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Title of extract: **Spirit of Place in the Western World**

Name of Author: **Hughes, J.D.**

Title/Author of book/edition (if applicable): **The Power of Place: Sacred Ground in Natural and Human Environments. Swan, J.**

Name of Visual Creator or other acknowledgement (if applicable):

Journal details –title/Vol/Year (if applicable):

Publisher: **Gateway**

Pages scanned: **15 - 27**

Course of Study (Module name and number): **Sacred Geography AHAN7006**

Name of Designated Person

authorising scanning: *E.L. Harro*

Date authorised: 04.05.17.

Moodle/Powerpoint

1

Spirit of Place in the Western World

J. DONALD HUGHES

Spirit of place is the power that is manifested in sacred space. People who enter the space, and are aware of the spirit, experience it in various ways: often as healing, meaning, transformation, strength, or connectedness with nature; though sometimes as threat, risk, or ordeal.

That some places are different from others in very special respects was evident to our earliest human ancestors; indeed, many of our non-human evolutionary progenitors sensed it, too. To understand how early humans responded to place, one can remember the deep cave chambers of Altamira and Lascaux, where Cro-Magnon hunters let the shapes of the walls suggest the sacred animal forms they painted there, or the earlier cave of Basua where Neanderthals found a zoomorphic stalagmite that became the body of a bear in their shamanic ceremonies.¹ A cave has numinosity; it resembles the womb of Mother Earth, and the space inside is sacred. Symbolically, what is placed as a seed within, whether it be an enactment of hunting, a call for healing, the transformative ritual of initiation, or the burial of a dead relative in the fetal position, will come to birth or rebirth in the outer world. A cave is a place of power, a place of spirit.

In the oldest surviving epic poem, which can be traced back to ancient Sumeria almost 5,000 years ago, we are told that the hero Gilgamesh and his companion approached the protective wall around a sacred park of cedar trees with the intention of cutting them down. Groves of trees, especially large, old ones, summon the presence of spirit as much as caves do. The grove that Gilgamesh threatened was probably like another described by the Roman poet

Ovid: "Here stands a silent grove black with the shade of oaks; at the sight of it, anyone could say, 'There is a spirit here!'"² There was a spirit in Gilgamesh's grove, too, but for him at least it took the form of a huge monster named Humbaba, and Humbaba understandably wanted to kill the intruders. This tells us a lot about how the ancients looked at sacred space. It had to be respected; it had to be approached in the right way, because depending on how one came to it, its power could be either vitalizing or very dangerous. Now Gilgamesh did break down the gate to the sacred grove, after a terrible fight killed Humbaba, cut down the cedar trees, and carried them back to his city to build a palace for himself. But he had made a big mistake. Disaster after disaster befell him: the goddess Ishtar sent the Bull of Heaven against him, his companion was killed, and he was driven to the end of the earth in a fruitless search for immortality, all because he had not respected the spirit of place.³

The ancient Egyptians were conscious of the power of place. Their tombs and temples were located and oriented according to the geometry of the Earth and heavenly bodies, particularly the sun. They practiced geomancy, the lore of establishing buildings in relationship to the forms and energies of the earth. When the pharaoh Akhenaton established a new capital for Egypt dedicated to his monotheistic sun god Aton, he selected a place where an opening in the eastern cliffs would cradle the rising sun on certain important days. The cliff opening and sun formed the hieroglyphic sign for "sunrise" or "the horizon of the Aton." The temples themselves were built with a succession of open courtyards, and their halls were forests of columns in semi-darkness, deliberately designed to enhance the awe of a spirit-filled place.

The sacred chambers of Egyptian temples were often used for a form of dream healing called incubation. After careful preparation, a person would sleep in a sanctuary, and would receive a dream that gave instructions or granted healing directly. Once a woman who wanted a child and had been unable to conceive slept overnight in a temple. Imhotep, the god of that place, appeared to her in a dream, showed her a plant, and told her to find it, make a tea of its leaves, and give it to her husband to drink. She did so, and that very night became pregnant by him.⁴ The ability to grant significant dreams seems to be a virtually universal

characteristic of sacred places, and the ancients recorded countless cases of this phenomenon. The pharaoh himself (or, sometimes, herself), sought and received messages in this way. Thothmes IV, before he became pharaoh, slept near the Great Sphinx and received instructions in a dream to clear the sand from that monument, which was considered to contain the god Harmakhis. After he did so and became king, he erected a carved stone stela that records the dream.

The ancients generally considered the experience of a great dream as a sign that the place where it came was inhabited by spirit. The Hebrew patriarch Jacob slept with his head on a stone and saw a dream of a great ladder reaching from Earth to Heaven, with angels ascending and descending, and Yahweh standing above it. He heard God say, "By you and your seed shall all the families of the Earth be blessed." When he woke up, Jacob exclaimed, "Surely Yahweh is in this place; and I did not know it." He felt fear, and continued, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."⁵ He set up the stone as a pillar, and called the place Bethel, the House of God.

Mount Horeb, where Moses saw the burning bush, was declared to be a sacred place by the voice of Yahweh, which said, "Take your shoes off your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground."⁶ The Book of Exodus goes on to say it was no mortal who proclaimed that a particular location was sacred, but God's own voice. God also appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai. The existence of several holy places was an embarrassment in later Biblical times. From King Josiah on, the monarchy of Israel insisted that since God is One, God should have only one sanctuary, Mount Zion in Jerusalem. In most of the Bible, the words "holy place" refer to the Temple there. Bethel, Horeb, and Sinai, then, could not also be holy. Even though Mount Zion was undoubtedly a sacred place before it was consecrated for the Temple, the Jews believed that it was holy because it was sanctified by God's people at God's command, not because of any divine presence inherent in the spot. The dominant view in later Judaism was that God, the transcendent creator, should not be identified with his creation, even though it might serve as marvelous evidence of his power and benevolence.⁷

The Greeks and Romans, with their numerous gods,

were not troubled by such considerations. Their landscape was dotted with hundreds of places where spirit was manifested to them. Some of these had great antiquity. For example, mythology records that the site of Delphi was originally sacred to Mother Earth (*Ge* or *Gaia*), who gave dream oracles to people who came there and slept on the ground. Not surprisingly, Delphi was situated on the slopes of centrally located Mount Parnassos, the *omphalos*, or navel of the earth. It was also the lair of Python, Gaia's sacred snake. Afterwards, Apollo, the male god of the northern invaders, killed Python and took over the sanctuary. Then he began to give oracles of his own through the mouth of a priestess whom he possessed. Apollo's oracles were unclear and could often be interpreted in more than one way. But Mother Earth, by threatening to give clear prophetic dreams to everyone who slept on her breast anywhere, forced Apollo to compromise.⁸ Apollo granted Gaia the right to have an altar in every one of his temples, and she agreed to hide the meaning of dreams in symbolism. This myth indicates that when the Greeks came to Greece in the years after 2000 B.C. and partially displaced the people of the land, they began to worship both their own gods and the gods of the local folk at places where the earlier inhabitants had already found the presence of spirits. The sacred structures of the local people were oriented with reference to land forms, which they usually perceived as body forms because of their feminine mounds and hollows and masculine promontories. What the landforms represented on a visible, symbolic level was the indwelling spirit of place.⁹ Greek temple architecture fittingly represented the character of the locations chosen for it, its parts proportioned and related to express organic unity.

A sacred precinct, called *hieros temenos* in Greek and *templum* in Latin, was an area set aside and often walled to mark the boundary between holy and ordinary space. These usually contained groves of trees and springs or other water, though often mountaintops or other prominent features were so treated. Within them the environment was preserved in its natural state. The presence of spirit was often recognized in the quality of the environment itself, which called forth an inner response. As the Roman philosopher Seneca remarked, "If you come upon a grove of old trees that have lifted their crowns up above the common

height and shut out the light of the sky by the darkness of their interlacing boughs, you feel that there is a spirit in the place, so lofty is the wood, so lone the spot, so wondrous the thick unbroken shade."¹⁰ Of course, individual trees were inhabited by spirits called dryads, and naiads dwelt within streams, springs, and waterfalls. But it was always the place itself that was the temple, originally; the forest, not the structure erected to protect an image of the god. Worship was in the out-of-doors. It was illegal to disturb the place and the living things in it by hunting, fishing, polluting the water, tree-cutting, removing wood or leaves, plowing, sowing, pasturing domestic animals, setting fires, or erecting unauthorized buildings. Suppliants who sought protection in holy places were granted asylum and could not be killed. Punishments for violating these rules were severe and enforced by city governments.¹¹ However, the spirits themselves were thought to be perfectly capable of exacting their own revenge. When Erysichthon ignored the protests of a dryad and cut down her tree, he was stricken with hunger that could never be satisfied.¹² Hunger seems a particularly appropriate punishment for a crime against the land.

Some of the *temene* were therapeutic sanctuaries, where those suffering from illness would come to pray to Asclepius and other spirits of healing. Various forms of treatment, including dream incubation, were used to find cures.¹³ Modern experts on environmental medicine who have studied ancient healing sites such as Epidaurus and Kos have remarked that their climate and exposure are conducive to the treatment of respiratory and other ailments. Hippocrates, the founder of medicine, recognized that some localities had healing properties, especially for certain diseases, while others had bad effects. He advised the founders of cities to take these factors into account.¹⁴

The philosophers also had something to say about place (*topos* in Greek). Theophrastus maintained that every living thing has an *oikeios topos* or "favorable place," where all the energies and conditions are suitable to its flourishing. Aristotle made a similar point in regard to animals. The Greek word used here to characterize a harmonious relationship between an organism and its environment is *oikeios*, which shares a root with the modern word "ecology."¹⁵ Plato commented directly on the spirit

of place in his dialogue, the *Laws*. "Some localities have a more marked tendency than others to produce better or worse men, and we are not to legislate in the face of the facts," he remarks, implying that *nomos*, human culture, must be altered to accord with the natural environment in a particular *topos*. "Some places, I conceive, owe their propitious or ill-omened character to variations in wind and sunshine, others to the waters, and yet others to the products of the soil, which not only provide the body with better or worse sustenance, but equally affect the mind for good or ill." Plato continues, "Most markedly conspicuous of all, again, will be localities which are the homes of some supernatural influences, or the haunts of spirits who give a gracious or ungracious reception to successive bodies of settlers. A sagacious legislator will give these facts all the considerations a person can, and do the best to adapt legislation to them."¹⁶ Here Plato has the beginnings of a theory for geomancy. But he went even further. Following Pythagoras, he extended the idea of a spirit inhabiting a place to the entire universe, which he envisioned as a living body inhabited by a world soul in vast organic unity. In this view every place forms a meaningful part of the whole, although some have more vital functions than others. Plutarch adds that certain parts of the earth's surface (the ones least inhabited by human beings) are essential to the health and vitality of the rest.¹⁷ Thus respected philosophers would agree that proper relationship with spirit of place is necessary to the well-being of the whole world.

The advent of Christianity as the dominant religion of the Western world changed the way in which spirit of place was conceived. Like Judaism, from which it sprang, Christianity was anxious that its followers not confuse creation with the Creator. Paul the Apostle taught that the natural world had fallen into sin along with mankind and needed to be redeemed by the saving work of Christ.¹⁸ John urged Christians not "to love the world or the things in the world."¹⁹ By "world," he meant non-Christian society, but many in the Church took it to mean the created earth. And if the whole creation is fallen, what happens to spirit of place? It is true that the New Testament does not teach that nature is evil, but that even in its fallen state it exhibits the power and deity of God. Within the first few centuries, however, many Christians became convinced that the natural world

was the province of the devil. Although that idea is not really orthodox, since the sacraments show natural creation as a vehicle of the grace of God, the conception of the world in the power of darkness was an image that helped shape the imagination of medieval European Christianity. Bishop Synesius of Cyrene, for example, prayed to be released from "the demon of earth, the demon of matter, . . . who stands athwart the ascending path."²⁰

In spite of this attitude, veneration of place emerged very soon in popular Christian piety. Jesus himself had loved nature, and had gone to special places to meditate and speak to his heavenly Father.²¹ Once when the spirit of a place was violated, he became very angry, and drove the money-changers from the Temple that was intended to be a house of prayer for all people.²² The places associated with his life became sacred and were occupied by churches and monasteries: Bethlehem, the place of his baptism in the Jordan, the Mount of the Beatitudes, the Mount of Transfiguration, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Golgotha or Calvary, the Holy Sepulcher. The actual locations had been forgotten, usually, so the places chosen for honor were ones recommended by their ambience. Actually, several of those just mentioned were located by Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, during her visit to the Holy Land at an advanced age in the early fourth century A.D. Most of them were founded on spots formerly occupied by classical sanctuaries.²³ In the Christian East, Byzantine architecture developed for churches was designed to present an inner space in which the worshipper was surrounded by sacred art and enveloped in a spiritual atmosphere.

As for those places where pre-Christian people had revered the spirit of place, they were to be destroyed. The oak of the god Thor at Geismar, cut down by St. Boniface,²⁴ and the Grove of Irminsul or Yggdrasil, the universal Tree, the most sacred place of the Saxons, leveled at the order of Charlemagne,²⁵ are well-known examples. The Christian Roman emperors of the late third and early fourth centuries A.D. commanded the destruction of all classical temples that had not already been adapted to other uses.²⁶ The same asylum for fugitives once offered in classical *temene* was later granted in churches. But it is also interesting that Christians considered it an act of merit to establish churches

on the sites of classical sanctuaries. For church leaders, this was both a sign of Christian victory over evil powers and a way of attracting devotion away from paganism to the Church. Pope Gregory I (c. 601 A.D.) advised missionaries to select such sites for consecration, and also to Christianize the holidays and ceremonies that had been formerly celebrated in them.²⁷ For many people, such adaptation was a sign of continuity, since they could continue to visit the places where they had always found spirit, and conduct practices that were very much the same.

During Medieval times, numerous sacred sites were the scene of Christian devotion. Romanesque and Gothic architecture, which overwhelms the worshipper with visible evidence of the sacred, grew into forms that reflect the groves of trees that sheltered earlier sanctuaries. Cathedrals and abbeys were often built in places of great significance in pre-Christian antiquity. For example, the immense abbey church at Glastonbury in England was erected in a spot where there is evidence of there having been a center for Celtic religious ceremonies long before the first small monastery was established.²⁸ And the Arthurian legends that cluster around Glastonbury have pre-Christian elements in them that have resisted baptism into the Church. The sanctuaries of churches sometimes served as places for dream incubation in much the same way that classical temples had before them. Saints appeared to pious Christians in waking visions in these sanctuaries just as the old gods had done. Locations where visions were seen, healings occurred, or relics of the saints discovered became the goals of pilgrimages. Indeed, pilgrimages to sacred places became a major activity of the Middle Ages. Thousands made the journey to Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain, returning with scallop shells as a physical sign of their visit to the sacred spot.²⁹ The same customs were taken by colonists to the New World. El Santuario de Chimayo, a wonderful healing spot in New Mexico, is a Spanish church that occupies the sacred ground of a Native American medicine place, and uses the same soil for cures. This is only one example of thousands of Indian sacred places that were appropriated in the Americas.

Earlier, in the Mediterranean area, a series of terrible wars, the Crusades, were fought for possession of the eastern holy places and their relics. The conduct of the

crusaders when they attained the objects of their military pilgrimages was hardly appropriate for sacred space. There was quarreling over relics, and a chronicler of the times says that during the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the crusaders slaughtered their enemies in the holy city, and blood splashed up to the knees and bridles of their horses.³⁰

Such brief desecrations of sacred space could be repaired, and the churches reconsecrated and sweetened with incense. The real danger to the concept of spirit of place in the dawn of the modern world lay in its denial by a series of worldviews that became extremely powerful. Protestantism affirmed spirit, but denied its connection with place, reasserting God's transcendence in terms that separated spirit from all physical creation, and admitted the possibility of God's immanence only in the human soul, and for very strict theologians perhaps not even there. Pilgrimages and veneration of relics seemed Popish delusions. But Protestants could not deny their own experience of spirit of place. There were soon Protestant shrines, and they multiplied rapidly, as anyone who has visited Martin Luther's Erfurt and Wittenberg or John Wesley's Epworth and Oxford knows. And Protestants have located their own "Garden Tomb" in Jerusalem, which is visited regularly by tourists to the Holy Land, though its historicity is a matter for scholarly debate.³¹ Still, visitors say there is a feeling in that place that is missing in some other sights on the tour.

The modern West generally has taken a different attitude. It does not deny place, but it denies that place has any spirit. Both capitalism and Marxism define land and what it contains as economic resources subject to use, and regard spirit as fantasy. In the modern world, nationalism places the claims of the state above those of the church, and has often demonstrated it by seizing church land, closing churches and monasteries, and effectively denying that sacred spaces as defined by the church are entitled to any respect other than that which the state may, for its own reasons, decide to give it. In America, the separation of church and state has shielded churches and synagogues to some extent, but eminent domain can easily turn a sanctuary into a freeway entrance. American Indian sacred places were officially denied protection until the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978.³² That law put

the rights of sacred land in the books, but the experience of litigation has shown that it is ineffective in preventing actual invasions and destruction of places where American Indians find spirit manifest to them. The result is that the destruction of Native American holy places, once done openly and deliberately, now takes place through the construction of dams, roads, and recreational areas. Of course, nationalism has its own shrines. Every Soviet city has its monuments to Lenin and the Great Patriotic War, often designed to enhance the feeling of space set aside, with walls and plantings and the eternal flame. We have our Statue of Liberty portraying an ancient goddess, the Lincoln Memorial and Supreme Court building recreating Roman temples, and the National Archives where one approaches the Constitution and Declaration of Independence as holy relics. There is a spirit in these places, too, and though the modern mind might hold that their location is arbitrary, it is not. It is established by historical precedent and the experience of the people who go there. When spirit grows in a place, people love and honor that place. Still, it could be said that it would take a very special person to go to Washington to have dreams or experience healing.

On the other hand, there are places set aside by the state to which we very well might want to go, to which a Native American might want to go, for those purposes. These are the national parks and wilderness areas. While no law says they are sacred, they were created in natural areas that often embody the spirit of place in particularly evident ways. One can hardly look at Yosemite's soaring domes and plunging waterfalls without feeling one is in a sacred place, nor spend time among Yellowstone's geysers without sensing the emergence of the chthonic spirit. Most of the vocal exponents of conservation who succeeded in getting the legislation passed to create the first public reservations for nature protection had a sense of the spirit of place in these special localities. John Muir certainly did. He spoke of mountains and meadows as places of healing, renewal, and worship. And when Hetch Hetchy—a valley like a miniature of the more famous Yosemite, located in the same national park and one of the places Muir honored most—was threatened with flooding to become a reservoir for San Francisco, he stated the principle of its sacredness unequivocally: "These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature,

and instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar. Dam Hetch Hetchy! As well dam for water-tanks the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man."³³ John Muir, George Catlin, Henry Thoreau, John Wesley Powell, Stephen Mather, Arthur Carhart, Aldo Leopold, Bob Marshall: none of these men who urged the preservation of special places in nature was conventionally religious, but they became the voices of a civic recognition of the spirit of place that saved from despoliation an unmatched series of temples made without hands. Every one of them, by the way, would have been hurt and angered to see the destructive fires that blackened the Yellowstone in the summer of 1988.³⁴ Wildfire is natural, but it is not ecological wisdom to put out every lightning fire for seventy years and then to expect uncontrolled fire to behave normally. But to return to our theme, we have in the parks and in the wilderness a last opportunity to experience the unalloyed spirit of place and to seek to know just what it is.

That is really what we are challenged to do today: to find the places where we connect with the larger cosmos, to keep them free of the impedimenta that would block access to the spirit, and to open ourselves to the values that come from those places. When place is respected and treated properly, spirit is never used up; on the contrary, it becomes stronger. And the more one studies the past experience of sacred place in human history, the more one is impressed by the variety of values that can emerge from it. It is as if this vast organism in which we live, Gaia, the biosphere and indeed the entirety of planet earth,³⁵ has a multitude of organs, of connections and nodes, no two exactly the same, and as we move among them, we give and receive, and subtract from her life or enhance it according to our attitude and our sensitivity.³⁶ The place where natural ecosystems are intact and functioning in the full spectrum of their beauty is the place where spirit is most manifest.

Notes

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2. Ovid. *Fasti* 3. 295-296.
3. N. K. Sandars, transl. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1972.
4. G. Foucart, "Dreams and Sleep: Egyptian," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, vol. 5, p. 35.
5. Genesis 28:11-22.
6. Exodus 2:5.
7. For more discussion of this point and others in this article, see J. Donald Hughes and Jim Swan. "How Much of the Earth is Sacred Space?" *Environmental Review* 10 (Winter, 1986): 247-259.
8. H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell. *The Delphic Oracle*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956, pp. 4-5.
9. See Vincent Scully. *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.
10. Seneca. *Epistles* 4. 12. 3.
11. See J. Donald Hughes. "Sacred Groves: The Gods, Forest Protection, and Sustained Yield in the Ancient World," in *History of Sustained-Yield Forestry: A Symposium*, edited by Harold K. Steen. Durham, NC: Forest History Society, 1984, pp. 331-343.
12. Ovid. *Metamorphoses* 8. 738-878.
13. C. A. Meier. *Ancient Incubation and Modern Psychotherapy*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967.
14. Hippocrates. *Airs, Waters, Places*.
15. See J. Donald Hughes. "Theophrastus as Ecologist," *Environmental Review* 9 (Winter, 1985): 296-306.
16. Plato. *Laws* 5. 747D-E.
17. Plutarch. "Concerning the Face Which Appears in the Orb of the Moon," *Moralia* 938D-E.
18. Romans 8:19-23.
19. I John 2:15.
20. Synesius of Cyrene. *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*, translated by A. Fitzgerald, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1930). Hymn IV, pp. 240 ff.
21. Mark 6:46.
22. Mark 11:15-17; Matthew 20:12-13.
23. A. H. M. Jones. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. New York: Collier Books, 1962, pp. 177-178.
24. Willibald. "Life of St. Boniface," in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, edited by C. H. Talbot. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954, pp. 45-46.
25. Friedrich Heer. *Charlemagne and His World*. New York: Macmillan, 1975, p. 123.
26. John Bagnell Bury. *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*. London: Macmillan, 1923, vol. 1, pp. 369-377.

27. Bede. *A History of the English Church and People* 1. 30. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1955, pp. 86-87.
28. Geoffrey Ashe. *King Arthur's Avalon: The Story of Glastonbury*. New York: Dutton, 1958, pp. 13-41.
29. Horton Davies. *Holy Days and Holidays: The Medieval Pilgrimage to Compostela*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1982, pp. 219-221. The site of Compostela was hallowed as a pagan family tomb in pre-Christian times: see Marilyn Stokstad *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of Great Pilgrimages*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978, p. 6.
30. So says Raymond D'Aguilers, who was there, in his *Historia Francorum qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*. See August Charles Krey. *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1921, p. 261. Fulcher of Chartres says "If you had been there, your feet would have been stained to the ankles in the blood of the slain." Foucher de Chartres, *Chronicle of the First Crusade*, translated by Martha Evelyn McGinty. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, p. 122.
31. Jack Finegan. *Light from the Ancient Past: The Archeological Background of the Hebrew-Christian Religion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969, vol. 2, p. 319.
32. Public Law 95-341, Senate Joint Resolution 102, 42 U. S. C. par. 1996, August 11, 1978. See Robert S. Michaelsen, "The Significance of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52 (No. 1, 1984): 93-115.
33. Edwin Way Teale, ed. *The Wilderness World of John Muir*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954, p. 320.
34. Michael Milstein. "The Long, Hot Summer," *National Parks* 62 (November/December 1988): 26-27, 50.
35. James E. Lovelock. *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
36. See Gary Snyder. "Good, Wild, Sacred," *The CoEvolution Quarterly* (Fall, 1983): 8-17.