religious emotion and has both cultural and psychological implications. The practice is carried out by (mostly) women and men of almost all ages¹. For the actors this practice, like devotion to Mary, is a part of their *implicit culture*, to use LeVine's term, because they find it difficult to expand on to the ethnographer. The attitude of the Portuguese towards this practice varies; some perceive it as the individual's acknowledgement (*agradecimento*) for the *graças* (graces) of God that had befallen on them, some could do it when an extreme necessity (*numa extrama necessidade*) arises (for example an incurable disease), for others it is just a tradition which chiefly belongs to the North of Portugal, and finally some think that it is an act of *estupidez* (stupidity).

In this chapter I will set a theoretical background concerning the idea of sacrifice and Christian attitudes toward the human body,

¹ José Cutileiro seems to be sure that "men are usually persuaded to make vow by their women" (1971;272).

then try to analyse the different discourses of the main four groups mentioned above about the promessa de joelhos. I will dedicate the rest of the chapter to give a "logical" explanation for this behaviour.



Promessa de Joelhos.

V. 3. 2. Promessa de Joelhos as a Christian Sacrifice:

Christianity distinguishes itself from other world or local religions as having no *explicit* idea of sacrifice. In fact, on the contrary, one may assume that it *is* a religion of sacrifice if one looks at its very origins; according to Christian theology, Jesus Christ, as the only Son of God, came into this world through the womb of Mary to suffer as we do and eventually to die on the cross. Since he is referred to as the "Lamb of God", he sacrificed himself for the sins of humanity. This is the main idea of sacrifice. In other religions, for example, in Judaism, the sinner has to make a "burnt offering" to God and lay his hands on the victim that symbolically transfers his sin to the animal. He should, at this point, think that had it not ^{been} for ^{the} grace and mercy of God, he could have been slaughtered instead. A Biblical story is cited here as an *extreme* example of the intrinsic relationship between the notions of sin and how to free oneself from it on the one hand and how these notions have been interpreted by human agents through the medium of the victim:

The Israelites left their God and began to serve other deities. This aroused the anger of ^{the} Lord and he punished this wrongdoing by making them subject to the power of the Ammonites. They realised their mistake and asked a warrior named Jephthah to be their commander in the fight against the Ammonites (Judg. 10 and 11). Jephthah accepted their petition to free them from oppression and made a vow to God "if you deliver the Ammonites into my hands, then the first creature that comes out of the door of my house to meet me when I return from them safely shall be the Lord's; I shall offer that as a whole offering" (Judg. 11:30-31). On arriving ^{at} his home, it was his own daughter who came to meet him; besides, she was his only child. He could not return from his promise and fulfilled the vow he made by killing his only daughter.

The main theme of this story is that when one goes astray and disobeys God, one deserves a punishment for wrongdoing; to avoid all these catastrophes, one should repent one's actions by showing God a voluntary self-inflicted violence. In this way, God's favour is

gained and one is free of the present calamities of this life; and this cycle goes on and on, that is, one makes mistakes and repents, God bestows His graces.

Here I wish to give a second story, this time from my field notes at Fátima, Portugal:

Today (12 May 1993) I met João at the outskirts of Fátima. He is 31 years old and had been walking to Fátima for the last four days. At this time of the year in this region of Serra d'Aire of Portugal it is usually rainy weather but he even does not have an umbrella, just a shell-suit and trainers. While talking, we walked towards the OCADAP (a voluntary organisation which helps the *peregrinos a pé* [pilgrims on foot] by giving their feet a massage, etc.); he told me that three years ago his newly-born daughter was diagnosed as having myelitis. Although this was not an incurable disease, he took the responsibility for the child's illness because he believed that due to his sins God sent this trouble to his daughter as a warning. While he was taking the child to a hospital in Porto, he promised that he would walk to Fátima as she was cured.

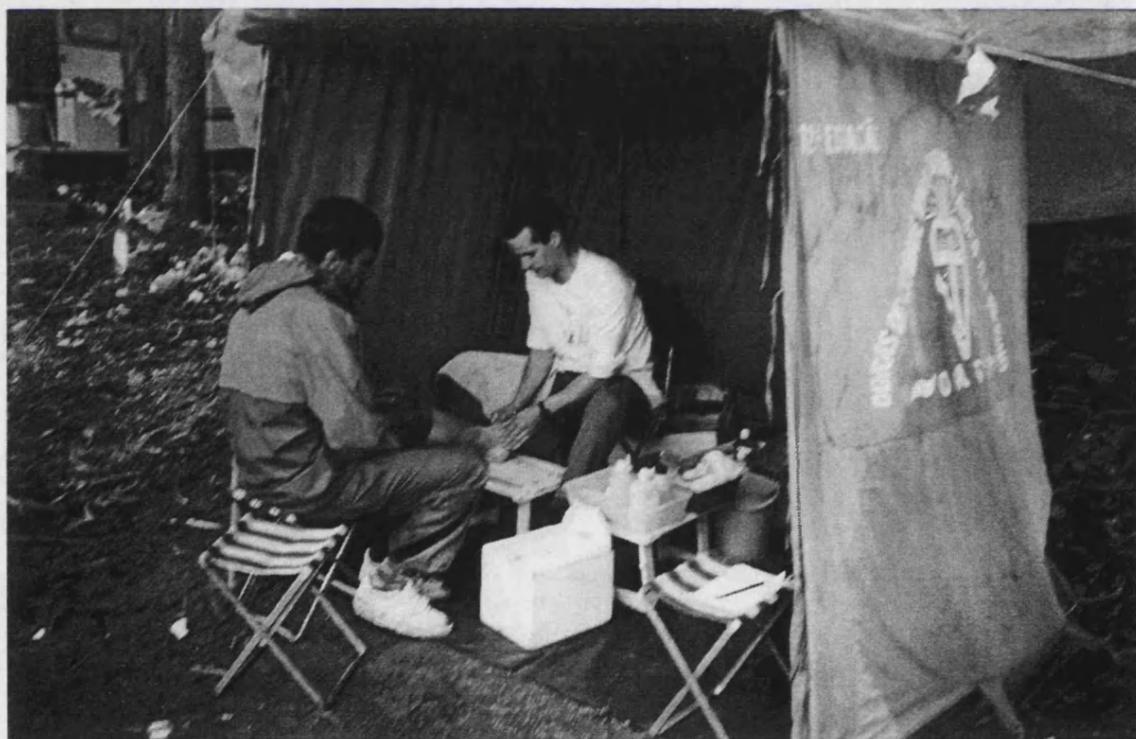
João is just one example among hundreds. With this story, the reader is introduced to the Portuguese world of *promessa* (vow, votive offerings to God or saints in order to obtain a grace) which is a personal and dyadic relationship between the individual and the supernatural in the form of a contract. Promessas constitute an indispensable part of popular Portuguese Catholicism. The majority of the people have made a *promessa* at least once in their lives in one form or another. The Portuguese can fulfil their *promessas* on numerous occasions such as a *romaria* (local pilgrimage) or *feira* (feast) organised in honour of various saints all over the country. *Romaria*, one of the richest cultural aspects of local tradition, is, in general terms, a religious ceremony usually held to honour the local patron saint. It comprises a feast Mass, sermon and often a procession during the day with more profane activities throughout the night, such as a music band, dancing, drinking, and traditional games. It is assumed that each local community has a patron saint and a *feira* or a *romaria*, usually organised in summer months. Anthropologists studying in the Iberian Peninsula have stressed some aspects of *festas* such as unifying the community by giving



Pilgrims on foot.



The Army provides tents for the pilgrims on foot.



Helping the pilgrims on foot.

the individual a distinct identity from "others" (see; Lisón-Tolosana 1966; Riegelhaupt 1973; Brettel 1990; Christian 1977; Pina-Cabral 1981; Sanchis 1983; Freeman 1978). Yet festas, especially romarias are also occasions on which the promisers *pagar* (pay) or fulfil their promessas. In the course of history the Portuguese have adopted different forms of promessas² specific to different saints, and diseases, on various occasions or at different localities. Although there is no exclusive work on the Portuguese promessa that I know of, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira mentions some forms of promessas in his paper on romarias. Veiga de Oliveira considers the payment or fulfilment of promessas as one of the most important aspects of romarias, which articulates the religious sense of the festa (1984; 222). He also argues that the three elements in this sense are inseparable: the evil, the invocation to the saint(s), and the promessa (ibid. 223). In Portugal some saints have been specialised in certain troubles and this specialisation consequently requires the same form of promessa from the *prominentes* : for example Santa Luzia is invoked against eye diseases, Santo Ovídio and S. Brás against hearing and throat problems respectively. Promessas for these saints and illnesses are performed in the form of offering their shrines a wax figure of the diseased organ. S. Luís (King of France) cures stuttering, stammering and late speech; the corresponding promessa is to pass the sick child beneath his *andor* (a sort of bier, or wooden framework to carry statues in processions) while chanting the following poem:

"S. Luís rei de França,	"St. Luis king of France,
Dai fala a esta criança,	Give speech to this child,
Que ela quer falar e cansa."	That she wants to speak but gets tired."

However, forms of promessa vary from one region to another. For example, at Albergia-a-Velha, the specific promessa to Santa Luzía, patron saint of eye diseases, is "olhos vivos" (living eyes) which means *a living animal* (ibid., emphasis added) and for the

² Here, following its practitioners, I am using the term meaning both the act of making a promise and the way it is carried out.

protectors of the flocks, namely Sts. Mamede, Mark and Silvestre, the promessa takes the form of making the animals turn around the shrine (voltas rituais). At the festa of Our Lady sheep are made to run towards the church and the first to arrive belongs to the Virgin (ibid., 224-25). Although Veiga de Oliveira does not mention what happens to these animals, offered to the Virgin Mary and other saints, my informants at Fátima told me that the meat of those animals is eaten at the festa (anyway, they were created for this purpose, weren't they?). It must be stressed that the animals are not slaughtered in a ritualistic way, they are just *killed*. At a distance of two miles from Fátima exists a shrine dedicated to the Virgin Mary; tradition records that in remote times a dumb shepherd girl was pasturing her flock on the mount of Ortiga. When the Virgin appeared to her, she asked for a sheep. The girl replied that she could not give the sheep without first asking her father. She ran to her father to tell him what had taken place. On hearing her speak, he was amazed and told her to give anything the lady required but this time Mary desired a chapel to be built there. Even today a romaria is organised to the shrine of Nossa Senhora da Ortiga on the first Sunday of June. This is one of the most attended festas despite the fact that few people live there. The most important aspect of this festa is the communal meal, since other rituals do not attract people as much as the dinner. Another aspect of this gathering is that, like any other festive occasions, meat is consumed whether it be pork, chicken, beef or fish. I will return to this subject later.

Veiga de Oliveira also mentions other forms of promessa such as general offerings (usually food like first fruits, olive oil, honey, flour, eggs, etc.) and money donations to the shrine; of course as everywhere else, candles, *registos*³ with an image of the miracle,

³ Literally, the records [of obtained graces], an offering of a small picture (formerly a small painting but nowadays a photograph of the person) representing the miracle. Rocha Peixoto calls these same votive offerings "Tabulae Votivae" (1906). The tablets are offered to a shrine would include a general statement something like "Milagre que fez ..." (Miracle that [the saint] has performed) and a short description of the event, and finally appreciation of the saint for his/her intercession with, and glorification of, God.



Some wax figures of human organs.

wax figures of the problematic and cured organ (virtually all parts of human body), sometimes whole representations of the person and other figures such as a house, book, boat or various animals. Other forms of *pagamento de promessa* (payment) tend to be more violent for example going to the shrine on foot (ir a pé) sometimes accompanied with another promessa of "*sem fala*" (without speaking) or fasting during the journey, especially in a case that grace obtained or hoped for is a great one. The most common violent performance of the promessa is that of *voltas prometidas*, walking around the church on one's knees praying the rosary or carrying a candle (ibid., 222-25).

During my fieldwork at the *Santuário de Nossa Senhora de Fátima* (Sanctuary of Our Lady of Fátima) I witnessed most of these forms of promessa; pilgrims would leave a wax representation of the cured part of their bodies at a specified place solely for this purpose at the Santuário, their photographs to the tombs of the two visionaries in the Basílica and light candles. Above all, what struck me most was their fulfilment of *promessa de joelhos* (walking on their knees). There are certain rules concerning this practice, most of which were made by the Santuário's ruling clergy. These rules, in general, tell what one should *not* do, for example, first of all one should not make a spectacle of oneself to attract other pilgrims' attention, one should not degrade one's dignity by walking on all fours or crawling⁴ and one should not be carried out inside the *Capelinha das Aparições* (Chapel of Apparitions) during the formal rituals of *missa* (mass) or *terço* (praying of the rosary). For this reason an announcement had been placed on one of the Capelinha's windows, stating that a *volta* (turn) inside the chapel is equal the distance between its four corner columns.

⁴ The rector of the shrine told me that this (promessa de rostos) is a practice mostly done by soldiers who returned from the colonial wars in the 1960s and I found this explanation rather satisfactory because the action really resembles the military exercises.

Now I wish to consider theoretical aspects of this particular action. First of all when I asked them *why* they had been doing this sort of promessa, the answer almost always was the same: *porque tenho fé* (because I have faith) and on fewer occasions, "I had made this promessa when my child had an eye disease. I asked Our Lady to cure him, now he is a lot better and I am paying her my promise". This was another common statement about the personal reason behind the practice. During my stay at Fátima I have reached exactly at the same conclusion as did Miles Richardson among the Spanish Americans that "faith is an attribute, almost a thing, that a person has inside of him to activate the sacred. Without this faith, nothing will happen: the holy water will not protect, the pilgrimage will be wasted, and the Virgin will remain unmoved" (1990;231). This notion of fé for the Portuguese, consciously or otherwise, is different from *crença* (belief) which is a rational form of religious experience whereas faith is free from rationalising or questioning in order to reach objective and logical answers for the religious quest of the individual⁵. The general notion of fé apparently comes to include various levels of one's religious experience. At the macro level it means the person is a Catholic believing in all the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, or, at the micro level, it consists of the personal and subjective belief in the apparitions of the Virgin Mary and her divine power to improve one's health or other troubles. It is this fé that makes Fátima a sacred place and cures almost all sorts of diseases. It is the first and foremost condition for all betterment. Once I was told by a lady at the Santuário "ask something from Our Lady, anything you want most and she will bestow you but you should have fé in her first".

Another aspect of the promessa de joelhos is what I shall call sacrificial discourse. The term 'sacrifice' has been used in anthropological literature for various rituals; some of them include slaughtering a living creature, usually an animal and in extreme

⁵ I am aware of Talal Asad's warning that "for the anthropologist to explain 'faith' must be primarily a matter of describing a dependence on authoritative practices and discourses, and not of intuiting a mental state lying beyond them said to be caused by ritual" (1983 249).

cases a human being. The literature also has some cases in which this "animal slaughtering" element is absent for example Edmund Leach treats the Kava ceremony of the Kingdom of Tonga in the South Pacific as a ritual of sacrifice (Leach 1972;266) although the ceremony is about the kava plant with the participation of the Tongan king. The myth behind this ritual, however, contains a sacrificial killing of a daughter by her own parents to offer the king as "something to eat in a time of famine" (Bott 1972;215). Therefore, I might be justified if I term the ritual of the *promessa de joelhos* as a sacrifice even though the "slaughtering an animal" element does not exist. Nonetheless, the idea of animal slaughter is clearly present in the ultimate sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who is compared to a lamb, the "Lamb of God"⁶. I therefore argue that the Jewish inclusionary rite of circumcision was transferred to that of baptism in Christianity, but there was also a transference of sacrificial and patriarchal symbolism. The revengeful God of the Old Testament was gradually transformed into a merciful father and the sins of men were expunged by Jesus Christ, the Sacrificial Lamb. As Stephen Sykes, argues the death of Jesus as portrayed by the New Testament writers is a real sacrifice, that shows that the symbol of sacrifice should not be dropped from the Christian body of tradition (1980).

V. 3. 3. The Theories of Sacrifice:

In this section I will consider some of the theories that have been put forward to explain sacrificial rituals in anthropological sources.

Robertson Smith's Communal Theory of Sacrifice:

William Robertson Smith believes that sacrifice is a communion, a method of establishing or re-establishing the solidarity between the community and its deity. He departs from the totemic communion

⁶ The theologian Stephen W. Sykes claims that the Book of Revelation emphasises both the sacrificial death of "the Lamb" (5:6ff; 7:14; 12:11) and the kingship of Jesus (17:14; 19:16) but "the Lamb is never spoken of as a king before being slain" (1980; 64).

in which the group ritually kill and eat an animal belonging to a species which they believe to be the same or similar to themselves. This animal is not thought of as an individual but as the 'representative' of the tribe, together with its ancestors. In other words, it is both their brother (or father) and god.

The sacred function of the sacrifice comes from its being a communal act which "is conceived as a circle of brethren, united with one another and with their god by participation in one life or life-blood. The same blood is supposed to flow also in the veins of the victim, so that its death is at once a shedding of the tribal blood and a violation of the sanctity of the divine life that is transfused through every member, human or irrational, of the sacred circle. Nevertheless the slaughter of such a victim is permitted or required on solemn occasions, and all the tribesmen partake of its flesh, that they may thereby cement and seal their mystic unity with one another and with their god" (1907;294-95).

The idea of expiation and atonement is also found in Robertson Smith's notion of communion from which it was evolved: "if the physical oneness of the deity and his community is impaired or attenuated, the help of the god can no longer be confidently looked for. And conversely, when famine, plague, or other disaster shows that the god is no longer active on behalf of his own, it is natural to infer that the bond of kinship with him has been broken or relaxed, and that it is necessary to retie it by a solemn ceremony, in which the sacred life is again distributed to every member of the community. From this point of view the sacramental rite is also an atoning rite, which brings the community again into harmony with its alienated god, and the idea of sacrificial communion includes within it the rudimentary conception of a piacular ceremony. In all the older forms of Semitic ritual the notions of communion and atonement are bound up together, atonement being simply an act of communion designed to wipe out all memory of previous estrangement" (ibid., 319-20). In this way, Roman Catholics believe that they are reconciled with God when they go to Confession and take "Holy Communion", even if they may eventually have to suffer

the pains of Purgatory for their sins. But they don't believe it wipes away all memory of estrangement from God. The whole issue of communion, confession, judgement after death is one of theological dispute between Christians.

He goes on to argue that when atonement and communion are involved with the group, it takes the form of sacrifice but that there are other "private acts of worship, in which an individual seeks to establish a physical link of union between himself and the deity, apart from the sacrifice of a victim, either by the use of his own blood in a rite analogous to the blood covenant between private individuals, or by other acts involving an identical principle" (ibid., 320). Blood-offering has come to be seen as too barbaric to be retained as a normal act of religion and gradually has taken other forms (like hair-offering), less offensive to civilised people. But "as time went on, the barbarous and painful sacrifice of one's own blood came to be regarded as more efficacious than the simpler and commoner hair-offering; for in religion what is unusual always appears to be more potent, and more fitted to reconcile an offended deity" (ibid., 337).

From this rite Robertson Smith derives the idea of purification, "in the most primitive form of the sacrificial idea the blood of the sacrifice is not employed to wash away an impurity, but to convey to the worshipper a particle of holy life. The conception of piacular media as purificatory, however, involves the notion that the holy medium not only adds something to the worshipper's life, and refreshes its sanctity, but expels from him something that is impure. The two views are obviously not inconsistent, if we conceive impurity as the wrong kind of life, which is dispossessed by inoculation with the right kind" (ibid., 427).

He also believes that guilt may be wiped out through suffering but this happens less by a form of self-inflicted violence than by the suffering of others. This idea necessarily begs an explanation. Thus, he argues that "the one point that comes out clear and strong is that the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental

communion, and that all atoning rites are ultimately to be regarded as owing their efficacy to a communication of divine life to the worshippers, and to the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their god" (ibid., 439).

Interestingly enough, he not only derives the expiatory and purificatory sacrifice but also the idea of gift-offering from this ritual. He notes that in former times all sacrifices were eaten by the participants but at a later time, as in the Judaic sacrifice, some portion of the flesh was taken to the altar and offered to God by burning it. The same idea goes for the blood. He attributes this change in the rite to the modern idea of property. The victim sacrificed during the ritual was no longer a naturally sacred thing, over which he had a right to dispose as he pleased. Before its presentation the victim was a common thing, and it was only by being selected for sacrifice that it became holy. If, therefore, by presenting his sheep or ox at the altar, the owner lost the right to eat or sell its flesh, the explanation could no longer be sought in any other way than by the assumption that he had surrendered his right of property to another party, to God. Consecration was interpreted to mean a gift of man's property to the god, and everything that was withdrawn by consecration from the free use of man was conceived to have changed its owner (cf. ibid., 390-1).

As can be seen from the summary of his work given above, Robertson Smith evolves both the piacular and gift theories of sacrifice from the communal meal which unites the tribe with its god through a third party, namely, the victim. His analysis of the original sacrifice seems incomplete, because he does not discuss guilt. The notion of guilt and sin are taken for granted as a unique relationship between man and God. The motive of expiation through direct or vicarious suffering is probably fundamental to so-called "primitive" religion and can be found in communion and gift. Furthermore, the religious satisfaction from suffering of the self or others, which some might consider masochistic or sadistic, definitely plays an important role in sacrifice.

Hubert and Mauss's Sacramental Theory of Sacrifice:

Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss define sacrifice as a religious act which, by the consecration of victim, modifies the moral state of the sacrificer or of certain objects in which he is interested (1964;13). Thus criticising Robertson Smith's view that sacrifice is derived from the totemic communion, they argue that sacrificial ritual is a procedure to establish a communication between the sacred and profane worlds through the intermediary of a victim, that is to say, of a thing destroyed in the course of the ceremony (ibid., 97).

As far as I understand this theory of sacrifice, man desires to have a (direct?) communication with the supernatural but he hesitates to do so through fear and other unknown reasons. Therefore, an intermediary, a sort of go-between, is employed, who emphasises the identification of the victim with the sacrificer. The person who provides the victim, by killing it, is changed by the rite: "He has acquired a religious character which he did not have before, or has rid himself of an unfavourable character with which he was affected, he has raised himself to a state of grace or has emerged from a state of sin. In either case he has been religiously transformed" (ibid., 9-10). In other words, the so-called "sacramental theory" argues that sacrifice makes the offerer sacred by improving his "mystical condition; if he is ill he is made well, if he is in a state of sin he is freed from sin" (Leach 1972;267). The purpose of increasing the religiosity of the sacrificer⁷ is achieved through the belief that the consecration of the victim builds a force in it. Thus, by associating himself with the victim as closely as possible, he acquires this desired characteristic. The underlying ideology of this act lies in the apparently self-contradictory notion

⁷ They define the sacrificer as "the subject to whom the benefits of sacrifice . . . accrue, or who undergoes its effects. This subject is sometimes an individual, sometimes a collectivity -a family, a clan, a tribe, a nation, a secret society"(Hubert and Mauss 1964:10).

that although cleanliness is a superior state to dirtiness, power is often felt to be dirty (ibid., 267). The person who is himself prepared to make sacrifice, has already a sacred character. "The impurity that he acquires by not observing religious laws or by contact with impure things is a kind of consecration"(Hubert and Mauss 1964;53). The sinner, like a criminal, is a sacred being and by making a sacrifice he washes away his impurity. This is expiation and it purifies both the victim and the sacrificer. For Hubert and Mauss, almost all sacrifices are based on a mutual contract between the person and the deity: "The sacrificer gives up something of himself but he does not give himself. Prudently, he sets himself aside. This is because if he gives, it is partly in order to receive. . . Fundamentally there is perhaps no sacrifice that has not some contractual element" (ibid., 100). This idea sounds like a gift theory because by sacrificing a victim the offerer compels the deity to repay a counter gift in return. This theory is elaborated by Edward Tylor in detail.

Tylor's Gift, Homage and Abnegation Theory of Sacrifice:

Sir Edward Tylor's theory of sacrifice, comes and is evolved from his theory of animism. He believes that "primitive" people thought that man, animal, and all things possessed souls. Moreover, primitive people have generalised this concept and come to personify all causes as spirits, even when these possessed no material abode (Tylor 1929; I, 417 and II, 108-10). He gives the funeral sacrifice as an example to prove his argument: When a high ranking man dies and his soul departs to its own place, attendants, slaves or wives would be sacrificed so that they could continue to serve him in his own place, so he would not be left alone (ibid., I, 458). As for the rational motives of sacrifice he finds them in this ritual because "sacrifice has its apparent origin in the same early period of culture and its place in the same animistic scheme as prayer, with which through so long a range of history it has been carried on in the closest connection. A prayer is a request made to a deity as if he were a man, so sacrifice is a gift made to a deity as if

he were a man. The suppliant who bows before his chief, laying a gift at his feet and making his humble petition, displays the anthropomorphic model and origin at once of sacrifice and prayer." (ibid., II, 375).

These two main ideas could be distinguished first as the gift and counter-gift theory, and as second the homage or abnegation theory, in which the devotee does not expect a counter-gift; the sacrificer offers a valuable gift to his deity to show his obedience and humility before his god, but "the gist of sacrifice is rather in the worshipper giving something precious to himself, than in the deity receiving benefit. This may be called the abnegation theory"(ibid., II, 396).

Westermarck's Expiation Theory of Sacrifice:

Edward Westermarck considers the notion of expiation as the original purpose of sacrifices which would develop a secondary motive such as transference of sin or asking for a favour (1924; I, 61-2). For him, with the motive of expiation, sacrifice secures the future of crops: "For people subsisting on agriculture failure of crops means starvation and death, and is, consequently, attributed to the murderous designs of a superhuman being, such as the earth-spirit, the morning star, the sun, or the rain-god. By sacrificing to that being, a man, they hope to appease its thirst for human blood; and whilst some resort to such a sacrifice only in case of actual famine, others try to prevent famine by making the offering in advance" (ibid., 443).

What is the most interesting point in Westermarck's theory is that he compares sacrifice with the blood-feud. "The duty of blood-revenge is, in the first place, regarded as a duty to the dead, not merely because he has been deprived of his highest good, his life, but because his spirit is believed to find no rest after death until the injury has been avenged. The disembodied soul carries into its new existence an eager longing for revenge; and, till the crime has been duly expiated, hovers about the earth, molesting the

manslayer or trying to compel its own relatives to take vengeance on him. . . From one point of view, blood-revenge is thus a form of human sacrifice" (ibid., I, 481-2).

It is obvious from this account that Westermarck could not escape from Judaic-Christian influences because he is heavily influenced by the Christian theology of guilt and sin which require atonement and expiation. These notions, in the official teaching of the Church, are connected with penance and Purgatory; the former in this life and the latter in the next.

Now I wish to move to another scholar who has also dealt with these phenomena through comparisons with violence, vengeance, blood-feud and vendetta.

Girard's Catharsis Theory of Sacrifice:

René Girard, going along with Godfrey Lienhardt (*Divinity and Experience*) and Victor Turner's (*The Drums of Affliction*) idea of the "redressing function of sacrifice" within the community, suggests that the sacrifice "serves to protect the entire community from *its own* violence; it prompts the entire community to choose victims outside itself" (1977;8; original emphasis). For him the dissension is eliminated through the act of sacrificial ritual, in other words, it protects society from itself. Yet to function in such a way, the institution of sacrifice must be structured and controlled by a fixed set of laws and rules.

Girard, with his "outlet theory" of sacrifice, faces a problem that "societies like our own, which do not, strictly speaking practice sacrificial rites, seem to get along without them" (ibid., 14). Yet, in *his* societies violence does exist, in some cases (public riots, etc.) to the extent of threatening the whole community. Therefore, he feels compelled to explain this phenomenon by looking at the differences between his own society and those imbued with religion. He argues that in primitive societies internal strife brings along with it interfamily vendettas or feuds. Thus, the notion of "revenge" comes

to the surface; revenge for spilt blood in spilling the blood of the murderer, and this causes a chain reaction. But in "modern" societies this vicious circle is broken. He attributes this fact to the judicial system which operates according to the principles of justice; and an "act of vengeance is no longer avenged; the process is terminated, the danger of escalation averted" (ibid., 16). He assumes *a priori* the absence of judicial systems in "primitive" societies and thus links the role of modern justice systems to religion. He seems to suggest that his society as it possesses an advanced secular judicial system, needs neither religion nor a blood thirsty-god, nor a set of sacrificial rites to appease him. He might be justified if and when he treats "society" as modern, positivist and secular, in other words, as religionless or areligious: a society where all sorts of secular institutions have replaced religious ones and religion is relegated to a private, thus subjective matter. Nonetheless, he disregards the fact that almost all the social institutions of modern western society have their origins in Judeo-Christian tradition. Thus, he falls into the trap of western ethnocentrism.

Admittedly, the differentiation of the modern legal system from that of the religious took place over some considerable time. Even, at the initial onset of the paradisciplinary judicial system, the power of religious discourse had to be used to strengthen the new system⁸. The modern system differs from the religious one in certain aspects: it has become "disciplinary" in contrast to the religious penitential system. That this change is not unilateral shows itself in the religious domain. Roman Catholic priests no longer give their penitents physical painful penance, rather, they give them "disciplinary" acts such as reciting a number of "Ave Marias" or "Our Fathers". In this new system the prison is invented and in this way the individual's *mind*, rather than his body, is subjected to punishment. The obvious difference is the right of trial has been taken from the clergy (through the institution of

⁸ Michel Foucault mentions the way in which this discourse was used putting on the walls of the Mettray penitentiary a sign written in black letters reads "God sees you" (Foucault 1977:294).

confession) to the judges who have come to conduct all legal procedures. However, the Church keeps the institution of the "Ecclesiastical Court", but it deals only with Church's own affairs.

The modern judicial system is not immune from criticisms and is constantly under attack from different segments of society. The underlying argument of these criticisms is the corruption of the system. This corruption is the result of acquiring too much power.

I might sound as if I am defending the religious authority but this is not the case; when the religious hierarchy is given too much political power, it tends to corrupt as shown by the Church's past conduct, for example, the behaviour of the "Holy Inquisition".

Michel Foucault explains that the machinery of jurisprudence and its consequences are the product of the industrial economic system; in a slave economy, "punitive mechanisms serve to provide an additional labour force -and to constitute a body of 'civil' slaves in addition to those provided by war or trading; with feudalism, at a time when money and production were still at an early stage of development, we find a sudden increase in corporal punishments-the body being in most cases the only property accessible; the penitentiary, . . . forced labour, and the prison factory appear with the development of the mercantile economy" (Foucault 1977;25). On the other hand, the capitalist industrial system requires a free labour market, consequently, corporal punishment diminishes gradually to give rise to the "corrective" disciplinary system.

Obviously these theories are not exclusive in themselves because sacrifice has *all* the meanings given above; eating the flesh of the victim collectively reinforces the social unity among the group members; sacrifice is definitely a gift (voluntary or otherwise) from man to deity which leads him to expect reciprocation from the supernatural; and finally, by offering a victim the donor is exalted and elevates his status so as to make him fit to join the deity.

The promessa de joelhos is motivated by a complex of hope, faith and obligation. It is certainly a Christian act to bear the burden of sins by imitating Jesus carrying his cross on the way to Calvary. The pain and discomfort of the promitente is an expression of his piety and the purity of his faith. By suffering (at least symbolically) he expects his physical anguish to catch the Virgin Mãy's attention and obtain her help to solve a personal or family problem. This extra attention on the part of Mary is called *graça* (grace).

On the other hand, the promessa de joelhos is an act of sacrifice. It serves like the ceremonies of the Moroccan Islamic brotherhood Hamadsha, as therapeutic procedures that "move an individual from a state of illness to a state of health" (Crapanzano 1973:212) but it also has social aspects. In many instances it is thought to help the other members of the family or community as a whole and in this way it is used to keep society in order, by helping to cure its contaminated members, leading to a social and moral goodness as well as a personal one.

Through this self-inflicted violence⁹ the person's status is also exalted and this increased status enables the person to "negotiate" with the Virgin Mary: he or she will go so far and do so much in return for a set quality or quantity of help. But this is not reached easily; it requires the promitente to deny worldly pleasures, hurt him or herself and become dirty and bloody (very often the knees bleed during the promessa de joelhos). He or she should win the internal battle between the flesh and the spirit, the bad and the good. He or she should sacrifice his or her animal-like flesh by behaving like a beast (here I am referring to the posture), losing her dignity and mortifying herself to become an "obedient sheep of the Good Pastor". What happens is similar to what takes place in animal sacrifice in other cultures; the victim is slaughtered and its blood comes out.

⁹Although I do agree with Marvin that the anthropologist does not have any right to address by means of his sense of violence, "activities which participants do not label or see as such"(1986:121), I am using this term with due caution in order just to describe the event to the reader.

The nature of the relationship established between the individual and Mary is one of dependence, so much so that it is as submissive as the filial dependence which could be expected of children in relation to parents. This dependence mostly stems from the impotence and vulnerability of the individual which necessitates and inevitably leads to parental protection, control and care. This sense of vulnerability could be found in all human consciousness as a result of being continually reinforced by the experience of pain, suffering and deprivation. It can also be reckoned that universal infantile experience of helpless dependence is constantly validated by the experience of natural hazards, biological pain, social crises and other such external pressures.

There are three complementary modalities for the relationship between man and Mary, in addition to the trustful intimacy of the parental idiom:

1. In particularly important matters the implicit reliance on Marian intervention tends to give way to explicit SUPPLICATION. Reminding Mary of the supplicant's ritual prestations in the past and stressing the fictive kinship relation between her and mankind, the supplicant describes his or her plight and entreats her to intervene. Such supplication usually takes place at the main shrine in the course of a pilgrimage.

2. The prestations accompanying such supplication often assume a CONDITIONAL aspect. Mary, whose intervention is requested with regard to a specific problem, is promised a substantial offering, which will only be made if her intervention turns out to be successful: for instance, if a previously barren woman produces a child, if a mental patient regains sanity, etc.

3. Supplications, particularly if of a conditional nature, introduce a CONTRACTUAL element into the Mary's relationship with mankind. Here Mary appears more as a *patron*. However, this sort of relationship carries with it, no matter how close one feels towards Mary as Mother, many obligations for those involved.

The ritual of the *promessa de joelhos* employs an internal pressure in order to recover from affliction in a form of self-inflicted pain and violence towards one's own body. Vulnerability to the unexpected, ranging from unpredictable and uncontrollable disease or hunger or war or social upheaval to internal vulnerability to the weakness of body and mind, may all become manifest as sin or mental disorder¹⁰. The actors try to balance the uncontrollable and unpredictable pain with their self-inflicted controllable and predictable pain. This encounter of two kinds of pains (the one posited from "outside" and the other from "inside") is aimed at invoking in Mary a sense of motherly help toward an afflicted child. Therefore, although I try to escape from the criticism of a reductionist approach to this phenomenon, the *promessa de joelhos* appears to be an emotional drama, a manipulation of the saint's power which also explains my approach to this ritual as "sacrifice". It is significant that the generic term for sacrifice in the Old Testament (also in Arabic) is *kurban* whose root meaning is to bring near. Through the *promessa de joelhos* the individual tries to attract Mary's attention to his/her particular affliction.

Following Maurice Bloch it may be asked "why does killing cattle cure people?" (1992;31) in the Dinka belief system. Bloch's explanatory answer to this relevant question may be applicable to the Dinka culture but it is not a universally convincing argument. Alternatively, for the Portuguese *promessa de joelhos* I offer an interpretation which has been shared by other anthropologists studying popular Catholicism like William Christian. For him, the basic "principle behind the promise seems to be related to the sacrament of penance. Penance assigned by the priest after the confession involves the sinner giving something up to redeem his sin. Now the penances assigned are usually symbolic and generally in the form of a prayer, but in previous times they often involved pilgrimages or other mortifications" (1989;119). He continues to argue that penance and sacrificial *promessa* "both involve a

¹⁰ In fact most of my pilgrim informants have explained to me that the reason of their coming to Fátima had been to achieve peace: which I understand as a recovery from a life crisis or even a mental disorder.

restoration of a natural balance. Penance is out of the ordinary human action that equilibrates a system that the individual himself has thrown out of order; the promise balances accounts with the divine for voluntary action on the part of the which had disequilibrated the divine-human relation" (ibid., 120).

V. 3. 4. The Description of the Promessa de Joelhos:

Individuals who wish to carry out their promessas first go behind the Capelinha where they can obtain *joelheiras* (leather or cotton breeches). Then they go to the Cruz Alta where they prepare



The cotton and leather breeches.

themselves by putting on the breeches and cross themselves before starting their promessas, usually with a rosary in one hand. I have also observed some pilgrims carrying a child on their shoulders (the reason of which is either that the promessa was made for the child

or to make the penance more severe), sometimes with a candle in their hands. In former times individuals were fulfilling their promessas on the grounds of the Santuário but the officials built a special way, the length of which is about 275 m., made of marble (and softer). Therefore one cannot see pilgrims bleeding from their knees¹¹.



Performing the promessa de joelhos on the steps.

¹¹ Once I myself tried to do this action late at night when there was nobody around. I started from the Cruz Alta without joelheiros but it was so painful that I had to give up after a few meters.

There is no specific "timing" of the event. One can do it any time during one's stay in Fátima, even if there is a major ritual or celebration going on in the Recinto. The drama of the promessa de joelhos takes place on this passage from the Cruz Alta to the Capelinha, lasting about twenty minutes. This passage, like other *rites de passage*, also anticipates, through the individual's gestures of impotence, weakness and humility before the divinity, the end of the relationship between this world and the other at the time of death. The promessa de joelhos is also, on the part of pilgrims, a manifestation of individuals against the authority of the 'hierarchy' which controls all the rites; through this act pilgrims assert their individuality among the multitudes.

My attempt to associate the action with the Crucifixion of Jesus seems to be inappropriate because I have never seen any individual doing it in the Via Sacra (perhaps the Church authorities forbade them to do so). To my logic, it is more appropriate to carry it out there in front of the scenes which depict the agony of Christ.

V. 3. 5. The Christian Attitudes Towards the Human Body:

Christian theology holds that "God created human beings in his own image; in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them" (Gen. 1:27). The human person, created in the image of God, has corporal and spiritual aspects at the same time. In fact, contrary to the Western dualistic idea that a person consists of two separate entities -namely, body and soul,- the Church has taught the psychosomatic unity of the person (*corpore et anima unus*) since the Council of Vienna (1312). In that council the church fathers declared that "the soul is a 'form' of body" (Catechism of the Catholic Church, article 365); they are not inseparable. Thanks to the spiritual soul the materially constituted body becomes alive. To support the argument that *all* must rise in the *body*, and must be

rewarded or punished for good or evil deeds, theologians regularly quote the verse from the letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians¹².

When I was at Fátima, I never came across such statements, concerning the "formal" teaching of the Church on personhood and human body, from the "ordinary" faithful. This, however, does not mean that I am in favour of a polarisation of religious discourse into a two-tiered model (great versus little tradition, "formal" religion of intelligentsia versus "informal", "folk" religion of masses, etc.). On the contrary, I assume a stand which considers these two extremes as neither contrasting with each other nor being two separate realms but a continuum flowing from one end to the other. This stand also enables me to detect some roots of religious practice in the teachings of the Church officials or in other socio-political currents of the age. For example, the condemnation of the body (more precisely, the "flesh" of human being) as the source of all evil, has something to do with the theological understanding of sin, which is believed to be the cause of suffering and death in this world (C.C.C., 418), and the political understanding of the corporal punishment of the Middle Ages.

As was stated earlier, until the 19th century, (see Foucault's arguments about the birth of the prison), the main punishment system was corporal, the body being subjected to public torture and execution. This was connected with the Sacrament of Penance and ultimately with the "official" idea of purgatory, where human beings suffer in order to be purified from their sins.

What I am trying to say is that in the web of interrelationships between religion, politics and the judicial system, the believer has failed to grasp the "real" meaning of punishment; what he saw was the condemnation of body and felt the pain imposed on himself because of his trespasses against the law of God in the religious domain and against the law of the king in the political domain. Thus

¹² "For we must all have our lives laid open before the tribunal of Christ, where each must receive what is due to him for his conduct in the body, good or bad"(2 Cor. 5:10)

he has arrived at a conclusion that evil, sin and his disobedience both to God and to the king were the causes of his pain and suffering. He was forced to believe that he had to suffer for his wrongdoings in this world for otherwise, it was made clear that a greater pain awaited him in the imagined hereafter.

One can understand, therefore, why the ordinary believer voluntarily exercises a self-inflicted violence after committing a sin, (that is, breaching his alliance with the divine). The Church does the same thing when she justifies the two official dogmas concerning the Virgin Mary -namely, the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. The Roman Catholic Church argues that Mary was born without the original sin, spared any stain of sin, she was declared as "pure". Consequently, in the second dogma she is assumed to have ascended into heaven bodily, without her body undergoing the natural violence of death and corruption. She was not left to decay in the grave because of her "pure" and "sinless" body. The relationship between death, bodily suffering and sin first appears in Genesis, continues throughout the Old Testament and culminates in the crucifixion of Jesus; the bodily harm (torture by the Roman soldiers and his wounds which, eventually led to his death) was explained as the consequence of the sins of humanity.

V. 3. 6. The Discourse of Cumprimento:

Only a small number of my informants stated that they were fulfilling this promessa¹³ because they feel a great love for the Virgin Mary. Their devotion for Mary is interior. As St. Luis de Monfort (1985;65, N° 106) states, it "comes from the mind and the heart. It flows from the esteem we have for her, the high idea we have formed of her greatness, and the love which we have for her".

¹³ The term "promessa" actually refers to the so-called mental 'contract' between individuals and the divinity; at Fátima what people are doing is 'fulfilment' of their promises, so I will use the same term, like the Portuguese, for both vow and fulfilment of the vow. Therefore the "relationship established between the concrete human condition and the holiness which surrounds it" (Sanchis,1983;47) exists only in the conscious of the pilgrims.

This also constitutes the official Catholic view on the devotion to Mary.

What is interesting about this practice is that it is associated with physical suffering. Christianity became a religion of suffering right after the crucifixion of Jesus; according to the Church Fathers he suffered for humankind and the faithful should be grateful and try to understand the meaning of the 'Passion'. None of the practitioners of the *promessa de joelhos* told me that they were imitating Jesus's suffering. I think it is because they considered it too obvious to mention, also too presumptuous on their part to compare themselves directly to the Son of God. In the history of the Church there are some saints who suffered "everything which Christ suffered during the crucifixion" (McKevitt 1991:81) and became 'stigmatised' with the wounds of Christ, like Padre Pio of San Giovanni Rodondo (Italy).

As was mentioned earlier, only a small portion of the practitioners of the *promessa de joelhos* completely share the orthodox views of the Church. Those who did, considered themselves very religious persons. I think this is another way of saying that they were 'knowledgeable Catholics'.

The Santuário officials and *os padres* (the priests)'s attitude towards this practice is rather ambivalent. Most of the clergymen interviewed stated that in the first place they did not like 'it' but recognised the difficulty of reacting against a 'common cultural and traditional property'. They have yielded to the general public opinion on condition that it should be done solely for 'pure religious reasons', as "an act of penitence" and a kind of "expression of one's love for the blessed Virgin". Another pretext which makes them seem to accept this sort of *promessa* is their claim that Sister Lúcia (the still-living seer of Fátima) had done it for the first time at the Cova da Iria when her mother fell seriously ill¹⁴ (Santuário de Fátima 1991:109 and Kondor 1990:90).

¹⁴ Sister Lúcia, in her Second Memoir, narrates us the following account: "I had promised the most Blessed Virgin that, if she granted me what I asked, I

But when it comes to the issue of "walking to Fátima", the Santuário organises help points on the route of Porto-Coimbra-Fátima (the distance is about 130 miles). Whereas they do not like the *promessa de joelhos*, they encourage *os peregrinos a pé* (literally pilgrims on foot; in the case of Fátima pilgrimage, those pilgrims, especially from the northern part of Portugal, who walk several hundred miles to the shrine) which is a worse self-inflicted violent act; because it is spectacular and expands the fame of the shrine. They give dos and don'ts on the way to Fátima in the Santuário's official newsletter "Voz de Fátima", moreover, they have organised a section (Lava Pés) in the shrine to give medical treatment for the feet of those who had walked to Fátima¹⁵.

Obviously this is a case disputed between the official discourse of the Roman Catholic Church and the pilgrims' non-official discourse. Every single pilgrim, who was interviewed, stated that they were aware of the *Igreja* (Church)'s, or rather, its representatives "os padres", dislike of this action¹⁶ yet they continue to do it. John Eade and Michael Sallnow (1991) argue that pilgrimage can be seen not merely as a field of social relations but also as a realm of competing discourses; therefore pilgrimage is an arena for the official co-optation and the non-official recovery of religious meanings.

V. 3. 7. The Discourse of *Agredecimento* or *Pagamento*:

In Portuguese the verb *agradecer* means to thank or to express gratitude; the noun form is *agradecimento* which means thanksgiving or gratefulness. The noun form is usually used with the verb *dar* (to give, offer, dedicate to, etc.) then 'dar *agradecimento*' will come to mean "to return thanks". Another verb used frequently by the pilgrims is *pagar uma promessa* (to pay a

would go there for nine days in succession, together with my sisters, pray the Rosary and go on our knees from the roadway to the holmoak tree".

¹⁵ About the altruism and egoism of the *promessa* of "ir a pé à Fátima" see, Carlos Fortuna and Claudino Ferreira 1993.

¹⁶ As they put it, "eles não gostam disso" (they don't like this).

promessa); they come to Fátima for the 'payment' (*pagamento*) of their promessas with their bodies, *pagamento corporal*.

This form of fulfilling a promessa is done by the largest group among the Fátima pilgrims. An individual asks a grace (*pedir uma graça*) from *Nossa Senhora* (Our Lady), if one obtains it, one comes to Fátima and walks on one's knees from the Cruz Alta to the Capelinha, or inside the Capelinha. The graces asked from the Virgin Mary vary from a cure of oneself or a member of the family, which usually is the case, to finding an employment: as one lady said "um emprego para a minha filha" (a job for my daughter). There are so many different motives for this promessa such as;

- I have always wanted a child , now I have a baby girl,
- I have just passed my university exams,
- My mother had an eye disease, thanks to Nossa Senhora she's better,
- My son had meningitis, he's just been cured,
- My husband (sometimes my son) didn't believe in God, Nossa Senhora helped him, now he's a good Catholic, etc.

Promessas are not strictly personal in their nature but most of the practitioners are discreet about their promessas. As Cutileiro noted in an Alentejon town, "like patronage requests, vows often have partly secret nature" (1971;271); the individual considers it as a private matter between oneself and Nossa Senhora. People personalise their vows and do not satisfy the curiosity of others, almost as if it would lose its validity and importance if one discloses the "personal contract" to a third party. *É pessoal* (it is personal) was the most frequent answer when asked why one was fulfilling the promessa de joelhos; in this way they achieve a sort of privacy.

At this point it is difficult for a social scientist not to remember the classic argument of the so-called 'patron-client relationship' especially in the case of a Mediterranean culture. As Gellner notes, although there are not sufficient data to support the argument, Mediterranean countries do have "a patronage image" (1977;4).

Wolf has suggested that analysis of "parallel structures", like patron-client relations in complex societies, would help us to understand the dynamics of these societies (1966). The term 'patron-client relationship' has been used by the "Mediterraneanist anthropologists" chiefly in the analyses of political structures in those countries. Yet there are also others that showed that this notion could be applied to the religious field¹⁷. The most interesting of them all, in terms of the purposes of this paper, is Daniel Gross's study of the pilgrimage to *Bom Jesus da Lapa* (North Eastern Brazil). Gross claims that this pilgrimage "contributes to the maintenance of the total socio-cultural system in which it is found" and "provides ideological support for the system by projecting earthly relationships into a sacred sphere in which people act out debt paying as ritual" (1971;129). Gross emphasises the features of rural social structure in North Eastern Brazil, which are patron-client relationships and debt-credit ties underlying this relationship; the importance of paying debts to the creditor shows itself in the religious domain and pilgrims pay their "debts" or *promessas* to God. José Cutileiro is also very keen on associating the relationship of individuals with their favourite saints with political patronage, "as in worldly patronage, favours are asked for an individual basis and, as in worldly patronage, they have to be paid for. In this case payment takes the form of fulfilling vows made" (Cutileiro 1971;271).

In their comparative study on the patron-client relations in Portugal and Brazil, Forman and Riegelhaupt have noted that, owing to a high degree of centralisation, Lisbon has always been the centre of the country's bureaucratic structure. Therefore, patron-clientship failed to fully develop in Portugal. The earliest possibilities for the rural population to participate "in the political process only occurred with the advent of the Constitutional Monarchy as a result of the Liberal Revolution of 1820, an event to which the peasantry was largely indifferent" (1979;391); and in the suppressing of the *a Revolução da Maria Fonte* which was later

¹⁷ See also Bax (1990), Boissevain (1965) and Aguilera (1978).

called the uprising of the "Patuleia" (from *pata ao léu* which means 'bare-footed people referring to the peasantry) in April-May 1846 (against the corruption of the régime by the advocates of D. Miguel and the radical leftists) (Marques 1972;24-25). Apart from this uprising, in Portugal, in general, one cannot see any significant rural-urban cleavage taking place which requires rural élites to enter the political arena as patrons. Moreover, during the First Republic, towns seemed to have had the most influence in politics.

In 1928 Dr. Oliveira Salazar became financial minister and later on in 1932 (*Chefe do Governo*), Prime Minister. The *Estado Nôvo* (New State) was established in 1936 and until 25 April 1974 the country was under the dictatorship of Salazar, which meant there was no need for the votes of the rural population and therefore no need for rural patrons¹⁸. This was especially true in the north of *Rio Tejo* (River Tagus) where the *minifúndia* (small land ownership), whereas in the Alentejo to the south *latifúndia* (large land holdings) characterised the agricultural system of Portugal. Secular patronage, especially during the régime of Salazar, played a relatively small rôle in the peasant's life, so a divine patronage was procured (Pina Cabral 1986;163).

As the advocates of the Redfieldian notion of the so-called 'great and little traditions' have argued, in small and remote villages people were left without a religious authority and thus have had a religion of their own kind which is usually called "popular religion". Having no élites, intermediaries or culture brokers, plus technological backwardness and restricted access to formal education, as well as a lack of medical support (hospitals, etc.) in the northern part of Portugal, the peasant, with a sense of helplessness, had to turn to somebody who could help him to overcome his difficulties.

¹⁸ The Portuguese anthropologist João Pina de Cabral argues, "apart from the power of priest ... the only officially recognised institution to operate at parish level is the Parish Council. Throughout Salazar's regime, the council held very little real power" (1986;160).

As the President Dr. Mario Soares states in an interview, the Portuguese "have always been an immigrant people" (Freeland 1987;132), since the overseas *Descobertas* (discoveries) in the fifteenth century. The "exodus" began with the sea-routes to Africa, India and Brazil. In recent decades emigration has shifted, with a flood of migrant labour going to Europe, especially in the 1960s. It is said that between 1960 and 1974, 1.5 million people left Portugal. In terms of population, Paris became the second biggest Portuguese city after Lisbon. Emigration was not a phenomenon that exclusively belonged to the north. However, it had a great impact in the rural areas of the north, where the system of inheriting land produced "minifúndios" incapable of supporting families, forcing migration to the city or emigration to more industrialised countries such as France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, the U.S.A. and Canada. The problems of rural poverty were not the only reason to emigrate but the Portuguese also emigrated in order to avoid long *ultramar* (overseas) military service and to escape from the political repression of the Salazar régime¹⁹. The phenomenon of emigration has had a great influence on Portuguese culture, especially on the family structure. As Caroline Brettel (1986) argues in her book *Men who Migrate, Women who Wait*, wives of the emigrant workers were left at home in charge. In other Mediterranean countries the situation of women seems to be secondary to men but in fact, they are the 'heads of family' in Portugal, and therefore responsible for the well-being of the family both financially and in religious affairs²⁰. Moreover, the "assurance of divine protection for the [whole] community is ... the task of women" (Cutileiro 1971;272).

That, as has been seen from the ethnographic account, a majority of the practitioners of the *promessa de joelhos* are women gives rise to several explanations for this particular female behaviour in the context of both Portuguese and wider Catholic culture. First, the role of women in Portugal is said to be to look after the family which

¹⁹ On the history and social aspects of the Portuguese emigration see, Joel Serrão 1977.

²⁰ See especially Sally Cole, 1991.

anthropologists would like it to have restricted into the house - women's domain in opposition to men's public domain (praça) - daily chorus preparing food, concerning with the upbringing of children and well-being of the family may it be financial (see Cole 1991) or health. This role has been determined by the Portuguese culture as well as the Universal Catholic Church. In order to elaborate this argument. I will restrict myself to the current practice in other Catholic countries.

Historically the Catholic Church has proposed the idea of believers as a great family, God the Father being its head. Therefore the supreme authority belongs to God the Father himself. This great family model certainly does not lack other household figures: mother and children. Originally the Latin *familia* means "all persons subject to paternal authority". On the other hand, the Greek *oikos*, Latin *domus*, Portuguese and Spanish *casa* (house) all refer to a cohabiting group. Therefore, the term "house" is used to denote both the building itself and people who live in it. I am not quite sure whether the cult of the Holy Family derived its roots from the traditional medieval European family model or vice versa. Yet, the evidence of Church intervention with family life from the 12th to the 16th centuries suggests that, in order to assert its authority, the hierarchy, consciously or not, has interfered with the family relationship. First, the Church sacralized wedding ceremonies. These erstwhile popular occasions were forced to take place on church ground. The family was not a "proper" family if marriage did not occur in the church. Second, a new-born must be taken to the church to be baptised, in other words, to be born again as a member of the Church, through priestly agency. It was necessary for a person to be baptised if he were to be accepted as a legitimate member of society. This ritual and the exclusion of females from the Church hierarchy clearly show the status of women as subordinate to patriarchal authority, whether to a woman's own father, a church father, or her husband. Therefore women were and are subject to male authority and expected to fulfil their share of the running of the house -the family- through those duties assigned to them, or neglected by, men. Consequently, the idea that the

husband rules his family as God rules the world has come to be accepted by all.

In later stages the Church gave its attention to mothers. Several reasons could be cited for this course of action: First, since the first centuries of Christianity the Church fathers have realised that their clients (I mean, congregations) were actually women (which is also an indication of their piety). Church fathers were also aware of women's influence *inside* the house on the household members. Second, especially in the Middle Ages, church was one of the few places women were allowed to go by their fathers and husbands since they (men) did not see any harm coming from a priest to their daughters or wives.

In Portugal the case is not different from any other Catholic country where political power is centralised and "the nation is officially viewed as 'one family' in which both politics and economics are intertwined" (Riegelhaupt 1967;110). In these circumstances churchgoing is feminized and has gradually become a female activity. What I have observed throughout my fieldwork in Fátima is that women (mothers) would take their daughters to the church but not sons. One of the pilgrims whom I talked to during the 13th May pilgrimage in 1992 had come to Fátima every year with her daughter from Evora. She told me that her two sons and husband were not interested in coming to Fátima but this one (she pointed at her daughter) was pious and keen on religion.

Another aspect of the women's devotion to religion, or more specifically, Fátima lies in the fact that the central cult figure of Fátima is the Virgin Mary. Their relationship with Mary is a woman-to-woman one; as Anna, who works in a government office in Lisbon, put it very neatly: "I am not a religious person, that is I don't go to church often but I visit Fátima whenever I have a chance 'porque ela me entende!' (because she [Mary] understands me!)". In fact, her son had had some problems "de saúde" (of health- but she avoided any explanation), after praying to Mary he was cured. These women devotees claim that they do not approach Mary as a

deity but as one of them because they have one thing in common: motherhood. Mothers understand and sympathise with each other's problems.

The clergy's attitude towards women's religious practice is one of encouragement but towards the *promessa de joelhos*, which is (at least for the practitioners themselves) a manifestation of faith, is somewhat ambiguous. The rector of the shrine claimed that it was a penitence, in the sense that one repents his/her own sins committed in the past. Another Santuário priest told me that, although he shared pilgrims' feeling towards Mary, he was against any "business-like contracts". My understanding of the clergy's leniency towards this kind of behaviour is that these women are ordinary lay pilgrims who do not claim any personal sanctity, nor do they pose a threat to the Church hierarchy (cf. Bynum 1987;197-201 and 1988;243).

Today in Portugal religion seems to be a "women's business" and the "realm of the sacred is the women's preserve" (Cutileiro 1971;272) as in the Mediterranean as J. Davis (1984) argued in his paper on the sexual division of labour. Therefore, not surprisingly, most of the pilgrims and the practitioners of the *promessa de joelhos* at Fátima are women, because of their responsibility for the welfare of the family. The poor Portuguese women turn to *Nossa Senhora* as a last resort for the cure of their children, that their children may pass their school exams, find a job afterwards, etc. The women also pray for the conversion of their husbands. It should be noted that their piety does not stem from the official teachings of the Church but from the "personal relationship each woman has with God, the Virgin (*Nossa Senhora*), and one or more healing saints". The women also assert that "they could not have suffered all the hardships of their lives if they had not had this divine help" (Cole 1991;100). Although women are more active in the religious domain than men, men participate in processions: but as Davis argues, their participation and public expression of their spiritual lives is for the protection of the community, which is symbolised in the *festas* (feasts). Women participate as well but

their concern is "mostly with the spiritual welfare of their households" (Davis 1984;19).

In the south, where most of the population are landless and have to work for the "latifúndia", their last resort was the landowner who had, at least supposedly, access to the bureaucracy of Lisbon. Thus the devotion to Mary failed to develop compared to the north. Today in Portugal, without any doubt, the north is more "Catholic"²¹ than the south; Beja, one of the weaker dioceses in terms of clerical assistance, was considered as *terra de missão* (a region that needs missionary work) by the Portuguese hierarchy in the 1950s (António Aparício, "Beja, terra de missão" in *Boletim de Informação Pastoral*, no. 1, May 1959, pp. 19-23; quoted in Cruz 1990;224). Also, in the south saint-worship is not very strong, as Cutileiro reports from Alentejo (1971;284) saints are not regarded with great awe;

the vows offered in payment are indicative of this: lights at the church doors (*luminárias*), small amounts of money or payment in kind, inexpensive gold jewellery, framed photographs, wax limbs, the recital or prayers, abstention from some items of food ... The material and physical sacrifices do not extend beyond these small concessions. Vila Velha is on top of a hill but no one has yet vowed to climb it on his knees - a form of promise frequent in the north of Portugal. Nor do vows take the form of other kinds of self-inflicted physical violence.

In his classic study on a Greek village J. Campbell (1964;341-346) pointed out that relationships between human beings and saints are very similar to social systems of patronage; in the case of pilgrimage to Fátima in general and specifically the promessa de joelhos, the social system which was structured on patronage, or lack of it, in Portugal gave way to the sacralizing of earthly relationships. Individuals have established a reciprocal relationship with Nossa Senhora de Fátima which could be summarised in a

²¹ When the Portuguese refer to religiosity they use the term 'catholic', for example they do not say 'he is a pious man' but instead they would say 'he is very catholic'.

saying that goes "if you scratch my back I will scratch yours" in the form of the *promessa de joelhos*.

Now I wish to discuss what might be called "the economics of sacrifice". My informants often used the term "pagamento" to describe their actions. At this stage, *promessa de joelhos* appears to be a sort of "calculated sacrifice" to use Bourdillon's term (1980), as the term sacrifice is used in various human activities such as "bribery" in political institutions, or "gambit" in the game of chess. The main idea lies in the fact that something of value is given in the expectation or hope of a greater gain. The *promessa de joelhos* in this sense "is a calculated action, normally involving a weighing of alternative material advantages" (1980; 11).

V. 3. 8. The Discourse of *Extremo Necessidade*:

Another group shares the idea of performing its *promessas* in a case of *extremo necessidade* (extreme necessity). For these people the practice of the *promessa de joelhos* is not something they would do willingly, only when they are forced to; they would do it rather reluctantly. None of them has ever practised this particular *promessa* but *outras formas da promessa* (other forms of *promessa*) such as saying a *terço* (a 'third' of the Rosary), lighting a candle, offering prayers and sacrifices, and simply going to Fátima on pilgrimage.

This group consists chiefly of men and *numa extrema necessidade* means for them cases like a serious illness or a great financial difficulty. The pilgrims who belong to this group look at those who carry out the *promessa de joelhos* with pity; even though they do not express it openly, they (secretly) think that "*Graças a Deus* (thank God) I do not have to do this".

Their discourse can also be called as *indiferente* because they perceive this action as just a tradition belonging to the northern part of the country; they are by no means against this practice and

what is more, in their minds it is totally rational, a point to which I will return later.

V. 3. 9. The Discourse of *Contra* or *Estupidez*:

Some of my informants stated that they were against (*contra*) the *promessa de joelhos* as being a stupid act (*estupidez*). Almost 90% of them used the very word "estupidez". To this group belong many of the younger and more educated generation. They defend the view of the possibility of being a Catholic without suffering (*podemos ser católicos sem sofrer*) stating that "Nossa Senhora doesn't need our suffering or she doesn't want us to suffer to get closer to her". This attitude can be explained from the functionalist point of view easily as "when a country is being modernised or more industrialised and formal education is expanded, some cultural aspects of the society change too". Here I wish to cite an example; Susan Freeman claims that "with time, pressure, and in some instances perhaps enthusiasm, the greatest gaps between popular tradition and official religion were closed" giving examples from the works of Christian, Brandes, Cutileiro and Lisón-Tolosana (1978;111). Reporting from Valdemora (Spain) in the 1960s, she observed the change in the expression of 'personal faith' as her informants stated that "individuals who still make pilgrimages or live under vows" are considered to be 'different' or 'old-fashioned' (ibid.,116).

I could attempt to use this sort of explanation in the analysis of the *promessa de joelhos* or the "national devotion to the Virgin Mary"²² in the north in terms of relatively earlier christianization of the north and Moorish influence in the south, or the theory of "survivals". Yet this kind of analysis would be too simplistic and does not explain the way in which the "rationalisation" and change in "cultural representations" take place.

²² As Manuel Clemente argues Marian devotion marks the piety of many Portuguese (1991). During my fieldwork I observed that the Portuguese cannot explain why they are devoted to Mary because they were, literally, born into this devotion and grew up with it; their lives full of hours spent with Mary either for intercession or praise for her.

V. 3. 10. Culture and the Problem of Rationality:

There is a shift, in recent anthropological works, from a behavioural concept of culture to a cognitive one, which means anthropologists no longer look at the behaviours of the group and try to analyse it but also they try to know what is going on in their minds. Native ideas have gained a lot of importance and they are seen more often in the ethnographies (Geertz 1973). Culture, in the strictest sense of the term, comprises both rational and non-rational elements²³. Having defined culture as "a shared organisation of ideas that includes the intellectual, moral, and aesthetic standards prevalent in a community and the meanings of communicative actions", Robert LeVine (1984;67) tries to elaborate on the notion of the properties of culture as thus defined: first of all culture has a collective nature. Just as there is a consensus among the group about the rules and grammar of their language, so there is also another consensus in the society about the meanings of their symbolic actions. Thus, it is the ethnographer's task to find out these shared meanings. Second, culture is organised; there is a "connectedness and coherence" in people's customs. Nobody can claim that customs are assembled together randomly. Therefore the ethnographer should discover the contexts in which the native customs are organised. Third, culture is a multiplex entity, it consists of both implicit (individuals find it difficult to explain why they have been doing any particular action) and explicit (they expand it to an outsider) rules, beliefs and labels.

LeVine, like Geertz, argues that rational and non-rational elements are combined in descriptive statements about what is and normative statements about what ought to be (1984;78);

²³ I am aware that this classification is usually made by the ethnographer to impose his/her own cultural background and values upon the natives' explanations; for example for me the practice of the *promessa de joelhos* is not rational and I could go one step further to claim that it is a useless self-inflicted violence; but the problem here is to understand natives' point of view on this action and more importantly how the actors rationalise this behaviour.

the fusion of what is and ought to be in a single vision ... seems to be at the heart of what gives distinctive cultural ideologies their singular psychological power, their intimate linkages with individual emotion and motivation.

Seen from this point of view, the promessa de joelhos cannot be judged as lacking empirical validity, logic and rationality. Although informants themselves are not able to offer their normative statements about this action, due to their growing up in Marian milieu and devotion to the Virgin Mary being an essential part of their lives, it is itself a totally logical act. What makes this practice logical is LeVine's notion of 'rationale'. For him a rationale is (1984;79)

an explanation for a customary practice that makes logical sense - given some arbitrary assumptions that reflect cultural values rather than contingencies in the external environment.

Some traces for the rationale of the promessa de joelhos, I suggest, can be found both in the totality of the Portuguese culture and in the two millennia of the Christian/Catholic tradition (a view developed by M. Bloch (1985) for the Merina circumcision ritual). If we look at the history of Christianity, with the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine to Christianity, the Church associated itself with the ruling class and therefore had earthly as well as spiritual power over its subjects.

Talal Asad's paper (1983) on the use of physical pain (and torture) to extract the truth from individuals whom the Church accused of being guilty in medieval Christianity is extremely interesting because he uses a Foucaultian genealogical method in his discussion of discipline and punishment. Asad argues that the appearance of judicial torture led to "in the Middle Ages a formation of a particular kind of politics, a particular kind of religious ritual, a particular kind of knowledge production and subjectivity" (1983;287-88). The ritual of sacramental penance developed in the body of Christianity in around the twelfth century.

In beginning of the Western criminal law, the accused was subjected to ordeal²⁴; if he survived, it meant only that God had proved his innocence, but in the case of death, he was assumed guilty and deserved the divine punishment anyway. Later on trial by ordeal, which was appropriate to 'mythological thinking', was replaced with more logical justice, i.e. judgement by human proof. Eventually the Lateran Council of 1215 forbade priests from taking any part in the ordeal processes. This shift signifies for the American anthropologist Welling the growth of the human mind from mythological thinking to logical thinking (quoted in Asad 1983;291)²⁵. In those times torture was "ritualised" in a way that it had its own rules; "well-defined procedure; the various stages, their duration, the instruments used, the length of ropes and the heaviness of weights used, the number of interventions made by the interrogating magistrate, all this was according to the different local practices, carefully codified" (M. Foucault, quoted in Asad 1983;292). Of course, public torture was a manifestation of power.

Through baptism the faithful are consecrated to the Christian religion. "Reborn" as sons of God, they are bound to the Church and obliged to spread and defend the faith both by word and by deed. If in any case, if they fail to observe the religion's rules, they must ask pardon of God for offences committed against him. The Catholic Church has the right of reconciling them which also gives her the right to exercise power by giving penances to the erring members. Church Fathers were trained, through the monastic life, to deal with those who sin both against other fellow believers and against the prevailing socio-political system. They learned how to treat a knight and a merchant differently. They also gave the persons who had confessed their sins punishments from the manual known as the *Penitential of Cummean* which consists of prescribed penances according to the nature of one's sin. These prescribed tables were also referred to as "tariffs".

²⁴ An ancient, especially Germanic, test of guilt or innocence by subjection of the accused to severe pain or torture, survival of which was taken as divine proof of innocence.

²⁵ Here Evans-Pritchard's Azande notion of oracles springs to mind.

The chief justification of exercising physical pain was to avoid what was imagined to be worse punishment in imagined purgatory. In the *Penitential of Bartholomew* Iscanus the priest was required to say to the penitent this warning (MacNeil and Gamer 1938, quoted in Asad 1983:305):

Brother, it is necessary for thee to be punished in this life or in purgatory: but incomparably more severe will be the penalty of purgatory than any in this life. Behold, thy soul is in thy hands. Choose therefore thyself whether to be sufficiently punished in this life according to canonical or authentic penances or to await purgatory.

Under these circumstances, especially for fear of purgatory, the penitent submitted himself to the will of his "father confessor" and his public penances. In the course of history, the form of these penances has been subject to variations: the first centuries saw the Christians being "disciplined rigorously for their sins (sometimes lasting years). During the 7th century the Irish missionaries brought to continental Europe the practice of private penance from the Oriental monastic tradition. In this system, which has been practised until today, the sacrament assumed a secret nature between the penitent and the priest, and also abandoned long-lasting penitential acts (C.C.C., 1447).

Having established torture and penitential sacrifice as ritual, we could go back to the main theme of this chapter: *promessa de joelhos*. Although I seem to suggest that the origin of this practice springs from the penitential sacrifice of the Middle Ages, which remains a possibility (a subject which nobody, including the religious experts, seems to know), my main point is that out of their great devotion to the Virgin Mary, the Portuguese have internalised and 'rationalised' this practice, whatever its origins may be.

Research carried out by the Church in the Lisbon area (Gonçalves 1985:15) shows that 71,4 % of the subjects interviewed never confess. This confirms my own observation that most of the pilgrims would not confess to a priest (although most of them

would consider themselves religious) saying that "he is also an ordinary (sinful?) man like us: why should I go and confess to him?". In this, they fail to understand Church teaching: that in the confessional the priest assumes the role of Christ, in pronouncing the forgiveness of sins, and, acts not on his own behalf, but as a representative of Christ himself. [I propose a solution to this problem that people today do not confess but perform penances imposed on themselves by themselves].

V. 3. 11. Conclusion:

Throughout this section I have been in search of a "logical" (from the Western 'science versus religion or magic' point of view) explanation for the practice of the *promessa de joelhos*. I have tried to find out its origins in the rites of penitential sacraments and the economic situation of the country, with reference to immigration, and I have come to the conclusion that what I have been dealing with here is a traditional patron-client aspect of Portuguese culture. These people are doing this *promessa* because they were born into this practice, they saw their parents doing it, they have passed the process of internalising it and after learning they have begun practising it themselves. I totally agree with the Portuguese anthropologist Raul Iturra's argument that if a saint proves himself as capable of, say, curing illness, the relationship between cause and effect (finality) is a 'logical' explanation itself for them which they include in the body of *fé* (faith). To a society that, during the centuries, has had access to resources through personal contacts, a personal relationship with a saint provides practical results, as in a village in the centre of Portugal (Iturra 1991;119):

search of the cure for the evils that persons suffer, holy well of the parish where it is said that St. Bartholomew appeared represents a way of thinking which does not require an explanation for people. When there is not, in people's minds, a connection between action and result, it is treated as faith.

Thus, for the practitioners of the *promessa de joelhos* the practical result of their action *provides* sufficient logical explanation²⁶. They do not need to go beyond this because it has proved for years that if one has fé in Nossa Senhora de Fátima one would be rewarded with a cure or a job after the fulfilment of the *promessa de joelhos*.

From the viewpoint of sacrificial discourse, the *promessa de joelhos* could be understood as the giving of oneself or part of oneself through the offering of a surrogate. It is to the Virgin Mary that they offer themselves or rather, their suffering, just as in the case of killing a living victim they kill a surrogate of themselves.

From the actor's point of view, the *promessa* must be deemed to be efficacious, that is it must fulfil its purpose of achieving the actor's desire for a cure, or help for a financial situation, in short, help the well-being of the individual or family. Yet, this does not mean that the dyadic contract is expected to work out smoothly and successfully in each case. The internal logic of the *promessa* (like any other scientific or technical system) provides rationalisations for the explanation of the failure of this relationship between the individual and the Virgin Mary: In most of the unsuccessful cases individuals first question the sincerity of their belief and consequently blame themselves as they don't deserve the grace requested; second, they make an analogy to their biological mother when they ask something from her she may refuse it because, as they put it, she knows what is good for them. Thus, Mary acts in the same way; she decides what is best for her children in this world even when it seems desirable for them. For they don't know the future and the consequences but she knows it all. Therefore they accept her decision as suitable for them. We also accept that the problem of efficacy functions differently for the anthropologist and the believer²⁷.

²⁶ Sobral (1990;367) addresses this subject along the same lines.

²⁷ The position at these two levels is analysed brilliantly in a 1979 *Man* paper by Emily Ahern .

V. 4. THE DISCOURSE OF THE INHABITANTS

V. 4. 1. Introduction:

Since its establishment as a town circa the 16th century Fátima has never had either internationally or nationally any significance¹ until 1917, the year in which a supposed supernatural interference was recorded. Upon mentioning the name of Fátima, anywhere in the world, only the apparitions of the Virgin Mary come to mind without any reference to the fixed population of the village or development of the town.

In fact, people do live in Fátima, however diverse their origins, cultures, aims or aspirations might be. This section attempts to unfold this diversity of the inhabitants of Fátima. First, I need to define various groups of individuals who live in the town: As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Fátima consists of some small hamlets around it; Fátima Velha (Old Fátima), Moita de Redonda, Aljustrel, Maxieira, Chainça and the Cova da Iria. I will use the term *Fátimense* (people of Fátima) to refer to any individual living in any of these places as a general classificatory term. During my fieldwork I lived in the Cova da Iria for the convenience of going to the Santuário and observing the pilgrims. Another reason of my staying in the Cova da Iria was that I was able to find a place to live in because other places are not as developed as the Cova (toward the end of my fieldwork I found out at Aljustrel that there were a few pensions [guest-houses] to rent a room in) in terms of both tourism and infrastructure. However, despite my using the term

¹ The only event that attracted quite a number of people to Fátima (presumably from some neighbouring villages) before the apparitions was the *feira do gado* (sheep fair) which was organised at the Lagoa da Carreira just over a kilometre away from the parish church of Fátima on May 5th, 1917. Dr. Cristino thinks that the event provided an opportunity of communication among the regional population because it took place at a centre point between V. N. de Ourém, Leiria and Batalha (Cristino 1992;20).

"Fátimense" to define all the people who live in the area, they, among themselves, distinguish individuals according to their origins. For example, the habitants of Moita Redonda assert their own identity through various mechanisms (such as their own festa or amateur football club) and they are distinguished from others by their *bairrismo* (local patriotism).

V. 4. 2. The Various Groups who Inhabit Fátima:

The people who live in Fátima could be divided into several sub-groups, if looked closely:

First of all, there are the natives of the town who were born and bred either in Fátima or its villages. These "natives", almost all of them, work in the religion business either selling souvenir items or making them, for example wax figures; or, they work in hotels, restaurants and, somewhat unusually, as clerks in banks or insurance companies. As I have just stated, they *work* for others; only a small minority of them have their own shops or cafés usually situated in the ground floors of their houses. Some of them also rent their rooms out to the pilgrims during the great pilgrimages of May, August and October.

The second sub-group of inhabitants is those who came to Fátima from outside to set up their own businesses. This group has capital to invest in Fátima. They are, also, ex-immigrants who worked abroad to save some money to return to Portugal and "do" something with it. In fact, they are still immigrants in Fátima, far from their *terras*² and families. Fátima represents to them a place "to make money", therefore, they have to work hard. All the members of the family must work in the kitchen, restaurant, shop and clean the rooms vacated by the pilgrim-guests. Due to their hard-working habits, they have little time to socialise outside the

² Literally lands, but the term "terra" is in this context, used to refer to one's birthplace where his/her parents and relatives live. Sometimes people would begin to tell me their life stories with a "na minha terra" (in my hometown) nostalgically.

house-workplace. The research done by Fátima Magalhães confirms my opinion that the leisure-time activities of the inhabitants consist of mainly "going out with the family" (24%), "visiting a friend" (22%)³ and "going to a café" (17%) (Magalhães 1992;105). The competitive work schedule also creates *inveja* (envy, rivalry) among the *comerciantes* (merchants). I was told many times that some shopkeepers would not buy the same item that his/her neighbour also buys from the retailer or they would ask the retailers to promise them not to sell the same articles to their neighbours otherwise they would not purchase from them. Therefore, it is little wonder that they regard their neighbours as *estranhos* (strangers) in general (cf. Magalhães 1992;107).

This sub-group of inhabitants favours the Cova da Iria to settle down and set up their businesses just right around the Santuário. As was stated earlier, the first settler came to the Cova da Iria after the apparitions in the 1920s. Since then, the population has increased gradually to reach around 5.000 *da rotunda à rotunda* (from the roundabout to the other) today. Perhaps after such a long time of settlement they could be viewed as "natives" of the Cova da Iria. Yet, during the field study none of the residents in the Cova identified him/herself with the place they live in today. I could offer several reasons why they had not come to associate themselves with the Cova da Iria: Firstly, they have not cut their links with the places of origin; they would visit their hometowns, or their relatives would come to see them at the Cova at least once a year. They are still interested in the developments of their hometowns and local politics, they prefer to have their weddings and funerals to take place at their *terra*. Most of them have subscribed to a local newspaper of their towns. Second, people of the Cova lack a unifier among themselves; they do not have a festa during which they could come together to enjoy a merry atmosphere after having prepared the feast together. Neither do they have a common place of worship just for themselves, or a parish priest of their own with whom they could share their

³ The high percentage of this activity should be understood as "visiting *any* friend" but, those who come from the same hometown of one's.

problems, etc. In fact, the Portuguese Church does not see the need of a chapel to build at the Cova just next to the Santuário; it is thought that the inhabitants of the Cova would go to the shrine for their religious duties⁴. I was told that in order to have a festa of its own the place needed a chapel where the image of the saint (in whose honour the feast is organised) is stored. Therefore, the residents of the Cova do not possess an occasion on which they could assert their distinct identity neither in the form of playing together nor praying together. So, the Cova is like an artificial world where only routine work exists, in a hostile environment.

This unpleasant milieu creates, in my opinion, frustration in its residents because there is no prospect of returning to the land where one's roots are, one's relatives (on whom one can rely at difficult times to share one's problems as well as joys), friends and most importantly, a familiar ground on which one walks freely. The Cova, on the other hand, is a vicious circle for many of its residents: doing the same job day in and day out and waiting for the pilgrims to patronise their shops in winter times. The Cova does not provide any safety valve; there is no cinema, theatre, disco, sports grounds or social centre.

As the work pressure increases, it affects some local residents' health. Perhaps Fátima as a pilgrimage town is not a new phenomenon and the residents are expected to cope with the upsetting effects of touristic development. However, some individuals overwork and one of the results of such a competitive working environment is nervous breakdown in individuals. I have witnessed several cases of this illness in the first year of my fieldwork but did not pay attention, as I assumed that they were normal. However, after reading an article by Mart Bax (1992) these cases attracted my attention more. Bax argues that due to the touristic development in a small town of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Medjugorje) -which is a Catholic pilgrimage centre visited by

⁴ There are several chapels at the Cova da Iria situated in the hotels of religious communities but these are also designed for the needs of pilgrims rather than locals.

hundreds of thousands of people each year- many women have a disease called *zenska histerija* (women's madness). The symptoms of this illness are perpetual exhaustion, agoraphobia, depression and paranoia. These symptoms were also evident in my Fátimense informants. One of my friends in Fátima, was Alice who was 19 years old and a high school student. She was a very hard-working girl; after attending her school she would work in her parents' pension-restaurant, at week-ends as a part-time clerk and on top of all these she would help her brother in his shop. One day I heard that she had had an *esgotamento cerebral* but I did not know the meaning of this expression. I looked up my Portuguese dictionary and the definition of the term was quite vague: "emptying of brain" [today I would translate it as a nervous breakdown]. I made further inquiries about it and asked Alice; she could not translate it straight into English but explained to me its causes: over-working and want of rest. Whereas the people of Medjugorje attribute this illness to supernatural causes like *Crna Moca* (Black Power) or devil possessing, the Fátimense have a perfectly clear scientific explanation for the disease.

The frustration is very conspicuous, especially with the youths: they are restless and bored with Fátima. The most common complaint is the statement one hears very often: *não ha nada aqui* (there is nothing here). They work quite hard, either in the family business or in a hotel away from home, sometimes until midnight. If the young person has finished compulsory education at the age of 18 and does not want or could not enter college, life in Fátima is pretty monotonous and limited to few leisure-time activities which include going to *Café Santo Agostinho* in the afternoon to have a drink (usually *cerveja* [lager]) and/or play pool or some coin-operated computer games in the basement of the café. The other café which is frequented by the local youth is the *Rosas Bar* where they could play card games, dominoes and chess. The youth of Fátima would seldom go to many other such places in the Cova da Iria. The night-life of Fátima is also pretty restricted with a disco, the *Extravadaça*, which is some 20 Km. away from the town, and a few bars offering live music programmes at week-ends like the *Troão* (at Boleiros),

the *Alpendre* (at Moita), the *Primavera* (at Aljustrel), and the *Casal* (at the Casal de Santa Maria). However, one needs some form of transportation to be able to go to any of these places, either his/her own car or a lift from someone who is also going to the same disco or bar.

I spent many nights with a group of young boys and girls, first at the Santo Agostinho and then either Extravadaça or Troão or Alpendre, trying to encourage them to talk to me freely about their lives, aspirations, expectations, hopes and their future plans in general. I also tried to speak with them about their views on religion, politics and the town they live in. The most common stated fact was that they did not want to come to Fátima with their parents in the first place; none of them was content with having to live in Fátima, they all have tried to find a job in big cities such as Lisbon or Porto. Those who study for a university degree would plan not to come back to Fátima but settle down a city. Yet, a high proportion of the youth, especially boys, do not have a university education, and are, therefore, unqualified for a prestigious job other than *hoteleria* (hotel industry including restaurants). They feel compelled to stay in Fátima. This obligation leads them to rebel against all sorts of authority: first, their parents for forcing them to live in Fátima and second, against religion because their parents, especially mothers, ask them either to pray the rosary at home or participate at least in the Sunday Mass. I could never discuss with them any religious matter, they would say "I don't have anything to do with religion or politics, anyway, you [meaning the anthropologist] know these issues better than we do". None of them would go to the Santuário except when they have to cross its square to reach the other side of the town. The most tolerant ones would feel sleepy during Mass should they ever go to one. They complained to me that the service, the music and the sermons had been quite boring, the shrine needed to change its old fashioned style -like more lively music- in order to attract the youth.

It could as well be argued that the specific hostility towards religion in general and the Santuário comes from the fact that the young

people are surrounded by religious practice. Their environment, the air they breathe, the architecture, and the clergy with their black cassocks, all that they see everyday, are filled with religion. I believe that this "over-familiarity" with religion repels them from all sorts of religious expressions. As one of my informants put it very neatly: *a santa da terra não faz milagres* (the saint of the land does not perform miracles). In other words, *Nazarénos* (people of Nazaré) would appreciate Fátima more than the Fátimense but the Fátimense, on their part, would appreciate the sea more than the Nazarénos. The most extreme reaction from a young boy came when I was giving him a lift late at night. We were talking about the Santuário, its being a *fabrica de dinheiro* (factory of money), etc.. No sooner had the shrine come into our sight than he could not help exclaiming "one day one of us is going to destroy *esta merda!* (this shit)"⁵. However, the reality is quite different from this statement; like any other human being, from time to time these young people also need to approach the divine, especially at times of crisis. I remember a few young boys and girls who made a *promessa* (either doing the "promessa de joelhos" around the Capelinha for a certain number of turns, lighting a candle in the Santuário or at least, praying Ave Maria) before taking their driving licence exams, or when they had some problems either with their parents (this is the most common case) or with their boy or girlfriends.

Here I wish to give an account of a "typical Fátimense"s views on the everyday life of Fátima. Miguel is a young man of 27. Unemployed, he was born and bred in Fátima and currently is looking for a "substantial job" (not in the hotelaria, because he has tried it but did not like it):

This is a load of shit (Isto é uma merda)

⁵ To my great surprise, a few days later I saw this person in the Basilica participating in the Christmas Mass. When he saw me he felt embarrassed and told me that he was there only to pray to God and had nothing to do with His representatives.

In the Seminary I saw many things. I spent there 5 years and saw things in another fashion (de outra maneira). Everything is a great bullshit (É tudo uma grande treta); religious fanaticism.

When I was little I used to go to Mass because I was obliged to. Later, I would go out of habit (ia por ir); the worst thing was having to wake up on a Sunday morning. Sometimes I like to go to the church when there are no Masses. This way I feel calm there.

The priests have their own lives but they aren't saints, on the contrary, they're worse. They claim that religion isn't materialistic yet, it is! They take vows of poverty and celibacy but they don't fulfil them. They should get married.

Those who are in charge of in Fátima aren't from the Camara but the Santuário (quem manda em Fátima não é a Camara mas sim o Santuário). Religion has one law and the Government has another one. Here the politicians are like *paus-mandados* (when you throw a stick away and your dog brings it back to you). Fátima exists because of the Santuário, therefore, it is the Santuário who dominates here.

No anti-Catholic president [of Junta] is accepted. Religion is their livelihood (É da religião que eles vivem). In the Church [as an institution], does anybody give anything to somebody else? At the social level they are other kinds of people; better or worse? I suppose they're worse because they resolve nasty (porcarias) businesses concerning lands with dark interests (interesses escuros). They conduct their business with many abracadabra (fizeram-se grandes aldrabices). Those who have power bring the money they have robbed from others. There are inexplicable things, "abracadabra", like the many projects of the Centro Pastoral and the hotel building of Luis which wasn't demolished [Here he refers to the Santuário rule that no building should be higher than the tower of the Basilica, yet Luis's hotel, still in construction, has already passed that height and the Camara has approved the project].

The shopkeepers should get on well with the Santuário (as pessoas que têm lojas têm que estar bem com o Santuário). They wouldn't want to enter into a competition because economical interests are involved.

The people are very egotistical (muito individualistas) and materialist. There is no union, it's not like the North.

One thing is the money and another is places for the younger generations (malta); both of them don't exist here. Take any town and it has a club, here, ... In winter there's nobody around, it's a ghost village (é uma vila fantasma). There are no big investments but only *santos* [the souvenir shops that sell statues of *saints*)

In terms of employment, there are no great expectations (grandes hipóteses); one has to go to other places to look for a job. Some people in my family have emigrated to France and Switzerland. The emigrants are like us, they have their twitches (tiques) or problems. They contribute to the economic life, love their country (têm amor à terra). They also contribute to the organisation of festas in their own hometowns. [The emigrants who return to Portugal to spend their holidays are not very well received because they tend to show off their success in the host country with a little different fashion. They drive nice cars, wear expensive clothes and speak the language of the country where they work. The locals express their dislike, perhaps they are jealous of them, at every opportunity like calling them "os ça va's" (the expression comes from the French "ça va? ") because the immigrants walk around asking after people using French].

In the past festas had been quite rich and there was bairrismo.

Here there is a big competition (rivalidade) between the two political parties of PSD (Partido Social Democrático) and CDS (Centro Democrático Social). I mean, Fátima is a marginal seat where the presidency changes hand between them with a negligible majority. The CDS is a party of the elites.

As Miguel mentions the problem of drug-using among the younger generation of Fátima, during my field study I have never met anybody who was a drug addict. Nevertheless, I was told by various individuals that they had at least once tried cocaine or hashish; they also told me that it was a lot easier to acquire drugs in the past than today. I was quite suspicious that some of them were still on drugs. Yet I do not know how, from whom, where or most importantly with whose money they buy these narcotic substances.

It would be misleading if I claim that everybody comes to Fátima with a sole purpose of making money (if they make profit they make quite well, just the price of land in the town which is as high as Lisbon and Porto indicates their margin of profit and the popularity of Fátima among the potential investors); there is a minority group who are attracted to Fátima only for religious prospects. This group was the most difficult one in terms of my study purposes because they regarded me as (I think) a heathen and not worthy to talk to or answer my questions. The information about them came to me from second-or third-hand via their children. These people had been very religious in their original hometowns even before coming to Fátima. They would come here pretty often as pilgrims and if and when they could arrange their jobs (usually bank or post office clerks) to be transferred to Fátima branch, they would rent a flat and settle down in Fátima. However, after a while they realise that Fátima is not like what they expected -pure religious ambience where Victor Turner's idea of *communitas* exists; everybody treats each other as brother or sister, no *inveja* among the people, etc. Yet the reality is different: to a great extent hostility between the Santuário and the local residents and among the shopkeepers dominates the town. As a result, they begin to think about moving somewhere else; in fact, towards the end of my fieldwork one such family moved out of Fátima to another city.

In Fátima have settled some foreigners as well. Again, they belong to the "religious group" who had chosen to live in the town. This group consists of a few Americans, Brazilians, Spanish and an Englishman. These people were bored with the materialistic world

of the West and had found, at least they think, a haven in Fátima. The typical characteristic of this group is that they have no families -and children- either in their home countries or in Fátima; one of them was in the US Army and after all those "motherless years" retired and came to Fátima in search of a mother. He is quite attached to the Virgin Mary as his mother and Jacinta (the smallest of the seers) as his daughter.

Another American, who is no different from the above mentioned Army official in terms of family and religious matters, has dedicated himself to the cause of religion. He distributes crosses and leaflets in discos, tries to form a group of young people to teach them about Mary and writes himself leaflets on religious matters. He claims that he is "enlightened" by God because he knows many things without ever studying or reading about them at all. He is disgusted with the local business people for their greediness and cannot stand a lingerie shop which displays some women's underwear in its window. Once he complained to me about the music shop for playing music so loudly in a place like this. Interestingly, this person never participates in any ritual in the Santuário (due to his dislike of the shrine officials) but prays in the Adoration Chapel when not many people present. He claims that the clergy of the shrine were appointed there; just to make people against religion. Once he expressed his pity towards me saying I had fallen into a snakes pit and he suggested to me not to go to the Santuário and listen to them but find a fine priest to ask my questions.

Peter is the other example of foreigners in Fátima. He fled from England because of its excessive materialism to Fátima and found a cleaning job in the Santuário. He says he is quite happy here and as long as you can feed yourself it is enough. You do not need to have a nice car, big house with a swimming pool, etc. because we do not know whether we are going to live tomorrow.

These are the most conspicuous religious people in Fátima; they never walk idly, always praying rosary, etc. many times they refused my lift offer without saying a word but just showing me

their rosary beads, sometimes they would not see me because (afterwards they explain) they were praying. They told me that they even pray for my conversion (there was another American nun who lit a candle in the shrine for my converting to Catholicism). As I mentioned earlier, they despise the local Portuguese for their ignorance but on the other hand, the Fátimense do not like them as well; accusing them of being fanatics.

Apart from these permanent residents some other people come to live in Fátima temporarily; they are the gypsies. They choose summer months when there is a great influx of pilgrims in the town. They would pitch their tents in a field near the Santuário and pick up their crutches in the morning to beg. They are like *cours de miracles* of mediaeval Paris who performed a great miracle by walking upright when there was nobody around.



The beggars in the shrine.

About the older generation who lives in Fátima I would like to transcribe my interviews with some of them on the subjects of living in a pilgrimage town, comparison between past and present, their impressions on the apparitions (especially, the "miracle of the

Sun" because it was something they could recall easily) and politics in general without adding my own comments just to let them air their views:

Senhor João (85): During the World War II three boys ten years of age (mine was ten then) came to the Parish of Fátima; two for the Santuário, one for me. Initially they were to stay for six months but after then CARITAS asked me if he could stay more CARITAS "looked for me" whether I would like to receive a boy or a girl, whatever I would choose! Since I did not have any child of my own, yes, as you did not have a child, I told them yes. I was totally satisfied to receive a boy, I preferred a boy because I would go to different feiras spending there some nights (saía por lá) and had a taxi at the Cova da Iria. Well, it was ten months, then he had gone to Austria. They came to take him. I took him, my Reinaldo, to Leiria. Here I have some of his pictures (he showed me some of them).

Now I work for the Santuário. I have been a collaborator for many years. I will go to the Capelinha as long as God wishes me to. In the mean time I go to the processions and stay there to take care of the Capelinha. Almost every day. Now, I am acting as a sacristan at the church here.

I was present at the last apparition, the miracle of the sun. I accompanied all the event. I was seven years old -same age with the visionary (vidente) Jacinta. My wife is the same age with Lúcia. I knew them. I remember very well going there, I remember a place called Lagoa da Carreira, and we would meet there. A sister of mine and I used to go there, still today (clarinho) we would call at them or they would come here. Now I do not remember.

I have a vague idea about the miracle of the sun. So many people would look at the sun. I remember very well that the soldiers were pushing the people back. They were trying to remove and get out of there but people would enter over there. They did not do anything to people. The soldiers did not want them to be there, or believe it. The camara, no, not the camara, the Tribunal or whatever he was, the president of the camara, they went so far as to arrest some people.

Before the apparitions people were very religious (as pessoas eram muito crentes), they believed in God. Many people from the parish came on the 13th as well as other days. On Sundays there is a Eucharistic procession. Many people from the parish go to the Santuário. Younger ones do not go there very often. The young are very busy with television. Television has given harm to religion (a televisão arruinou muito a religião), I mean, I know many families that they say before having television kids (as garotos) would pray the rosary (o terço) after dinner. Now, no, they are glued to television. Television took many things (A televisão tirou muito). Every day at nights kids, father and mother altogether we would pray rosary at home. At the end of the day, we would have dinner, pray and go to bed.

Here at the Parish Church (Igreja Paroquial) there were festas, like still today, summer festas such as Festa do Coração de Jesus and other great festas like Nossa Senhora do Rosário who is my godmother (madrinha de baptismo). Therefore my name is João do Rosário Figueira, my brothers are all Figueiras but Rosário. I was Rosário since she was my godmother. My mother was a devotee of Nossa Senhora do Rosário. I was the youngest one. We were seven boys and a girl. I was the youngest and I am here alone, others already...

Here there other festas that we would go on foot (festas ao pé); festas of Ortiga, Montelo which were very old ones. Others included Giesteira and that of Boleiros that was all. These were the ones at that time. Festa of Santa Luzia at Moita Redonda may have existed, I do not know, maybe it was before the apparitions I do not remember well. At the festas there was a procession around the church and everybody would leave afterwards. Not any more, there is a *salão* (great hall, ballroom), it is different. I go to Maxieira, my birthplace, which also belongs to the Parish of Fátima. They have a chapel there but this one is quite new, not from the time of apparitions, much later. The one at Boleiros is from the time of apparitions. As I have already said, "I go to the festa at Maxieira, my home town, I go to heaven and I go to hell". I go to assist at the mass, procession which is very good. Then the music starts with clamour. (lá aquele conjunto aos berros), people (agente) try to converse with

others but cannot succeed I leave. It is a hell, I mean, the music. Therefore first it is a heaven, then it is a hell.

We, my brothers, would get together here in this house or in one of theirs, we would have dinner, a family reunion. In my time it was like this.

Later, when the emigration started, thistles (silvas) began to grow everywhere more than ever. It was the time of emigration, before that no. They would cut the wild plants, I would walk through clean olive gardens, the proprietors were keen on keeping their gardens tidy. Now, no! Now it is thistles and other wild plants; it is horrible indeed! Emigration started France began to give money. It was good for many but yet bad for others. Many homes (lares) were destroyed because of emigration, weren't they? Money doesn't always bring happiness.

I do remember Salazar I had wanted to see him very much and one day I went to Lisbon and saw him. I was very content I saw Salazar. I was poor, wasn't I? "No matter what others think" (do a quem doer) I always liked Salazar.

There was poverty, there was PIDE [the secret police] - they never harmed me, I respected. Yet they might have abused the power they had. This happened many times too. Now who came here, like me, was relaxed and they wouldn't mistreat him. There was poverty, anyway we were backward. What there was at the time was respect and joy (alegria).

They would go to olive gardens and sing but not any more. They could go to gardens but they wouldn't sing! Sadness, I know that! (Tristeza, sei lá!).

In 1928 my father's house was 400\$00 of value. We were two singles, me and my older brother just after me, we were two youngest ones. My older brother was in the army (assentar praça) it was military service. In 1928 I was alone with my father and mother. We had two little properties (propriedadezicas) but of course it didn't pay much (não dava). I was there and said I was going. I was 17 years old. I went to Lisbon and worked in loading trucks and brought home 500\$00. I told my mother:

when there is no money, there is nothing to eat (quando não houver dinheiro não se come).

In the politics, there was this thing of republic, after a revolution monarchy was changed into republic. Here in Fátima it wasn't received well. There were some who wanted republic, but the majority didn't like the idea.

I was president of council (presidente da junta) for twelve years and never received a single penny (um centavo), later I was in the municipal council (conselho municipal). We were fifteen council presidents, I noticed none of them would smoke. We, from Fátima, would wait until the camara (municipality) gives us to arrange roads. The camara distributes subsidies through freguesias (parishes) for the arrangement of roads and other things.

I would go all the way down to (Ourém) without earning any money but I would go happily. Look at the things now! Whatever they receive, it's certainly very much, isn't it?

On the day of 25 of April at the Salão of church some meetings were arranged . There were CDS, PSD, the Socialists and Communism.

We went to Monte Real, many people, a great multitude (um mar de gente) against communism.

I had heard that they went so far as to talk about the nationalisation of the Santuário. The rector (Senhor Reitor) would tell them that "this belongs to people" (isto é do povo).

People like the parish priest (Senhor Prior) very much. I have been helping him free of charge. I like it because I don't have children and I work for the parish. They also help me in the business, don't they?

Three people from my family emigrated to Canada. One of them came here on holidays and died in a disaster. Some are in France and one in Germany. They, the emigrants, help everybody back at home I like this.

I have a good opinion about the pilgrims (aos peregrinos penso o melhor). They are making sacrifice. Inside the Capelinha and outside on the strip (caminheira) they would walk on their knees but not crawling [like soldiers] (de rastos é que não).

Before they would walk on knees (andava de joelhos) at Nossa Senhora da Ortiga. It is first Sunday of July. On Monday, confessions but less people, on Wednesday there are many people and many priests (padres) to confess and communion later, all day, it's tradition.

Today they just go there on Saturday to eat in the salão, before no. In old times many would come from S. Mamede, even from Villa de Ourém. Now only from the freguesia people go there, a pilgrimage indeed (uma romaria a sério).

Ti Francisco (85): At the Loca do Cabeço where there was a windmill, I saw a flag later I heard that there was the republic.

The life was very bad (a vida era muito ruim). Sometimes you would like to eat something but there wasn't. I used to eat beans as well as those fat ones which came from Angola.

I was living in my father's house at Aljustrel. We were kids and wouldn't go to other romarias or santuários. We would go to mass in Fátima. Sometimes there wasn't any mass except at midday. We would go with the sheep to Boleiros, or Chainça or Santa Catarina.

There were other festas like that of Santo António and Senhora da Ortiga or Fátima's fair (a feira da Fátima). At the festas we would meet girls and then walk around the church like a procession. When people went there, they were already waiting for me. I even bought a chair in S. Mamede, at the fair, to sit on it.

I was present at the miracle of the sun but now I don't remember very well. I just remember once, I don't know which month it was, Lúcia telling me something like "if they want to see Our Lady, they should turn

to that side" where the Basilica stands today and a cloud shaped like a person went up from the top of the azinheira (holm-oak tree). It seemed that people might be able to touch it. But it was just a cloud, Our Lady wasn't seen.

The most important man at that time was Ti Zé Alves who worked in agriculture. The bishop of Leiria would call the old people to go there to participate at meetings and converse. Ti Zé Alves went there and Sr. Bispo (the bishop) asked him: "Where could we have a capelinha, on the land that Lúcia inherited from her father?" No, it wasn't from Lúcia, it was from the wife of Francisco of Chainça -brother of Lúcia- who went to Brazil and died there. Afterwards Ti Zé Alves told the bishop: "Oh! Sr. Bispo, I don't have children. I'll go home and talk to my wife and if she agrees, I have a property nearby. I will give that land to the Santuário and the Santuário will give it to them". It was like this.

At that time who was leading the Santuário, was Sr. Bispo of Leiria. There wasn't any reitor yet. The first reitor to come here was Padre Sousa. The first missa was celebrated when Padre Reis said the mass. I still remember that he was of my age. It was eight or nine years after the apparitions.

Some accepted the apparition of Nossa Senhora, others not. They suspected that it was a lie, that they were telling a lie. They were arrested many times by the administrator.

They took them to Fátima to speak with Sr. Prior. Those who wanted to come to the Cova da Iria, they first wished to speak with Sr. Prior. I came to the house of Sr. Prior, too. When we were there the administrator went to the Padre and told him "I will take you to the Cova da Iria". The man lied because he put us in the car which were between the church and that tree. There was a servant woman who was standing and she turned with her she-mule towards Ourém. Then they took us with that car, which was letting out smoke from its back, to Ourém.

I was a kid but I remember I would go from festas to different feiras (fairs). The boys from Casa Velha and Aljustrel would get together and go to Ourém or other festas.

The owners of those stores in Ourém would come there, so many boys with sticks, horrify people but they were afraid from António Leitão who was the most perfect man there in Ourém. Everything was with him.

They arrived there, he was at the chemist and told him "Oh! Sr. António close the door. The administrator had brought the children up there and they are all there. We have a war here in the village". And then he closed the door and told the boys (but they were giving harm to nobody and they weren't afraid of anything) : "Oh! Boys don't cause a confusion (não façam zaragata) of which I will be responsible, and what's more they aren't maltreated". Then they never complained that they were being maltreated. Anyway they were few and would not be a pain in others' backs (não os tinham uns ao pé dos outros).

There wasn't famine. There wasn't many (to eat) as well. I worked on the farm. I would graze the sheep until 12 or 13 or 14 and then leave the sheep to begin to work in the fields. We would eat beans, cereals, cabbage and a little olives, potato and *broa* (bread of corn, rice and whipped eggs). We worked whenever we could.

Salazar entered there in 1926. I was in the army. There was that so-called Missionaria, like communists today [I think he means Maçonaria ("Masonry")]. The Missionaria was in charge of everything here in Portugal. The President of Republic was someone called Afonso Costa. He sold men to the war of 1914, an English pound for each one as if they were lambs. They died there and he kept the money.

The Republic started in the October of 1910 and they stayed there to rule until 1926 Salazar was a good person. Still today when they are talking against him, I feel as if they are spitting on me (é como quem me espeta).

Salazar always went to church for the mass. Later on, one day those from the Missionaria were there to put (prantar) a bomb the way on which he would pass. When and if he would pass there it would have finished everything. Then, he was early a little bit. He passed before the explosion. And the luminous fountain was damaged. It must be there even today.

This man called Gomes da Costa who kicked (botou) the Maçonaria out. There were some people who had 2 or 3 jobs and he was against this. Who had two should give up the other and this was just.

Later on Carmona came and invited Salazar to be Prime Minister. It was in 1926 and I became a registered voter in July 1926. There was a chapel next to the quarter in Tomar. The Maçonaria when came into power, took all the saints from there and made it a place to enlist new recruits (e ficou lá a ser a arrecadação geral do quartel). I was called on 9 February in 1927 when I arrived there Salazar had already given what belonged to the chapel and the mass begun to be celebrated.

I was called to suppress two revolutions one in Lisboa and the other in Porto. These were to get rid of Salazar, they didn't want him to be there. When he entered there, these men would say "a kid entered there. He'll be there for a short time only" (entrou para lá um cachopo. Está lá tanto tempo como o sebo no nariz de um cão). They were wrong because he stayed there for some 40 years. Then they kicked him out (botaram na fora) on 25th of April [1974]. He wasn't ruling any more; who was in charge was Marcelo Caetano, actually his colleagues were rather in power. Even today I remember very well of this President of the Republic, Carmona.

During the war time in Lisbon and Porto, they were confused with the door number. They couldn't do anything to him.

Many people complained about PIDE and maybe they were right because they did things which they shouldn't have done. The secret police was so-called PIDE. Salazar would send them to do something but they would do more other things. They would go to a house and tyrannise there.

Now we have all the more profusion. 25 April was good, there is liberty and many more. You couldn't make noise at nights or boys couldn't contend with girls like now. Boys are putting their arms on the shoulders of girls (ai abraçados às cachopas). This is too much.

Salazar worked very much but they invited the 25 April. There is no law, only a few strong men. They constructed a bridge overnight! They only changed the name which was built earlier. They renamed it after 25 April.

V. 4. 3. The Relationship between the Santuário and Inhabitants

The ecclesiastical authorities justify their position of "governing" the town by three following reasons (Guerra 1992:29) :

1. The Santuário was the first urban entity of the nucleus with which today the town of Fátima is associated because there were not any constructions at the locale apart from the Capelinha. The Rector of the shrine considers the Santuário as ^{the} *raison d' être* of the whole town of Fátima as if the place had started to exist with the so-called supernatural events that were supposed to have occurred there. They, however, are in the wrong because Fátima, as was shown in the previous chapter, was registered as a village at least four centuries prior to the apparitions.

2. The affluence of pilgrims at the locale of apparitions gives way to increase in the number of constructions which is followed by the increase of population first at the Cova da Iria, then neighbouring places. It is quite clear from this justification of the clergy that they wish to put the Santuário at the very centre of the town physically as well as economic and socially.

3. All the other places in the town not only are situated around the Santuário but also are dependent on it from the economic, social and cultural points of view. The rector of the shrine, interestingly, goes so far as to claim that the "centrality of the Santuário should be understood, alas, beyond the town and parish itself" (ibid.). If one asks how and in what way the shrine fulfils its role as the "centre" of the town I could give only few examples of the activities which aimed at the local, "fixed" population:

The Santuário organised a night of entertainment on 25 April, 1993 which was called *Grande Festa da Musica: Espactaculo Cultural* (Great Feast of Music: Cultural Show). The date of this music night coincided with the national celebrations of 25 April, the anniversary of Revolution and suggested, rather provocatively, to the person who had organised this event on behalf of the Santuário that they had deliberately chosen that specific day in order to undermine the significance of the day and divert the attention⁶. The answer, as was expected, came with a strong denial claiming it was a Sunday and coincidence was incidental. Since it was outside the pilgrimage season the spectators were the Fátimense coming over from various surrounding places. They watched performances of school music bands for their 500\$00-tickets at the Centro Pastoral Paul VI.

This was the sole example of an event organised by the Santuário only for the inhabitants of Fátima, other events had been prepared for the pilgrims but could be patronised by the Fátimense as well. For instance, on the day of national children's pilgrimage a short play about the love of Jesus for children was performed at the Centro which attracted a few local children.

The Centro also exhibited the entries of the national contest of the religious art which included sculptures and paintings. The exhibition was open to all interested persons, pilgrims or locals.

⁶ I thought the Santuário had been against the 1974 Revolution for political reasons.

My last example of the Santuário event for the Fátimense is another exhibition: EXPOFAT'93. The shrine exhibited some photographic material from its archives at the tourism information bureau for a month in April.

I recorded an interview with a lay official of the Santuário^{and} in order to give their opinion more accurately, I wish to include that interview here. Besides, I would like to pay my respect to the interviewee -Sr. Francisco [de Santuário] Pereira de Oliveira- who had been associated with the shrine a good while of his life and who died a few days after the interview:

Sr. Francisco of Santuário: We need to distinguish two things in Fátima: First, the Santuário and the second, the population which was born around the Santuário. It is a pity that all these have been absorbed under the name of Fátima and Cova da Iria is disappearing.

Only in the verses of "13 de Maio" that we sing: "A 13 de Maio na Cova da Iria/ Apareceu brilhando a Virgem Maria" (on the 13th of May at the Cova da Iria/ Appeared brilliantly Virgin Mary).

There are two things at the Cova da Iria to distinguish: First, the Santuário which has its own administration and mission. Second, the population which was born around the Santuário, that is, the Cova da Iria which is a place that appeared in 1922 with only four people. Today the permanent population is around 10.000, because on the days of great pilgrimages the population sometimes would reach to a certain number that is superior to many cities of the country.

Fátima and the Santuário owe their identity to the apparitions. Prior to apparitions there wasn't anything here. It was only a barren land, a poor field (era apenas uma charneca, um campo pobre). The landowners would come here to cultivate their small plots, others to raise cattle or pick up olives to make olive oil.

The cultural base of the Cova da Iria started in 1917. It was a very small cultural base because of this, there should be some regulations (uma

impreparação). There is an "unculturedness" (incultura) here because the population is very heterogeneous formed by people who came from outside to stay here. They also bring with them different habits, traditions, and customs. Now, after 75 years of the apparitions, there are already natives of the Cova da Iria. In certain ways the apparitions, pilgrimages, and the places from where other people come here influence Fátima. Pilgrims and the people who have settled here all have different cultures, traditions, dressing and speaking habits. All of these have an influence on the demographic aspect of Fátima.

The small villages around the Santuário have been losing their identities to the extent of construction and urbanisation because all these villages are entering into a phase of uncharacteristic change; for example, I cannot understand why in Aljustrel they build four-storey houses. Moita is another example of the most uncharacteristic place around Fátima.

We should preserve at least a little popular roots which still exist (é óptima resguardar o pouco de raiz popular que ainda existe). It is a pity that many people don't even think about these aspects. Fátima has entered into a phase of great development, I mean, the town of Fátima. There are two characteristics in the parish of Fátima: The rural part which includes Boleiros, Montelo and Maxieira; in these places the fathers still leave their lands to sons. The urban part, which is culturally the most developed one, has been influenced by the pilgrimages, different congresses and congregations. This is the town of Fátima.

The construction of the Centro Pastoral Paulo VI has affected the town because there are many congresses which take place here with so many participants from abroad.

The Centro belongs to the Santuário and the congresses with a pastoral characteristic have been organised by its officials. The Santuário has two components: The religious part which includes the organisation of pilgrimages, different devotions, masses, and rosary prayers. The pastoral part is consisted of the activities related to congresses and liturgy.

This year at the Centro Pastoral, as a commemoration of the 75th years of apparitions, two congresses were organised by the Santuário: The first one was on Fátima and Peace in May, the second, on the pastoral side of Fátima in October.

As a consequence of these activities Fátima has expanded into many countries where there are shrines, churches, chapels or religious movements dedicated to the Our Lady of Fátima. On the occasion of October 13th there is a meeting of the heads of these movements who come to Fátima to discuss the problems related to the pastoral aspects of Fátima. Sometimes they need to correct certain formulas, re-define certain positions and above all establish a harmony among the different devotions for example, one in France and another one in Brazil...

The message of Fátima, which was brought by the Our Lady to the three shepherds Lúcia, Jacinta and Francisco, in fact, was a message for the whole world. Therefore, there must be a unity of practices related to the cult of Fátima.

The image of Fátima abroad is very positive and authentic to such an extent that even the popes come here. Paul VI, in 1967, and John Paul II has come here twice. Some cardinals who became popes later came to Fátima as well. The Popes John XXIII and John Paul I who came here as Patriarchs of Venice. This is a positive sign that Fátima is in accord with the universal Roman Catholic Church.

Like other cult centres around the world, there is always a commercial aspect; the case of Lourdes... Here in Fátima it is noted more. The commercial activities are disorganised but this is not the fault of the Santuário. These should be under the control of civil authorities (autarquias), or better, the individuals themselves should behave in a more cultured way.

It is a disagreeable and degrading spectacle that they should sell religious objects on the streets. Religious or otherwise, because souvenir shops sell everything except religious articles. They are like fairs

rather than religious articles shops. The Santuário has as an example a shop of selected religious articles and a book shop selling only books on Fátima.

The camara [council] has a law which says "commercial activities outside shops are prohibited". There is no control at all. The camara asks the help of police authorities but the police cannot control the shop-owners' activities at all times. There are two reasons for their inability to control all of them: First, their number is increasing day by day, and second, they cannot launch a war against them. The individuals should decide themselves. Here in Fátima there is an unmeasured greed to make immediate profit. This certainly creates a negative image of Fátima.

There are also some sensible individuals who are aware of the importance of Santuário for their living. They go so far as to say "the Santuário is a chicken which lays golden eggs" (a galinha dos ovos de ouro). If the Santuário had not existed no pilgrim would have come here. The pilgrims don't want to see high prices here, they always complain about the prices here. There is a tendency on the locals that they want to make more profit. Had it not been for the Santuário, which had conserved some areas, today we would not have any trees around. They could have built more hotels, restaurants or souvenir shops.

There are some individuals who render unto the Santuário^{that} which belongs to the Santuário. They also try to co-operate with the shrine and come to the Santuário for the Sunday mass. There are others who see the Santuário as an obstacle for their business. Whenever the rector calls them to have a meeting to discuss general problems of Fátima, they would say "he wants the Santuário only for himself" (pois o Santuário quer é só para ele). Of course this is a wrong and distorted vision of the Santuário because Our Lady didn't come here for them to build religious articles shops, hotels or any of these (Nossa Senhora não veio aqui para que se fundassem lojas de artigos religiosos, nem hotéis, nem nada disso). She came here to give a message and give the Santuário the role of expanding this message, and preserve its religious character in harmony with the church. Because of this some individuals have a difficulty in interpreting her message.

The Santuário has tried to solve the problem of the pilgrims who came on foot. It is difficult because there are many people who come on pilgrimage, they subject themselves to these difficulties and tortures for many days. The Santuário has tried to receive them as best as it could. There is a *serviço de lava-pés* (literally, washing feet), a service of assistants on roads towards Fátima.

The Santuário does not want the pilgrimage to be a parody, singing and playing like they would do in a romaria. On the contrary, it gives them a certain dignity because they are pilgrimages. Here in Fátima we give them the services of *lava-pés* and accommodation. The Santuário also acts jointly with the army to pitch tents to accommodate these pilgrims, furthermore, it gives them a hot soup. All the services are free of charge.

The Santuário is a canonical entity with a juridical personality (com personalidade jurídica) which is a juridical status of any other public entity. "Fábrica do Santuário de Nossa Senhora de Fátima" -- the canonical designation of churches is *fábrica* (factory).

The rector is nominated by the bishop because the ultimate authority over the Santuário rests with the bishop of the diocese which is Leiria-Fátima. As the Bishop cannot be here all the time he has a representative who is the Rector. The Rector is nominated for 5-year periods. The present Rector Luciano Guerra has already four mandates. The Rector can practise all the administrative acts before the laws of the country. It is for this reason that the civil government recognises the existence of the Santuário as a juridical and canonical entity.

The Rector has his collaborators; he cannot do everything alone. Our Rector has divided the administration into several sectors: The sector of works, the sector of administration, the sector for the service of pilgrims, and the sector for the accommodation in the Casa dos Retiros.

The new part which is being constructed will serve, above all, for sick people and among the sick, the physical sick. There is an increase in the number of the physical sick who come, for example, from Italy.

The Santuário, like any other entity, is subject to the laws of the country, of any government. The government does not have any influence whatsoever here in the Santuário. The politicians, if they were good politicians, would like to have a good relationship with the Santuário because the Santuário is a very important entity. If any politician came here to fight against the Santuário he would be a bad politician. He would put his political career into danger. Fátima exists because of the Santuário. It was for this reason that the "25 April" had no influence in Fátima. The things went on normally. There was a certain effervescence against the Church. The Communist Party has not been tolerated here in Fátima.

The Government of Salazar made a very important decree for Fátima. The decree created a "protected zone of the Santuário" (Decree number 37008) which was good for Fátima, the Santuário and the population. Inside this zone the public buildings should be constructed by the Camara with an approval of the Santuário.

The works of Santuário had never been done with the help any help from the State. The works of Santuário included: The Basilica, the Capelinha, the Casas de Retiro, etc. All of these were constructed with the pilgrims' alms money.

Salazar came to Fátima only once and did not enter into the Basilica. He was in the Capelinha when Pope Paul VI was here, as Chief of the Government.

Other politicians have been to Fátima as well: Mário Soares, Eanes, Cavaco Silva and Balsemão. Their visits were official. Carmona, who was the first President of the Republic, was here in Fátima in 1928.

As it is commonly accepted, the Western world is living in an age of secularisation which is seen by the ecclesiastical authorities as a

threat to the existence of religion in general and of their hierarchy in particular. Therefore, it is understandable that they should preserve a place where they could exercise their power thoroughly by creating, in the strictest sense of the term, a theocratic island in the midst of a sea full of anti-religious and anti-clerical attitudes⁷. The rector of the shrine, taking the role of the spokesman for God and the Church claims that Fátima "is a place of pilgrimage and everything indicates that it is the will of God and the Church that it will not be converted, at least in the next few decades, into a place of romaria" (Guerra 1992;30). He goes on to assert that being a place of pilgrimage, Fátima is not compatible with certain profane activities in the form of commercial festivals and entertainment programmes. While he was busy with writing this article, I was visiting Santiago de Compostela on the occasion of Holy Year (25.7.1992) where the Galician Junta took control of almost every single activity in the city including the Cathedral square. The civil authorities created a heaven for tourists; rock concerts laser and aquatic shows, plays, classic music concerts and street buskers, fire works at nights, etc. which seemed to me another example of Glastonbury. The church was left with only usual rituals (mass, to be precise) and *bota fumeiro* which was also of entertaining character because more tourists than worshippers are present during the swinging of gigantic *incense barrel* inside the Cathedral.

Fátima is a sharp contrast to Santiago in terms of non-religious activities prepared for either pilgrims or residents or both of them. Pilgrims actually come from profane centres to a sacred centre, yet, local inhabitants have to put up with living constantly in a religious environment. Therefore, they feel neglected at the expense of

⁷ M. Foucault argues that spatial control is *the* essential part of discipline and power ideologies because "discipline proceeds by the organisation of individuals in space, and it therefore requires a specific enclosure of space. In the hospital, the school, or the military field, we find a reliance on an orderly grid. Once established, this grid permits the sure distribution of the individuals to be disciplined and supervised; this procedure facilitates the reduction of dangerous multitudes or wandering vagabonds to fixed and docile individuals (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982;154-155). Therefore, on entering the town limits of Fátima individuals subject themselves to the spatial machinery of power; this is especially so when in the presence of the clergy in the Recinto of the Santuário.

pilgrims. Any visitor who spend a time longer than usual pilgrimage staying in Fátima, like the anthropologist, would soon hear the complaints from the residents such as the lack of usual amenities like shopping centres, cinema, theatre or tennis courts. They accuse the Santuário administration neglecting them for the Santuário, in their opinion, does not permit any construction of a swimming pool, a cinema or a night club.

Like many others, Nancy, who was a Canadian herself but married to a Portuguese and who came to Fátima ^{with her husband} and opened a hotel, a restaurant and a *tabac* (cigarette and newspaper shop), said to me once:

"I don't like neither Portugal nor Fátima but this is my home now. I would even say I hate Fátima because here everything is under the control of clergy; in other words, they set the laws, for example, one can't build a hotel without permission from the shrine and it shouldn't be higher the Basilica's tower lest it overshadows the Santuário. One can't sell alcoholic drinks within the 3 km radius of the shrine. A cinema or a night-club can't be opened again within this radius. Therefore, living here is horrible".

One day I asked the rector about all these accusations. He utterly rejected them saying "there can be a cinema or a disco in Fátima but some distance away; also a swimming pool but it should be only for swimming, not for sunbathing. Besides, I don't object at all to the idea of having tennis courts here". He also admitted, in a joking manner though, that he was a horrible person in the eyes of local residents because, he added, whenever the Camara [of Ourém] does not approve construction proposal, the task of saying "no" to the owner of ^{the} plan falls to him. In his part, he accused the inhabitants of being ungrateful because the Santuário was defending their rights in the Camara and what was more, it was the shrine who provided them with a better environment, roads, etc.

In fact, it was the same rector who published an article in a collection of papers on the urbanisation of Fátima and in it he

claimed that Fátima was essentially a land of pilgrimage, not a place for tourists. Therefore, they "will have to dismiss the idea of creating entertainment for the pilgrims, and in the same manner, consider the necessities of the local population... Moreover, there are other things that we will exclude like a swimming pool and dance clubs, or other kinds of enterprises which would distract the pilgrim more because he does not come here for this reason since he can find places well equipped around Fátima, particularly on the beaches" (Guerra 1992;53-54).

Here I do not wish to draw a picture of the relationship between the shrine officials and residents depicting only, perhaps, a minor aspect of it. For the local population do not want only amusement enterprises but also more "serious" attempts such as cultural, recreative and sportive activities; better health organisation⁸, schools and transportation, and more crucially, infrastructures. Nevertheless, they are aware of the fact that all these works must be referred to the civil authorities, not to the religious hierarchy. Yet another problematic emerges here for the residents believe that the shrine officials have a good relationship with those whose task is to serve the community better and the Santuário does not persuade them.

V. 4. 4 The Relationship between the Fátimense and Pilgrims:

As would be expected, human beings cannot create a rapport among themselves over a short period of time. This is especially so in the cases of host-guest relationships like the one between host population and tourists. This, in fact, results from the differing expectations of both parties; pilgrims come to Fátima in search of a

⁸ In fact, in Fátima there is a *Centro de Saúde do Estado* (State Health Centre) but people were quite critical over the issue of a new hospital to be built by the Santuário for pilgrims. There are various reasons for their critical attitude; first, the Health Centre is not well equipped (it is like GP offices in Britain) and whenever a serious illness occurs they would need to go to the hospitals in Ourém or Leiria (at least a 20 Km distance away from Fátima). Second, they do not think it is fair not to be admitted into a hospital in their own land which would be a lot more convenient.

"sacred centre" and they expect everything in the town to evoke sacredness, spirituality and a certain "closeness" to God. On the other hand, because of their over-familiarity, the residents do not feel being in a sacred zone but simply, a place of tourism and work where everything is measured only in terms of success and failure. In a way, they must compromise the town's designated quality of sacredness to be able to deal with their business. The pilgrims, however, do not want to see anything this-worldly in Fátima to such an extent that they even discuss the necessity of a supermarket (3 such shops exist in Fátima the biggest them all is the average size of a "7-Eleven" in Britain).

Here I wish to give a part of an entry from my field diary as a sharp contrast between the discourses of pilgrims and residents:

8 January 1992, Friday

The weather was very nice so I took a walk around. First I went to the Santuário. In these days there is a Terço at mid-day and a Missa afterwards. During the Missa a preaching-priest talked about a "prayer in collaboration of Semitic religions" tomorrow. Later I went to the "Caminho dos Pastorinhos". The Calvario eventually leads to Aljustrel. I visited the "Casa da Lúcia", the ethnographic museum of a typical house and the house of Francisco and Jacinta Marto.

There was a crowd in the house and a few G.N.R.s outside. I asked one of them what was the matter he said "I can't visit the place today" he also told me that there was a problem and this made me curious and entered the house there was a hot debate. I talked to Antonio and Carla. The day before yesterday João Marto's wife died. There was a VELORIO (the word originally comes from *vela* [candle] during the night people make a sort of mourning before the funeral).

Today those who have right to inherit the place came together. João Marto's children (today around 50 years old each of them) claim that their father was living in that house and they're unwilling to leave the place but the other part (João's Mother's other husband's children) want

the place at least to reach an agreement now stating who owns how much. They changed the lock and kept the keys.

Before these people were not interested in the house but the Santuário is willing to buy the house and has already offered a sum of money (nobody tells me how much).

Lúcia gave her part from the inheritance of her house (to show that she wasn't interested in the material world) and other people left it to the Santuário.

During this incident pilgrims were not allowed to visit the house; the least they could do was to peep into from the windows. They did not, of course, understand what was going inside but were aware that the hot discussion was about money. One of them told me that she was revolted by what she saw. It was totally unacceptable for a pilgrim to fight over the spiritual legacy of divinely-chosen children in such a disgusting manner.

The greatest fear of many pilgrims was an over-commercialisation of the town like Lourdes had been. One pilgrim stated very bluntly that in the near future one would see prostitutes wandering around the Santuário. The pilgrims express their dislike of commercialisation in every opportunity. Yet, paradoxically, it is they that who feed the growth of business in Fátima.

My inquiries about the pilgrims of the townspeople went often unanswered. Sometimes I would ask them who came to Fátima or who the pilgrim was but they could not answer such simple questions only uttering a few words like "pilgrims come here to *cumprir* (fulfil) their promessas" or "they are the devotees of Nossa Senhora de Fátima, they come here because they feel a great affection towards her". None the less, when it came to business, they would speak freely and endlessly about how little (seldom how much) they made during that great pilgrimage, complaining about the rain which caused a decrease in the number of pilgrims in May, etc. They do not expect a great earning in May although it is the

month of many pilgrims because, as they say, they are the *mesmo peregrinos* (real pilgrims) coming from the North and being poor they would not spend much money in Fátima. August, on the other hand, is the local residents' feast in terms of making profit because immigrants come to Portugal and they visit Fátima spending more money. [May -more pilgrims, less profit; August -less pilgrims, more money].

My interpretation of the townspeople's inadequacy of defining pilgrims or ignorance of their purposes is that there is no relationship between the locals and pilgrims -except such small number of cases that pilgrims stay in the same hotel and eat in the same restaurant in consequent years of their pilgrimages.

To sum up, the pilgrim's goal is spiritual wealth in the economy of salvation in return of his/her investment: leaving one's everyday, mundane world to take up a journey into a sacred time and space whereas, the resident's one is entirely economic wealth in return of his/her invested sum of capital.

CONCLUSION

Pilgrimage evolves around the "sacred" whether it is person-centred (Padre Pio) or place-centred (Lourdes); in the person-centred pilgrimages the "sacred" is embodied in the person and it moves around with the saint. However, after the death of the person the abode of the saint becomes sacred because these locales now are occupied with the memory of the person (cf. McKevitt 1991). The place-centred pilgrimages, on the other hand, focus on the "special" places. The special nature of these places comes from the belief that they were "chosen" by a deity who manifests himself (usually Jesus) or herself (almost always the Virgin Mary) on that specific spot. After this belief centers on the "chosenness" of the places, the quality of "holy" or "sacred" is attached to them. In this study I have argued that this sacred is contested by many discourses.

The sacred is the main component of pilgrimage to the extent that without it no pilgrimage is possible. The ultimate goal of the pilgrim is to reach the sacred, in other words, in almost all the pilgrimages people flow to that source with a hope of encountering the supernatural. I frankly do not know why but this sacred needs to be concretised in forms of buildings and in this way it is separated from the non-sacred, profane. In most of her apparitions the Virgin Mary asked the seers that they build a chapel at that spot. I suspect that even if she did not want such an honour, people would still have a building for worshipping purposes. In the earliest pictures of the Cova da Iria there is a wooden framework with a lantern hung on it and a table in front of it all of which served to be a chapel. This building is sometimes constructed with the donations left by the earlier pilgrims.

Apart from the "sacred", pilgrimage has other necessary ingredients; first of all the place which embodies the sacred is set apart from the ordinary world. The building complex is called a "shrine". The complex usually contains various elements such as a chapel to celebrate the Mass, a square which could accommodate vast numbers of pilgrims as the chapel would never be big enough for all the pilgrims present at certain times. In Fátima the shrine area is marked off from the

everyday, ordinary and profane surroundings by signs at each entrance reminding the visitor that s/he is entering a holy place in addition to the fence and trees all around the shrine square. In the relevant chapter I argued that the shrine building complex is not sacred itself (perhaps the grounds of the Basilica and chapel are exceptions to this argument) but the shrine of Our Lady of Fátima becomes so when and only if the visitors attach the sacred quality to these places. Since the notion of sacred is purely metaphysical (I mean it has no concrete and empirical reality), it exists only in the minds of people. Similarly, James Preston suggests a term for this phenomenon; *spiritual magnetism* which is simply the "power of a pilgrimage shrine to attract devotees. It is not an intrinsic 'holy' quality of mysterious origins that radiates objectively from human concepts and values via historical, geographical, social, and other forces that coalesce in a sacred center" (1992;33). The Fátima shrine is claimed sacred simply because it is believed that the Virgin Mary had appeared there. Today a statue stands on the spot and at about the same height. This is quite remarkable because people are led to believe ^{that} as if she is still appearing now. The rumours that I quoted in the chapter about the shrine's discourse confirm this argument (she [the statue] smiles at people, she warns the guards about a bomb and she wants a 'holy hour' to be celebrated at night), as the pilgrims treat the statue not just as another statue but as the real presence of the Virgin Mary. When a place is acclaimed sacred, it attracts a number of groups each of which has a different set of understanding of and expectations from this sacred quality. The first group is pilgrims who bring to the shrine their own personal problems the solution of which is asked from the saint. The second group is the clergy who claim the control of the sacred in the name of the Church, or rather, God. The last group is the residents in the pilgrimage town. Their discourse is radically different from either the pilgrims or the clergy as the sacred is for them (I have the shopkeepers in mind), a material commodity out of which the benefit should be extracted. Apart from these three groups another discourse exists; namely, the discourse of the "non-goers" or those who have never been or never intend to go to the shrine. Unfortunately, due to ^{it's} being an internationally and nationally acclaimed shrine, I have never come across anybody in Portugal who neither has been to Fátima nor ideologically opposes it. My attempts at finding somebody who has not seen the shrine have always failed because, it seemed, everybody at least in their childhood has been taken to Fátima.

Only on one occasion a Coimbra anthropology student claimed that her parents "belonged to the elite class of Porto" and would never come to Fátima although their daughter was in Fátima. In the future studies of pilgrimage the researcher should take this discourse into account since, I believe, they could provide another valuable insight into the understanding of pilgrimage. Their negative discourse might highlight the positive discourse of the pilgrims; for example, I remember my landlady saying to me that she would not go to the shrine only *quando doe me barriga* (when my stomach aches) and at other times ignore it. This is an important statement because it reveals the contractual dyadic relationship between the devotees and the Virgin Mary: devotees remember Mary only when they are in trouble and forget her as soon as their problem is solved. On the other hand, I must admit, the "non-goers" consume the Fátima pilgrimage via television, radio and newspapers as the state TV channel RTP1 and the so-called Church's channel TVI as well as the two channels of *Radio Renascença* which broadcast the ceremonies of 13 May from Fátima live. This day in Portugal is filled with Fátima because the newspapers compete with each other to publish the most interesting article on Fátima (usually about the unrevealed part of the secret), it is an important item of the news bulletins, it is the cover of most weekly or monthly magazines, etc. I sometimes thought people did not need to come to Fátima as some fans prefer to watch football games on TV in the comfort of their houses. Or such emphasis could be repellent to those who prefer empty churches.

In the Fátima pilgrimage the most striking controversial issue is, as I have given in ^{the} ethnographic account in the previous chapters, the practise of *promessa de joelhos*. No visitor to the Fátima shrine fails to notice individuals tormenting themselves on a strip called "penitential way". The act involves a promise of the devotee to be executed at the shrine of Our Lady of Fátima if and when the favour (*graça*) is bestowed on Him/her. The practitioners readily admit that *eles não gostam disso* (they [the clergy] don't like this). Yet they continue to practice the *promessa* whose origins go back to time immemorial. My first thought was that the clergy could not oppose such an old tradition, so they have to show some tolerance to the practitioners of the ritual by trying to make it seem an act of penitence. They also try to give the impression that everything is under their control because, according to the clergy,

the devotees are performing their promessas for penitential reasons. However, when looked at closely, the case is somewhat different from the pretensions of both the clergy and the devotees. The process is a great example of how pilgrim/devotees circumvent the clergy so as not to allow them to interfere with "their" relationship with "their mother" (the Virgin Mary). First, devotees do not consult with the ecclesiastical authorities on the promessa de joelhos in any way. Second, despite the clergy's blatant opposition against this act taking place at "their" shrine and their willingness to give dispensation from such a painful act, pilgrim/devotees ignore the hierarchy and go on to practice it. This circumvention points at a sharp division between devotees and clergy in such a way that pilgrims tend to regard clergy as "them" against "us" (cf. Sanchis 1983;270-271), or "our saint".

For the clergy the ritual represents a public execution that belongs to the ceremonies by which power is manifested. M. Foucault argues that any crime offends, apart from the immediate victim, those superior men who abide by the law. It also attacks the sovereign personally since the law represents the will of the sovereign. The punishment, therefore, has a juridico-political function and it also is a ceremonial by which a momentarily injured sovereignty is reconstituted (Foucault 1977;47-48). In the case of promessa, the devotee, as the clergy always claims, performs the ritual to expiate his/her sins which offended God, the supreme sovereign. As a matter of fact, Jesus and sometimes Mary are portrayed with their hearts bleeding due to lacerating in popular images as a result of mankind's sins. The clergy's penitential discourse of the act also reinforces their authority as prince of the Church and representatives of God, because the public mortification brings to a solemn end a war between the criminal and God (or His representatives); as a result of which the Church emerges triumphant over its offenders. The practitioners of the promessa, in this way, subject themselves to the glory of the clergy as they admit their sins.

My own observation confirms that the pilgrimage to Fátima is a highly individualistic practice; that is, pilgrims travel to Fátima in order to have a direct contact with their favourite saint, namely, Our Lady. This view is also in consistent with the shrine's "official" opinion; one day I asked the Reitor of the Santuário who the pilgrim was, the answer was quite remarkable: "O peregrino é quem veio à Fátima para pagar a sua

promessa" (The pilgrim is the one who comes to Fátima to pray his/her promessa). Another religious scholar, Iso Baumer, expresses the meaning of pilgrimage for a European man in similar tones: "The basic structure of all pilgrimages is the same; an individual or, more often, a group, sets forth on a journey to a chosen place in order to ask God and the Saints -at that particular place- for aid in a variety of concerns. Afterwards, one returns to one's everyday world" (quoted in Nolan and Nolan 1989;36). In fact, I did not go to Fátima to test Victor Turner's theorising but my findings show that the Fátima pilgrimage is not exclusively a group event in contrast to his notion of "universal communitas".

Though it may seem a simplistic and hasty conclusion, pilgrimage to Fátima is a model of the everyday lives of the Portuguese. As in other Catholic countries, in Portugal "church-going" is a women's business (cf. Davis 1984) as well as "taking care of the spiritual welfare of the household". However, it must not be assumed that the Portuguese woman does not need to be treated inferior to men or as a "scarce resource" or a part of the threatened patriarchy who needs to be defended against "aggression couched in the ideology of shame" (Schneider 1971;20). It might be true that in Southern Europe women used to be treated as things or objects of exchange. During my fieldwork I observed, perhaps not exactly, the opposite, i. e., they no longer are subject to patriarchy or "objects" to be defended. If they are not the "prime minister" of the house, they certainly are the "finance ministers" of the household. It is my personal experience that the financial matters are in the hands of women; when I looked for a place to stay in Fátima, it was always women with whom I had to deal, if the wife was not around I was told by the husband to come back because "he would not understand" these matters. It was women who run the business, decide the selling prices of the items sold in the shop, cook the food for the restaurant or make the coffee at the café. As a consequence of economical independence, women have become sexually independent as well. In Fátima, I had many young friends who had boy or girlfriends and in our conversations both sexes stated that virginity was not an important quality they would look for in their partners. Having sexual relationships with their boyfriends was not restricting, girls would still leave their boyfriends, especially if they go to the university education

in other cities, without worrying about finding another partner as they lacked virginity.

There is certainly a relationship between ritual and social reality since ritual plays an important role to unite body and mind, therefore, rituals are grounds on which culture is constructed. Rituals also serve to incarnate culture's imagination before our eyes as they are both a cultural constitution and lived experience. I always thought pilgrims' rituals as an extension of their normal, ordinary and profane lives whenever I saw children crying for an ice-cream or something else they asked from their mothers. Pilgrims would "cry" in the form of penitential self-sacrificing and self-torturing rituals (I refer to the promessas of joelhos [knees] and "ir a pé à Fátima [to go to Fátima on foot]) and ask innumerable favours from their celestial "mothers".

This very argument shows that people feel insecure and helpless in front of their daily problems which may be both spiritual and materialistic, as James Preston noted more than a decade ago (1982;340):

Modern industrialised people are uprooted, lonely, severed from the earth. The mother goddess figure represents a metaphorical image of *primacy*. It is probably no accident that female deities were the earliest human representations of divinity, for in each of us is a memory of that time of perfect bonding between mother and child. This is the most fundamental organic relationship possible for human beings. Modern man seeks a sense of intimacy in his loneliness and desolation. Despite radical attempts to be independent, self reliant, and manipulative, he is ever vulnerable to uncontrollable events like birth and death. Though he is ashamed of his dependency, even terrified of it, a return to a womblike state is always tempting. Thus, the mother/child relationship lurks as a remnant of sweet completion in the unconscious of moderns.

The 1960s in Europe saw a religious revival. Yet it was not a return to Christianity but a tendency towards the far-eastern religions. The revival was spiritual as Buddhism or Hinduism were represented to the western man. The so-called age of post-modernism, 1980s and 1990s, in my opinion, is a continuation of that revival. Jeremy Boissevain offers a wide range of meanings that emerges from the term revival; for example *revitalisation* is used for events that had never died out but those which have new energy injected into them; if the event was

abandoned for a span of time, then, it would be *restored* or *resurrected* ; in the case of some festivals which had not completely died out but at a later time they would be restructured or made more authentic and he calls such events as *retraditionalized* (1992;7). The (Marian) pilgrimages, on the other hand, seem to me a kind of revitalisation and resurrection of Christianity in a post-Christian western society. The increasing occasions of the Marian apparitions in this century, with a highly manipulatable political message, are used by the Catholic Church. These events are also an indication of how the established churches have lost power and how "their ability to continue their old-age combat against popular -emotional, ecstatic, ludic- celebrations has been weakened" (ibid., 15). Pilgrimage sites with their rural and usually "in the middle of nowhere" locations are also important for the post-modern pilgrim because, for example, Fátima represents a return to a rustic, simple, and most importantly, old lifestyle for a New Yorker who has been fed up with the increasing secularisation, industrialisation and the feeling of "lost among the masses". At this point one may ask whether pilgrimages, especially with their increasing number of pilgrims, are purely the result of the growth of leisure and newly acquired habits of consumption in contemporary societies or secular, touristic activities blended with some kind of religion. I think the answer to such a question must be that all of these developments contribute to the phenomenon of modern day pilgrimage. That is for this reason that I consider the Fátima pilgrimage as an effort to carry forward religious values in a desacralized and secularised world or an opportunity for the Church hierarchy to make use of the intensity of such, apparently in a sense, not-entirely-formal way, a mixture of religious and sacred collective experiences as a re-emergence of ^{the}sacred particularly in Portugal and generally in Western World.

Michael Sallnow argues that pilgrimage, or "shrine-centred devotion" in Peru, in contrast to the European one which is considered as "popular" or "unorthodox", "is likely to be thoroughly esteemed by its practitioners as a sublimated, official form of Catholic worship in contradistinction to the 'folk' practices of the less enlightened" (1991;142). His argument might be valid for other less celebrated and less controlled shrines (see for example Nolan and Nolan 1989) but when it comes to major European shrines such as Lourdes or Fátima, which are very much institutionalised and under the strict control of the clergy, they appear

to be representing the "official" and "orthodox" version of the Catholicism. Furthermore, Fátima bears the "official seal" of the Vatican and for this reason pilgrims believe that the Fátima pilgrimage belongs to the "deposit of faith". The shrine officials do their best to keep Fátima distinct from other "popular pilgrimages" like *romarias* in which profane activities supersede religious rituals (see Sanchis 1983). On the other hand, I am tempted to classify the Fátima pilgrimage as a version of popular Catholicism because it contains some elements that the Church is reluctant to recognise for example, the *promessa de joelhos*, a contractual, dyadic relationship between the devotee and the Virgin. Many pilgrims go straight to the Capelinha where the statue of Our Lady of Fátima stands, pay their respect, thank her, leave a wreath of flowers and light a candle. They rarely participate in official rituals and disperse to their homes. I met a few *peregrinos à pé* who walked up to several hundred Km. and as soon as they arrived at Fátima without spending much time they took coaches to their hometowns. This kind of pilgrims, of course, are exceptions but I wish to stress the practicality of their belief.

The Church recognises this "practicality of belief" and tries to channel it into the mainstream religion. Since the Enlightenment (c. 1840) Western societies have been losing their interest in religion and its institutions, Portugal is not an exception. In a study of the Portuguese religiosity in the 1970s, the 84.6% of the population identified themselves as "Catholics" and only 3.7% of the people admitted being atheist or agnostic (IPOPE 1973;25). However, only 9.7% of the Catholics would go to church more than once a week, 42.8% of them, once a week and 11.1% of the interviewed Catholics would never go to church (ibid., 28). In another research of as recent as 1993, findings show that Portugal is still a Catholic country. Yet, it seems that the prophecy of Our Lady of Fátima (Portugal would never lose the faith) in 1917 is in danger. Although 97% of the Portuguese are baptised and 74% have been married or would like to marry in the church, only 17% of the Catholics go to the Mass regularly. Moreover, those "professed Catholics" do not believe in the Infallibility of the pope (56.3%), do not accept the celibate priests (73.8%), and do not agree with either the prohibition of premarital sex (51.3%), or the prohibition of contraceptives (75.6%). Another indication of the religiosity of a country could be measured by the number of people who take up religious vocations, according to the

Comissão Episcopal do Clero, Seminários e Vocações of the 3600 priests in the country more than half are aged between 55 and 80, more precisely, 1300 of them are between 40 and 50 and only 400 priests are between 25 and 39 (quoted in *Visão* 1993(8);57). The same weekly magazine also claims that the Church advertises in radios to invite youth to join its seminaries. All these data empirically show that the Portuguese Church is not able to bring social or cultural values into the lives of the Portuguese. The *Visão* article concludes with a question and answer to it: "Are we Catholics? A great no!" (*Visão*, 13 May 1993).

If the gap between individuals and the Church is widening gradually, the Church needs to do something about the salvation of its flock. The course of action the Church has taken so far, in my opinion, is in a way, to include some popular elements into its main body. The modern Catholic pilgrimage, even though in many cases it is under a very strict hierarchical control, is not immune from such popular elements. In the Iberian Peninsula local communities celebrate feasts in honour of their patron saints. On such occasions the statue of the saint is taken from the church or chapel into the streets in processions. Once I was present in the Andalusian *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) celebrations in Seville. They take place in Easter time and the statues depict the Passion of Jesus with his crown made of thorns. The participants follow these rather sad statues in a merry atmosphere in their best clothes. The processions are accompanied by music bands and fireworks. I sometimes wonder, especially when I think of such celebrations, whether ritual has become a play; for example the "celebration of Eucharist" is a ritual representing the sacrifice of Jesus by the officiating priest. It is assumed that it is rather a solemn and ordered act. Once a priest in Fátima told me that when people received the Host they should have been "dead silent" out of their respect for Christ but most participants do not even think about it; they carry on giggling or other similar behaviours. In fact, the very name of the ritual, "celebration", suggests some kind of negation of ritual especially its solemn elements. The Fátima pilgrimage is a great spectacle and pageant especially the candle-light processions which take place daily in the Recinto of shrine. People participate in these mass rituals told me that they loved it because, first, they could not see such festive activities and atmosphere everyday in their hometowns, and second, they reaffirm their belief as they see thousands of people around them do the same thing and this^{has} given them a sense of security

and belonging in order to attract people to itself. I argue that if the Church does not allow such festive actions, fewer and fewer people would participate in sacramental rituals apart from baptism and marriage which are, in my opinion, mainly social and cultural events rather than solemn religious rituals. Therefore, pilgrimage serves both to resolve the problems of an imperfect world and to reaffirm a belief that somewhere exists a sort of power which can make difficulties of life right that appear to be so insoluble.

I observed in Fátima that pilgrims did not pay much attention to the most of ^{the} issues I discussed in this thesis; I mean, the symbolism of the Catholic religious rituals, pilgrims did not care to "deconstruct" or "de-contextualise" meanings of these symbols. Rather, having been born into this culture and having seen people around them participating in these rituals, pilgrims were much more interested in the direct results, that is, practical effects and more crucially, personal experiences. The sick go to Lourdes to be cured but just a few pilgrims to whom I talked there on my way to Fátima, told me that they were not totally cured but seeing other worse people they learned to be thankful and felt much better than previously. Pilgrims go to Fátima in thanksgiving after having received a favour and feel relieved after paying one's debts back. This relief is the most important practical effect of their pilgrimage. They did not question (as the anthropologist did) petty issues such as why they had to kneel during the Elevation of the Host in the Mass, theological interpretations of the "Palavra de Deus" (Word of God; reading from the Gospels), or why that priest wore black and this one grey.

Fátima also provides a kind of "safe haven" to which people would escape from a materialistic, irreligious and secular world with lots of problems (health, financial, family, etc.). I will never forget the expression on an old Portuguese lady, whom I met in Porto, when asked about her opinion on Fátima, she told me "I am not interested in the church business very much but when I sit at the Capelinha in front of Our Lady, she looks at me and I look at her; there is no need for words as we understand each other without speaking. I don't feel such happiness and peace in any other place. There and only there in the Capelinha, in the presence of Our Lady that I'm able to forget all my troubles".

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