6 Cf. M. de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, p. 25 (where 'la chrétienté brisée en morceaux' is translated as 'tattered Christendom'); and Leszek Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans Eglise. La conscience religieuse et le lien confessionel au XVIIe siècle*, tr. from Polish by A. Posner (1965; Paris: Gallimard, 1969), discussed by Certeau in *L'absent de l'histoire* (n.p.: Mame, 1973), pp. 109-14.
7 Cf. *Le christianisme éclaté*, pp. 56-7.
8 Cf. e.g. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 165-76 (the chapter entitled 'Reading as Poaching').
9 *Le christianisme éclaté*, p. 24.
10 The OED gives among others the following definitions of 'articulation': 'The action or process of joining ...; a mode of jointing', and 'The production or formation of speech sounds, words, etc.; articulate utterance or expression...'.
11 *Le christianisme éclaté*, pp. 68-71.
12 See *The Writing of History*, pp. 17-113.
13 See *FC* 293-304. Certeau begins this part of his discussion by evoking the importance of dreams as such (as well as other 'voices' and 'visions') within biblical narratives themselves.
14 *Le christianisme éclaté*, p. 51.
15 Cf. *Le christianisme éclaté*, pp. 39–40.
16 See *FC* 112, 213.
17 Cf. *FC* 290-1.
18 Le christianisme éclaté, p. 66.
19 For Certeau's founding analyses of 'strategies' and 'tactics', see *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pp. 34–9.
20 Ibid., p. 37 (tr. mod.).
21 Cf. Jean-Louis Schlegel, *Religions à la carte*, pp. 128–9.
22 Cf. *The Mystic Fable*, p. 289, where Certeau cites Hadewijch of Anvers on 'the dark path, untraced, unmarked, all inner'.

Walking in the Pilgrim City

Frederick Christian Bauerschmidt

> "Therefore Jesus also suffered outside the city gate in order to sanctify the people by his own blood. Let us then go to him outside the camp and bear the abuse he endured. For here we have no lasting city, but we are looking for the city that is to come"
>
> (Heb. 13:1 2–14).

I

Blessed and cursed by a peculiar "hopelessness," Christians claim fellowship with Christ who suffered outside the city gate, and are called to follow him into that wilderness beyond the camp, that region other than the earthly *civitas*, from which we might discern *another* city. This other city shows the structures of this world, which seem so solid and so real, to be afflicted with an ephemeral quality, a kind of unreality, so as to make them a source of anxiety rather than a resting place for our restless hearts (Lk. 12: 12–34.). And so we exist in a state of perpetual pilgrimage to our true *patria*, following "Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith, who for the sake of the joy that was set before him endured the cross, disregarding its shame, and has taken his seat at the right hand of the throne of God" (Heb. 12:2).

Dwelling "outside the camp" need not entail a removal to a place apart. Christianity was from its earliest days a predominantly urban phenomenon, enacting its peculiarly homeless form of existence within the institutional confines of the late ancient city.[1] Though there have been within Christianity from its earliest days "monastic" elements which withdrew to uninhabited places, for the vast majority of Christians in the first four centuries physical withdrawal from the city was not an option, nor was it held up as an ideal. Living "outside the camp" was clearly something which could be done in the midst of the city. At the same time, the Gospel call to homelessness is not a purely internalised indifference to this life, nor an invisible kind of pious detachment. When Paul speaks of those "who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:4), he is not contrasting a "spiritualized" Gospel, which asks only for faith, to a "carnal" Law, which demands specific, visible actions. The Gospel, no less than the Law, requires actions, gestures, and rituals (e.g. the collection for the poor in Jerusalem, baptism, faithful participation in the eucharist).[2] What is called for are actual, concrete social practices by which the community of the Church is manifested as "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people." That which marks out the Church as a distinctive community of people, a "nation," must be visible so it may "proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light" (1 Peter 2:9).

II

How this homelessness could be something other than physical withdrawal or internalized otherworldliness is illuminated by Michel de Certeau's analysis in *The Practice of Everyday Life* of the logic of oppositional practices, and in particular the way in which "places" (*lieux*)— territories as defined by official boundaries and discourses—are "practised" by their inhabitants so as to have overlaid upon them a multitude of "spaces" (*espaces*). "A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables.... In short, *space is a practised place.* Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers."[3] Every place is in fact a palimpsest of spaces, which are no less real, no less visible, than the place upon which they are enacted. Such a conception of the relationship of space and place can help us see the ways in which the Church can be a distinct, visible community (a genuine space) without having to stake a claim to a particular territory, whether this be a theocratic state or a "sectarian" enclave. At the same time, we must recognize that the distinction between place and space should not be reified in the attempt to describe the Church entirely in terms of space, as an "event" without enduring institutions or structures of authority. The Church's homelessness is always enacted as the ambivalence of place and space.

III

One can see some of this ambivalence in the attitude of Jesus and the early Christians toward the Temple in Jerusalem.[4] Jesus is "greater" than the Temple (Mt. 12:6) and warns his disciples not to be impressed with its buildings, foretelling their destruction (Mt. 24:2). Speaking to the Samaritan woman, he relativizes the historic dispute between Jews and Samaritans by announcing the presence of that day "when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. . . [but] the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth" (Jn. 4:20–24). At the same time, he pays the Temple tax (Mt. 17:25) and speaks of the Temple as God's house, which is defiled by the presence within it of money-changers and which Jesus "cleanses" (Mt. 21:12–13; Jn. 2:14–17). The Acts of the Apostles depicts the disciples continuing to worship in the Jerusalem Temple, even after the resurrection of Jesus (Acts 2:46), yet Stephen seemingly denounces the Temple (Acts 7:47–50) and, in the narrative of the book of Acts as a whole, Jerusalem and its Temple serve primarily as a point of dispersion—not a place in which to dwell but a place to leave so as to witness to the Gospel. It is the community of disciples which is to be God's Temple (1 Cor. 3:16; 2 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21–22), a dwelling place for God as visible as the Temple in Jerusalem, but nomadic, on pilgrimage (1 Pet. 2:11). And the final vision of John the Divine is of a heavenly city which contains no temple, but simply the multitude who worship before the Lamb which was slain yet lives (Rev. 21 :22).

It is tempting to see Jesus and his followers as having abandoned entirely the "strategic" Jewish symbolic world—with its clearly delineated and painfully longed for Land, its ethnically defined people, its laws which precisely defined pure and impure, inside and outside, and its Temple which contained the Divine Presence and located the centre of the cosmos[5]—in favour of a new, "tactical" sense of peoplehood. Just as Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the reading of the Letter to the Hebrews, "were strangers and foreigners on the earth" who were "seeking a homeland" and who desired "a better country, that is, a heavenly one"

(Heb. 11: 13–16), so too the new people of God are a people on perpetual pilgrimage to the heavenly *patria*. This decentering of any sense of place onto an eternal homeland makes impossible any clear delineation of sacred and profane places. The holiness of the new people of God can no longer be understood as a ritual purity defined by such dichotomies as circumcised versus uncircumcised. In the new community of Jews and Gentiles, God's holiness is manifest in the mixture of pure and impure, inside and outside.

And yet, the sacred geography of Israel is not simply left behind, but continues to serve Christians both as a source of images and metaphors, and as a set of specific historical and geographical points which provide the stage upon which the Christian drama is enacted. The permanent place of "carnal" Israel in God's economy, which Paul argues for in Romans 9–11, guarantees the abiding significance of Law and Land. And their significance is not simply negative. They are not simply "types" of spiritual realities, but concrete markers which are necessary for telling the story of Jesus. Among the varied early Christian responses to the *realia* of Temple, Land, Torah, and ethnicity we find not only a negative function (the "old" against which the "new" is defined) nor a spiritualisation (e.g. the Letter to the Hebrews, in which the "sanctuary made by human hands," is "a mere copy of the true one," [9:24], that is, heaven), but also a positive concern for the *realia* in all their material particularity. This concern grew from the necessity of narrating the life of an historical individual, Jesus of Nazareth.[6] The story of Jesus is irrevocably tied to the "soil" of the Land of promise and therefore to the people of the promise.

At the same time, the story of Jesus maps onto the land of Canaan, and the world as a whole, a new sacred geography, no longer determined by the Temple in Jerusalem, but by the nomadic tent of presence which is his body—both his human body (the temple that shall be raised in three days [Jn. 2:21]) and his ecclesial body (the spiritual dwelling of living stones [1 Pt. 2:5]). The person of Christ, not the Land, is the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, and, as W. D. Davies notes, this "personalization of the fulfilment of the promise 'in Christ' demanded the deterritorialization of the promise."[7] The Spirit-filled community, dispersed throughout the world, enacting again the story of Jesus in a multitude of places, telling his story in alien tongues, creates sacred "spaces" in which the land of promise appears not as "this soil" but as "this people." As W. Janzen puts it, "A certain static land theology has been broken open in such a way as to designate all places on the map as potentially holy, contingent on God's election through the Spirit."[8]

IV

The eschatological character of Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God is not primarily found in its "future oriented" prediction of "the end of the world" (in the sense of the end of time and space), but in its bringing to an end a particular "world order."[9] In declaring himself lord of the Sabbath (Mt. 12:8, Lk. 6:5), in his freedom with regard to purity codes (Mk. 1 :23), in his willingness to come into contact with the defiled and the defiling (Lk. 8:43–48) and those persons excluded from the people of Israel (Mt. 15:22–28, Jn. 4:5–42), Jesus undermines an entire symbolic order of purity and defilement which constitutes the "world" of first-century Judaism. This symbolic world order, formed by the matrix of Temple, Land, Torah, and ethnicity, is called into question by Jesus' proclamation of the immediacy of God's rule in his person, and the manifestation of that reality in his preaching, his healings, his power over demons and nature, his forgiving of sins, and his table fellowship with outcasts. For the earliest Christian communities, Jesus' death and resurrection, along with the giving of the Spirit and the establishment of a new community of Jews and Gentiles, constitute the eschatological overturning of the world defined by Temple, Land, Torah, and ethnicity.

This is not, however, to deny the temporal dimension of this eschatological overturning, for the dimension of time is crucial to the articulation of the Church's movement, its pilgrimage, and in this sense it is "future oriented." One might use Certeau's image of the "trajectory" to capture a movement which is both spatial and temporal, noting his warning that this image can mislead, since a trajectory can be plotted and taken in at a glance (*PEL*, 35). The trajectory plotted by Christian eschatological language, however, can never be captured by such a gaze because it is always directed toward an end point and an end time which is "other." The heavenly Jerusalem does not exist in some place which can be plotted on a map; the eschaton does not arrive as the final moment in a succession of moments. Christian eschatology signals the overturning of any privileged place or time, for the heavenly Jerusalem and the eternal Sabbath are already given as gift at the outset; it is a trajectory in which every place is haunted by the presence of the Kingdom and every moment is the parousia. Moving in such a trajectory, yearning is fulfilment and homelessness is arrival, folly is wisdom and the word of the Cross is the word of life. The world is always ending because God's future has colonized the present.

V

In the eschatological overturning a new world is enacted within the old through the instantiation of a new set of social relations, a new narrative (and a new reading of an old narrative), a new set of ritual gestures. When Paul writes that "if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!" (2 Cor. 5: 17) he indicates the radical change which is effected by initiation into the Christian community. To be "in Christ" is to live within this particular set of relations, to pass through these rituals, to hear and tell these stories so as to live in a new world.[10] As Gregory of Nyssa put it, "The establishment of the Church is a re-creation of the world."[11] Yet it is a creation which, in terms of human activity, takes the form not of a *making* but of a *using*. It is through a particular mode of use or "consumption" of the world that the Church produces a new world. This is a genuine *poiesis*, but one that does not operate within its own place (see *PEL*, xii, 30–34). This is why the new *aeon* does not follow upon the completion of the old, but is performed concurrently with it. Christians are *already* set free "from the present evil age" (Gal. 1:4) and "have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come" (Heb. 6:5). Spoken as a wisdom which is "not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age" (1 Cor. 2:6), the Gospel of Jesus, the crucified Messiah, opens the space of the new *aeon* within the interstices of the old, like a wound inflicted upon the wisdom of the world, an alien intrusion in the midst of normalcy.

This new *aeon* is not simply a permanent possibility within human history, but has its moment of historical genesis in Jesus's proclamation of the Kingdom. He effects what Certeau calls the "founding rupture" which initiates a new social practice.[12] The new *aeon* is not simply a higher, "spiritual" reality which hovers above the old *aeon*, but it intrudes at a particular moment, a *kairos*, to transform the old *aeon*. In sketching the logic of a tactical diversion, Certeau presents a sequence of events in which, "given a visible establishment of forces (I) and an invisible fund of memories (II), a punctual act of memory (III) produces visible effects in the established order (IV)." He then notes that "The goal of the series is thus an operation that transforms the visible organization. But this change requires the invisible resources of a time which obeys other laws and which, taking it by surprise, steals something from the distribution owning the space"(*PEL*, 84–85). Using this very formal (perhaps too formal) *schema* to think about Jesus and the Church, we might say that Jesus is that "punctual act of memory" which forms the hinge between the *aeons*, gathering up the story of Israel in his person to transform it through cross and tomb and pentecostal fire into a new story, the story of the "Israel of

God," that "new creation" which is the community of Jew and Gentile (Gal. 6:15– 16), a "visible effect in the established order." And in the Eucharistic *anamnesis* this community re-presents to God the story of God's people, transformed in the *kairos* of Christ's suffering, death, and resurrection. By this ecclesial re-presentation God effects a visible change in the established order through the act of eucharistic "consumption." The elements of bread and wine are no longer what the established order says they are—commodities to be given or withheld—but through the eucharistic *poiesis* they become God's gift of the new *aeon* inaugurated in the person of Christ and his offering of himself.

VI

The Church is founded by a divine speech-act. The very word *ekklesia* finds its root in *kaleo*, "to call." Through this act of calling new circuits of passage are opened up within the place of the world. Just as God's speech calls forth the first creation from nothingness, so the Word made flesh utters the new creation in giving birth on the cross to the redeemed community and what Gerhard Lohfink calls its distinctive "praxis of 'togetherness'."[13] Tracing the trajectory established by Christ, the Church opens passages through the wall separating Jew and Gentile (Eph. 2: 14), and boundaries between social classes become frontiers of encounter through the eucharistic-economic sharing at the Lord's table.[14] Virgins and consecrated widows blur the line between *oikos* and *polis*, creating new and ambiguous female spaces of sacred power.[15] The graves of the martyrs are no longer the graves of transgressors—defiled places for the excluded dead—but are venerated as holy sites. For Christians, this new sacred geography, brought about by the Word uttered by the Father, is the city to which they owe their allegiance, their true *patria* for which they long and in which they already dwell in hope.

Responding to the pagan writer Celsus' criticism of Christians for their refusal to serve in public office for the good of the city, Origen wrote, "But we know of the existence in each city of another sort of country, created by the Logos of God."[16] This "other country" is not defined by walls or ethnic identity or social contract, but by the unruly Logos of God, who gives to his disciples a heavenly *politeuma* (Phil. 3:20) which both qualifies their loyalty to any earthly order, and calls forth eccentric acts of hospitality, so that "every foreign country is their fatherland and every fatherland is a foreign country."[17] By its very quality as utterance, "the word of God is not chained" (2 Tim. 2:9); it is not bound by the logic of place. Indeed, it is "living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing until it divides soul from spirit, joints from marrow" (Heb 4: 12). It effects a "cut" in proprietary systems;[18] it ushers in the moment of *kairos*.

VII

The profoundly subversive character of the Logos can be seen in the accusations of sedition lodged against early Christians. This subversion is already seen in the threat posed to the purity of Israel by this "Israel of God," which had hopelessly polluted itself through its table fellowship with the uncircumcised. But it becomes no less subversive as Christianity moves out of its original Jewish setting and into the pagan world of the empire. Celsus characterised Jesus' saying, "It is impossible for the same man to serve several masters" as "a rebellious utterance"[19] because it drew people away from the acts of piety towards the gods which were the *religio* that bound the city together. Such charges, often put in terms of Christian *odium humani generis* can be found in numerous pagan writers.[20] These writers recognized that the city is not so much a collection of buildings as it is an ideological project; it is a complex matrix of signification which forms the world of its inhabitants. The ancient concern for civic piety was an attempt to guarantee the well being of the city as an institution of meaning, and in this sense it was as much "religious" and it was "political."[21] The unruly secondary production of the Christians' "consumption" of the city, their stubborn insistence on "using" the earthly city but not "enjoying" it,[22] posed a threat to the official production of the matrix of meaning.

The policing of such a matrix of meaning is not and can never be total. Certeau notes, "Things *extra* and *other* (details and excesses coming from elsewhere) insert themselves into the accepted framework, the imposed order. One thus has the very relationship between spatial practices and the constructed order. The surface of this order is everywhere punched and torn open by ellipses, drifts, and leaks of meaning: it is a sieve-order" (*PEL*, 107). In other words, the world can be contested not simply by seeking to replace it with another world order, but by exploiting the fissures which inhere in it, by seeking not control but faithful perseverance, by practicing within the pagan city an *other* city, in which the holy sites are not the temples of the gods but the graves of martyrs. A distinctive Christian practice carves out within the place of the city a new space.

Such contestation of space need not be dramatic. The *Epistle to Diognetus* notes that "the distinction between Christians and other men is neither in country nor in language nor customs. For they do not dwell in cities in some place of their own, nor do they use any strange variety of dialect, nor practice an extraordinary kind of life." Yet the author goes on to note that while Christians follow local customs in such things as dress and food, they also display the distinctive characteristics of "the constitution of their own citizenship [*politeias*]." The Christians do the same kinds of things as their neighbours, but differently: they marry and bear children, but they do not practice infanticide; they share their meals, but not their wives.[23] Through the practice of such deviations, the Christians do not simply establish and preserve their own enclave of purity, but they disperse themselves throughout the body politic so as to animate it with a new spirit.[24]

In this dispersion, this diaspora, the Church is, like its founder, without any place to lay its head. It walks. And, as Certeau notes, "the long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them (it can take place only within them) nor in conformity with them (it does not receive its identity from them). It creates shadows and ambiguities within them" (*PEL*, 101). Being "in Christ," membership in the *ekklesia*, is participation in his long poem of walking. Hans Urs von Balthasar writes,

> Christ himself was "in motion": he was not at home anywhere on earth, he was a wandering rabbi without a home, without the den of the foxes or the nest of the bird, without a cushion to rest his head, without ever having the prospect of returning to his own home. Nor was his food a solid, supratemporal truth-system, but the will of the Father at each instant.... There exists no other form of"abiding" here than that of walking: "Anyone who says that he abides in him, must himself walk in the way that he walked" (1 Jn. 2:6).[25]

VIII

But is this true? Does the Church in fact "walk," or has it become itself a "place," defined not by a practice effected within the place of the other, but by buildings and structures and institutions? Has there been a "fall" of the Church from its early "tactical" mode of life into the "strategic" mode of Christendom? Have Christians lost their sense of homelessness?

To a certain extent, one must answer "yes" to all of these questions. At the twilight of the ancient world, Christianity was at first legalized and then made the official religion of the empire. Bishops came to take on the trappings of imperial officials; basilicas, formerly places of law and commerce, became places of ecclesiastical pageantry; Sunday became an official holiday, no longer a moment of time "poached" from the pagan work week. Christians came to be at home in the world. And even with the gradual undoing of the world of Christendom, that sense of being at home persists. There is no need to resist the city, for it is *our* city, its values are *our* values, its peace is *our* peace.

However, to this affirmation one must add a series of qualifications. What takes place in the fourth century is not an absolute shift; a sense of homelessness persists down through the centuries. One can find in the fourth century a figure like Eusebius, who was a kind of cheerleader for imperial Christianity, but one also finds a figure like Augustine, one of the most profoundly "homeless" Christians of all time. One also finds a burgeoning of monasticism: "the desert was made a city by monks, who left their own people and registered themselves for citizenship in the heavens."[26] Though the roots of monasticism are extremely complex, and it was not simply a reaction against a Church too at home in the world, there is clearly an element of truth in Georges Florovsky's claim that "As in the pagan Empire the Church herself was a kind of 'Resistance Movement,' *Monasticism was a permanent 'Resistance Movement' in the Christian Society*."[27] Particularly in the fourth and fifth centuries monasticism provided a kind of "wild" element in the Church, effecting tactical deviations within what was increasingly becoming an ecclesiastical place.

The fact that this was accomplished through an actual physical withdrawal into the wilderness and the creation of monastic institutions should make us cautious about reifying what was said above about distinctions between place and space. Certeau's attempt to sketch the logic of everyday practices is immensely useful for showing how acts of resistance to the dominant order do not depend on taking control of that order for their success. And as I have tried to show, it is very helpful in trying to understand certain aspects of Christian eschatological existence and the perpetual homelessness of Christians. But, perhaps unintentionally, Certeau so valorizes tactical practices that any attempt by a people to actually gain a place of their own, an island of relative stability and security, can seem almost a betrayal. But perhaps there is a need—at least in certain situations—for Christian places: institutions and structures which have a kind of permanence and order, which occupy a place that is in some sense their own. Christians need places precisely for *the sake of* resistance.

Johann-Baptist Metz asks whether, in comparison with Judaism, the tendency toward interiorization and spiritualization which Christianity has displayed, at least from the time of Paul, has caused it to "manifest historically a shattering deficit of political resistance, and an extreme historical surplus of political accommodation and obedience?" Is it merely an historical accident that the history of Judaism has more consistently been one of persecution than that of Christianity, or does it have something to do with the resistance offered to the proprietary powers by the resolute particularity of Judaism: *this* law, *this* land?[28] Perhaps a danger of too "tactical" an account of Christianity is the presumption that the Gospel can flourish under *any* regime, in *any* land. Perhaps the Church needs to recognized that sometimes it must "withdraw to deserted places and pray" (Lk. 5: 16), that one must sometimes heed the call, "Come out of her, my people" (Rev. 18:14; cf. 2 Cor. 6:17), that sometimes the very structures that define a place must be changed, or else that place must be abandoned. Likewise, a sacred place—a Cathedral, a shrine, a monastery, a hospice, a homeless shelter, a soup kitchen, even a Vatican embassy—can be a locus of resistance to those forces which oppose the Gospel.

IX

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jesuit missionaries in the Province of Paraguay and the Guaraní people with whom they worked undertook a remarkable experiment in establishing a Christian place: the so-called "Jesuit Reductions." These were towns and cities into which the Jesuits had gathered the semi-nomadic Guaraní, both to make the task of evangelization easier and to protect them from the *Paulistas*, slave traders from São Paulo, and the *encomenderos*, the colonials in charge of day labour who treated the Indians as virtual slaves. The Reductions at their height were known as the Guaraní Republic and consisted of thirty cities, which numbered between two and four thousand Guaraní inhabitants, under the direction of two or three Jesuits. In the face of considerable pressure from colonial expansion, the Reductions persisted, and at times even flourished, for 160 years. Their economic base was a system of communal farming which by all reports was highly successful, and the cities became centres of culture and education. The death knell for the Reductions was sounded in 1750 by a treaty between Spain and Portugal which gave some of the land on which the cities stood to Portugal and required the Jesuits and the Guaraní to move to Spanish territory. The final blow came in 1767, when the Jesuit order was expelled from Spain and her colonies. The Reductions did not last long without their Jesuit supervisors.[29]

In many ways the Reductions conform to what Certeau describes as the logic of place. The Guaraní, a semi-nomadic people whose lives had previously been made up largely of hunting and fishing, were gathered together, placed in a highly structured environment in which they were called to prayer and to work by a bell, taught trades and crafts, and instructed in the European religion of the Jesuits. Even the layout of the towns themselves were uniform and regimented, built around a plaza, at the head of which was the church—the only building in the city more than one storey high—and the other official buildings of the city (the Jesuits' residence, classrooms, offices, storehouses). Around the other three sides of the plaza were the houses of the Guaraní, lined up in neat blocks. The Reductions seem highly artificial, not cities that grew out of the life of the people, but carefully planned "places." As one of the early Jesuit missionaries, Father Ruiz de Montoya, said, "the Indians, who in their old way of life once lived in open or hilly country, or in forests, and in clusters of up to five or six dwellings, have now by our efforts been brought into large settlements and, through the constant preaching of the gospel, transformed from country-dwellers to Christian citizens."[30] The Reductions were a panopticon which Bentham might envy; they transformed an unruly band of nomads into a well regulated and highly productive cadre of ersatz Europeans.

And yet, such a description is only part of the story. For the Reductions were designed not simply as a way to regulate the Guaraní, but also to protect them from enslavement. This establishment of what seems so clearly a place by the proprietary power of the Jesuits is also an act of resistance against other proprietary powers: the *Paulistas* and *encomenderos*. One cannot presume, simply because the Jesuits who oversaw the Reductions and the slave traders who were the vanguard of colonial expansion can both be described as embodying the logic of place, that the places which they set up were therefore significantly the same. Perhaps there is more than one logic of place. Perhaps there are places, disciplines, laws, sacred sites, where human beings can flourish and live in harmony with each other and with God. Does Certeau too unreflectively adopts the modern presumption that structure and order and even supervision always inhibit freedom and can never enable it?

For there are places where it simply is not true that "sly as a fox and twice as quick: there are countless ways of 'making do'" (*PEL*, 29), places where, no matter how sly or quick, one simply cannot "make do," places which one must leave or die. And in this sense the Guaraní Republic was also a pilgrim city. Beginning with the "exodus" of 1631, in which Ruiz de Montoya led twelve thousand Guaraní on a thousand mile journey to escape the advancing *Paulistas*, the Reductions were constantly relocating themselves. Yet this movement transported a "place," an ordered world, so as to preserve it. The Reductions could not simply "play on and with a terrain imposed and organized by the law of a foreign power" (*PEL*, 37). For when that foreign power took away their land and took away their Jesuit overseers, the Reductions could not endure. In this way, they proved as ephemeral as any tactic.

X

The homelessness of the Church is both a blessing and a curse. It is a curse if it allows Christianity a kind of adaptability which can too easily become accommodation. Rather than being the radical following of the messianic Son of Man who has no place to lay his head, Christianity has in many cases become simply a kind of otherworldliness which hands *this* world over to the governing powers of the prevailing regime, and such a handing over can be nothing but a betrayal of the Gospel. As Henri de Lubac warned, "There is a danger that an exaggerated or misdirected critique of what is freely labelled 'Constantinian Christianity'. . . may tend to restrict, and restrict dangerously, the Church's sphere of action."[31] If Christians abide by walking (1 Jn. 2:6), then sometimes they must walk by abiding. In the culture of modernity, which seeks to "disembed" us from all traditions,[32] which turns us into portable units of consumption, it may be that sinking roots deep into the earth, cultivating a sense of place, refusing nomadic existence... these are the most profound forms of resistance.

Yet homelessness can also be a blessing, for it grows out of Jesus' proclamation of the gracious immediacy of God's presence. It is a blessing because it relieves the Church of any absolute need to defend a particular territory or structure, giving a freedom to live the Gospel of peace. This peace is not of course simply an absence of conflict, rather it is a contestation of the earthly city which measures itself by a different standard of effectiveness and which yearns for the Sabbath rest of the eighth day. Homelessness is a blessing because it can give the Church hope in affliction, for the homeless presence of God is never tied to a specific place or condition, but is with the Church even in exile, which indeed transforms exile into pilgrimage.

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1 As Wayne Meeks notes, "within a decade of the crucifixion of Jesus, the village culture of Palestine had been left behind, and the Greco-Roman city became the dominant environment of the Christian movement. So it remained, from the dispersion of the 'Hellenists' from Jerusalem until well after the time of Constantine" (*The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983], 11).

2 For a fascinating reading of Paul which sees him as arguing for an internalised (and therefore universally available) "faith" as the basis for participation in the people of God and opposing the "carnal" and historically particular basis of ethnicity and obedience to the Law, see Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Boyarin's interpretation brilliantly identifies a persistent Christian tendency to "spiritualize" and "universalize" so as to obliterate difference, but it is highly questionable whether Paul is in fact, as Boyarin claims, the "fountainhead" of such a "western universalism" (229). For a critique of Boyarin on this point, see Stephen Fowl's review in *Modern Theology* 12:1 (January 1996), 131–133.

3 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984),117. Subsequent references, abbreviated *PEL*, shall be in the text.

4 One should note that this ambivalence is already present in Israel, manifested in the tension between the ideals of the tent of presence and the Temple.

5 On the four factors of Temple, Land, Torah and ethnicity as definitive of the Jewish symbolic world, see N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 224–232.

6 W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 366–367.

7 Davies, *The Gospel and the Land*, 179.

8 W. Janzen, "Land," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, David Noel Freedman et. al. eds. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), IV: 153. Cf. Wright, 366, n. 31: "Jesus and the church together are the New Temple; the world, I suggest, is the new Land." One should note that, after the destruction of the Temple, Judaism too "deterritorialized" the promise. See Boyarin, *A Radical Jew*, 251–259, on the rabbinic "displacement of loyalty from place to memory of place" (256).

9 On the nature of early Christian hope, and in particular its continuity with Jewish eschatology, see Wright, 332–334, 401, 459–464.

10 See Gerhard Lohfink, *Jesus and Community: The Social Dimension of Christian Faith*, John Galvin, trans. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 126–8.

11 Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentary on the Canticle*, sermon 13, in *From Glory to Glory: Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings*, selection and introduction by Jean Danielou, trans. and ed. by Herbert Musurillo (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 273.

12 Michel de Certeau, "La rupture instauratrice," in *La faiblesse de croire* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), 183–226, esp. 209–212.

13 Lohfink, *Jesus and Community*, 99–106.

14 On the weekly eucharist as the occasion for the distribution of goods from the rich to the poor, see Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, ch. 67.

15 See Peter Brown, *The Body and Society*, Ch. 7: "'A Promiscuous Brotherhood and Sisterhood': Men and Women in The Early Churches" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 140–159. On the Christian deconstruction of the antique distinction between *oikos* and *polis*, see Bernd Wannenwetsch, "The Political Worship of the Church: A Critical and Empowering Practice," *Modern Theology* 12:3 (July 1996), 269–299.

16 *Contra Celsum*, VIII:75 [ET: *Origen: Contra Celsum*, Henry Chadwick, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 510].

17 *Epistle to Diognetus* V [ET: *The Apostolic Fathers II*, Kirsopp Lake, trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950, 361].

18 See "La rupture instauratrice," 112.

19 Cited in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII.2 [454]. Cf. *Contra Celsum* VIII.49 where Celsus characterises Christians as "suffering from the disease of sedition" [488].

20 See Robert Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984), 117–125.

21 "The whole structure of the Empire was indivisibly 'political' and 'religious.' The main purpose of the Imperial rule was usually defined as 'Philanthropy,' and often even as 'Salvation.' Accordingly, the Emperors were described as 'Saviours'" (Georges Florovsky, "Empire and Desert: Antinomies of Christian History," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 3 [1957], 135).

22 On the distinction between "use" (*uti*) and "enjoyment" (*frui*) see Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, Book I, chs. 22-35.

23 *Epistle to Diognetus* V [359].

24 Ibid., VI [361].
25 Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Razing the Bastions: On the Church in This Age*, Brian McNeil, C.R.V., trans (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 80–81.
26 Athanasius, *The Life of Anthony* xiv [ET: *Athanasius: The Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, Robert Gregg, trans. (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 42–43].
27 Florovsky, "Empire and Desert," 150. Emphasis in the original.
28 Johann-Baptist Metz, "Christians and Jews After Auschwitz: Being a Meditation also on the End of Bourgeois Religion," in *The Emergent Church*, Peter Mann, trans. (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 26. Cf. the comment of Boyarin: "The insistence on the value of bodily connection and embodied practice emblematic of Judaism since Paul thus has significant critical force over against the isolating and disembodying direction of western idealist philosophies" (*A Radical Jew*, 232).
29 For a brief account of the reductions, along with a record of their artistic achievements, see C. J. McNaspy, S.J., *Lost Cities of Paraguay: Art and Architecture of the Jesuit Reductions, 1607–1767* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982).
30 Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, S.J., *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, and Tape*, C.J. McNaspy, S.J., et. al., trans. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993), 30.
31 Henri de Lubac, *The Splendour of the Church*, Michael Mason, trans. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 125.
32 Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 21–29.

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The voice of the Other

Graham Ward

"Christian epistemology links mystic knowledge to language. God has spoken," Michel de Certeau writes (M.F., p. 114) Two extended metaphors for the economy of this speech act are common in the tradition. In the first, God is Speaker, Christ is the Spoken Word, the Verb grafted upon this world (M.F., p. 150) and the Spirit is the breath (*pneuma*) which makes this communication possible. In the second, the Spirit is explicitly linked to the writing of the Spoken Word. God is Writer and creation is His book. Certeau, as we will see, examines both these metaphors (with the economies of revelation and redemption that they imply). The speech act is fundamental to his understanding of history, creation, subjectivity and the practices of daily living. And yet, as a thinker who draws upon and develops the poststructuralism of Lacan, Foucault, Bourdieu and Derrida