



Tourism as Pilgrimage?

Sandra Busatta

Independent researcher; e-mail: sandra@hakomagazine.net

KEYWORDS

travel, journey, voyage, tourism, tourist, pilgrim, pilgrimage, vacation, holiday, feast, fair.

ABSTRACT

Anthropologists have been debating the relationship between the tourist and the pilgrim for a number of decades, using in a somewhat loose way terms such as vacation, travel and tour. The etymologies of the words used for travel, journey, voyage and tourism, as well as vacation, holiday, feast and fair, and the history of both classical and medieval European travels and pilgrimages tell a story of work and leisure, market fairs and religious festivals, pious pilgrims and frivolous travellers, connecting pilgrimage and tourism as the two sides of the same coin.

Introduction

Can cultural touristic practices legitimately be considered a form of pilgrimage? The notion that travel may be a kind of pilgrimage is not new: it has circulated at least since Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), and as a metaphor for a spiritual journey since Apuleius' *The Golden Ass* (2nd century A.D.). The Epic of Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, whose first version was written in the 18th century B.C., became the blueprint of the hero's journey. The ship Argo, and the voyage of Jason and his companions in search of the Golden Fleece, was already famous, '*pasi melousa*'¹ according to Homer (Odyssey 12.69-72) when he wrote the greatest of the *nostoi*. The *nostos* in the epic tradition and within the Homeric poems typically designates the song about the sea travels of Greek heroes returning home from Troy. Bonifazi (2009), however, highlights the underlying concept of 'surviving lethal dangers.' The heroes visit the farthest parts of the earth and beyond, literally going to hell and back; on the other hand, they long to return to retrieve their homes, their kingdoms as well as their past.

Can we say the same for tourism? Cohen (1995), in contrast to Nash (1981), claims that the motivations, roles and institutional structures of modern tourism differ significantly from those of pre-modern and non-Western forms of travel, and Frow (1997:65) considers banal the "anthropological analysis of tourism as sacred quest, a timeless repetition of the archetype of the voyage". Yet, Graburn supports the notion of a similarity between tourism and "medieval student travel, the Crusades, and European and Asian pilgrimage circuits" (1989:22, cf. Allcock 1988, Sears 1989). This scholar

1 Literally 'of concern to all'.

builds on Durkheim's (1912) notions of the sacred and the profane², Hubert and Mauss's (1892) study of the rituals of sacrifice³, Leach's (1961) suggestion of the regular occurrence of sacred-profane alternations⁴, and van Gennep's (1909) notion of rites of passage⁵. MacCannell (1999:42-43), in turn, sees "sightseeing as modern ritual", and analyses the "stages of sight sacralization" (1989:43-45).

Cohen concedes that modern mass-pilgrimage often becomes indistinguishable from mass-tourism (1992:53)⁶. Crick, on the other hand, remarks that there is a problem in elevating notions of sacred quest into a general explanatory framework, and wonders: "For *whom* does tourism mean a sacred quest? Might the appearance of this image represent the anthropologist's craving for meaning rather than a well-thought-out empirical investigation of a highly complex phenomenon?" (1989:333, emphasis in original). Graburn's (1977) definition of tourism as sacred journey, however, has proved influential.

Sacred and profane, *sacer*, *otium* and *negotium*

First of all, we can notice that the words 'sacred' and 'profane' are used very loosely in all the authors mentioned before. In the online Etymology Dictionary (<http://www.etymonline.com/>) we can find that the adjective 'sacred' appeared in English in the late 14th century as past participle adjective from the obsolete verb *sacren* "to make holy" (c. 1200), from Old French *sacerer* consecrate, anoint, dedicate (12th century) or directly from Latin *sacrare* 'to make sacred', consecrate; hold sacred; immortalize; set apart, dedicate, from *sacer* (genitive *sacri*) sacred, dedicated, holy, accursed, from Old Latin *saceres*, from PIE root **sak-* to sanctify. On the other hand the adjective 'profane' is a mid-15th century word meaning, un-ecclesiastical, secular, from Old French *profane* (12th century) and directly from Latin *profanus*, unholy, not consecrated, literally out in front of the temple, from *pro* before + *fano*, ablative of *fanum*, temple. The meaning of unholy, polluted is recorded from c. 1500. But what was the real meaning of sacred and profane in Latin?

Morani (1981:30-46), whose article I'm summing up in part, states that the exact value of the Latin word *sacer* can be explained fairly easily. *Sacer* is what belongs to the god, according to the opposition *sacer* (belonging to the god) vs. *profanus* (not belonging to the god), *publicus* (belonging to the State) vs. *privatus* (not belonging to the State). The contrast is between *sacer*, *publicus* and *privatus* with *publicus* the intermediate term between the two.

Sacer goes back to a Proto Indo-European **sak-* root, which also originated a number of words in other Italic languages such as Oscan and Umbrian. Among the compounds and derivatives there are *sacerdos* (priest, with *dhē-* root 'one who performs the sacred action'), *sacrificium* 'sacred rite', *sacellum* (shrine, from Sakro-lo-), *sacrarium*, *sacramentum*, etc. Each of these words only develops some of the

2 According to Durkheim (1915:47), sacred things are things set apart and forbidden. The sacred represents the interests of the group, especially unity, embodied in sacred group symbols, or totems. The profane, on the other hand, involves mundane individual concerns.

3 According to Hubert and Mauss sacrifice is a religious act which, via the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who performs it or of certain objects in which that person is interested.

4 Leach (1961:132-36) suggests that "the regular occurrence of sacred-profane alternations marks important periods of social life or even provides the measure of the passage of time itself."

5 Van Gennep defined rites de passage as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age."

6 See also Brown (1996:44), Burns (1999:97), and Campo (1998:53).

meanings that are simultaneously present in *sacer*.

Sacer is what is reserved for the gods (*quidquid quod deorum habetur*), according to a definition of Trebazio collected also by Macrobius (Sat., II 3.2). Since the collective nature of the Roman religion implies, as a consequence, that the private cannot make anything sacred, it is the community, in the person of those who represent it, that declares something sacred. The transition from the profane to the sacred status requires precise formulas (*solemnia verba*); the ritual is performed on behalf of the State by the competent magistrate, but the formula is pronounced by the Pontifex: the priest *consecrat* (consecrates), the State *dedicat* (dedicates). Also the reverse passage from the sacred to the profane, needs precise formulas and is called *resecratio*. The notion of *sacer* always involves a unilateral initiative: it is holy only what is declared as such by the man; the consecration involves the renunciation by the man to something that becomes the property of the god. When it is the god that takes possession of something that belongs to the man, the Latin language does not use the term *sacer* but the term *religiosus*, used for places such as tombs containing a corpse and places struck by lightning, where access was strictly forbidden (Varr. LL V 150). While the sense of *sacer* as belonging to the god is usual, this term very often assumes a negative value as something which does not belong to the man, or, more generally, alien to the normal mode of relationships between men. The sacred *dies* (days) are *nefas* 'unlucky' or 'quiet' days (when one does not work, days dedicated to the *otium*, leisure), while the profane *dies* (days) are 'lucky' or *negotiosi* (busy): in front of the indication of the positive term *fas* ('lucky', according to the divine law), *sacer* here has a distinctly negative staining. *Negotium*, is not work, *labor*, but can be loosely translated as business, and mainly involves a public activity, a political commitment within the city, often at the service of the State. In the notion involved by *negotium*, work/*labor* is not identified by its own term, but through a negative definition: *negotium*, in fact, it is *nec-otium*, not leisure, that is a negation of the free time.

The character of the word *sacer* explains the lack of a negative adjective formed on the same root, and the opposition between *sacer* and *profanus* confirms this idea: in fact, *profanus* is what is external to the sacred, what is on the outskirts of it (by means of the suffix *pro-*), but does not involve a radical denial of the sacred: simply, the *profanus* is waiting to be invested by the declaration of sanctity. As Morani clarifies, nothing is sacred in itself, nothing is profane in itself: everything can become sacred or profane, depending on the needs of the moment, as long as the community declares that with the proper rites. In this *sacer* also keeps track of its Indo-European etymology: in fact, the cognate Hittite word *saklai-* means precisely 'ritual'. According to Benveniste (1969) the distinction between sacred and profane is manifested best in Latin. In general, we can say that it is *sacer* everything that is outside the normal areas of the *ius* (human law). Sometimes *sacer*, referred to people, assumes a value close to that of taboo: a man declared *sacer* cannot be judged according to human law. In fact, *fas* (divine law), which in itself is higher than *ius* (human law) forbids revenge by the courts on a *homo sacer*. It is up to the gods to take vengeance for themselves. Hence, a person that kills a *homo sacer*, that is a man declared sacred, does not commit murder.⁷ It is starting from this use that *sacer* takes on the sense of 'cursed' that has for instance in Virgil (Aen., III 57 *auri sacra fames*). Sometimes the lack of a clear distinction between prayer and magic formula gives *sacer* the value of 'magic'. *Sacer* as 'numinous' appears only since Augustan times, yet it still keeps some traces of the archaic meaning.

Returning to Graburn (1989:22), he writes that a major characteristic of our conception of tourism is that it is not work; furthermore, the tourist's reality has been referred to by other scholars as "ludic" (Lett 1983), "liminoid (Turner and Turner 1978) or "life in parenthesis" (UNESCO 1977). There are some problems, however, in Graburn's fundamental contrast between the ordinary/compulsory

7 cfr. Agamben 1998:72.

working state spent “at home” and the non-ordinary/voluntary “away from home” sacred state. In fact, not only Graburn interprets the leisure days vs. the working days in a way which is more or less contrary to the actual Latin meaning, but he bases his premises on the wrong etymology of ‘vacation’, from Latin *vacare*, he explains as “to leave (one’s house) empty” (1989:24), when he states that “we cannot properly vacation at home”, and “it is improper to work when we travel.” Yet, a short survey of the etymologies of “vacation”, “travel”, “journey”, and “tour”, belies this interpretation.

Before looking at these etymologies, however, one should keep in mind the meaning of the concepts of ‘work’ and ‘leisure’ in the ancient world, and their evolution. The Greek language uses two terms to indicate work: *ponos*, which corresponds to the brutality of physical labor, and *ergon*, that over time consolidated a less negative meaning, which indicates not only the manual effort (agricultural work, handicraft, production of manufactured goods), but also the finished work. The word *ponos*, however, has different attributes according to the cultural contexts: an athlete’s agonistic commitment can be termed *ponos* because it is not associated with poor labor conditions in the fields, but it is ennobled as competitive sports effort. The Latin language uses a similar semantic complexity, linked to the idea of work, through the opposition of *labor/negotium*. The terms *labor* and *laborare* come possibly from *labare*, i.e. reeling under a burden, to indicate, like the Greek *ponos*, a working condition of servile type. The *otium* (corresponding to the Greek *skhole*) is indeed a sacred dimension to the ancient world: it is the time to cultivate thought, to practice virtue, but also to stay with friends and spend time in the disinterested contemplation of nature.

Let us now consider the opposition *otium-negotium*. The first word is older than the second. In the *Georgics* (vv. 490-528) Virgil describes the blessed days of the origins, the *otia*, but after the advent of Saturn, the farmer divine king, Lazio knew forced labor, which is called *negotium* (so tied to the development of the needs and agricultural trades, following the pastoral civilization). The word *negotium* was casted from the Greek *ascholia* (occupation) with alpha privative (the corresponding Latin *nec*), opposed to *skhole* (recreation, leisure), equivalent to the Latin *otium*. But, while the *negotium*, at least until Cicero’s time (Ist century. B. C.), has an undeniable value, coated with a moral sense of ‘duty’, in contrast, in the Greek philosophers, from Plato to the Epicureans, the *ascholiai* are importunate, annoying situations, and *skhole* represents an absolute value to humanity. In Augustean times, the Latin pair *otium-negotium* approaches gradually to the Greek opposition *skhole-ascholia*, up to perfectly match it with Seneca in the first century A.D. In contact with the Greek culture the relationship between *otium* and *negotium* modifies deeply: in *De Oratore*, for example, Cicero states that the ideal state of an individual is based on the peaceful alternation of *otium* and *negotium*. In Horace, as well as in Virgil, *otium* is linked to a peaceful ideal, which presupposes a form of serene and happy activities. *Otium*, leisure, in this case, may very well be translated peace, which is the peace of the fields, but also the absence of war. For Ovid leisure coincides with the literary activity: *otium* is opposed to *labor* even if, in a sense, here *labor* coincides with *negotium*. The philosopher Seneca promotes *otium* as a lifestyle: the *vita otiosa*, leisurely life. His *De brevitae vitae* (On the brevity of life) represents a methodical effort to rehabilitate the free time. But, for Seneca, what is commonly considered leisurely and leisure, it is not, because it exists by virtue of the *negotium*. Therefore, for Seneca, the real free time is to be dedicated to spiritual/philosophical pursuits.

Travel, journey and tour

As we can see from this overview of the *otium-negotium* opposition, in Rome as well as in Greece, leisure time was to be spent at home, especially in the countryside, reading, writing, philosophizing, banqueting and so on or, at most, leisurely strolling around the agora with one’s friends. This notion of

leisure clashes with Graburn's statement that "we cannot properly vacation at home." If we now turn to the original meaning of words such as 'travel' and 'journey', we realize that in medieval times they belonged to the semantic field of the Greek *ponos* and Latin *labor*. In fact, 'travel' (c. 1375) to journey, comes from Middle English *travaillen*, travail (1300), to make a journey, originally to toil, labour (cf. *travail*, to suffer the pangs of childbirth, to make a painful or laborious effort, from Late Latin *tripaliare*, to torture). The semantic development may reflect not only the difficulty of going anywhere in the Middle Ages, but also the toiling of the laborers in an open-field agricultural landscape. The world of the 'journeymen' (1424), those who work by day, is reflected in the word 'journey' (c. 1225), "a definite course of travelling", which comes from the Old French word *ournée* "day's work or travel" from Vulgar Latin *diurnum*, day. This is its primary sense in English until 1755.

On the other hand, 'voyage' (c. 1297), from the Old French term *veiage*, travel, journey, comes from the Late Latin term *viaticum*, a journey, from classical Latin *viaticus* "provisions/money for a journey (from *via* "road, journey, travel")". 'Tour' (c. 1320), a turn, a shift on duty, from the Old French word *tour*, *tourn*, a turn, trick, round, circuit, circumference, from *turner/tourner*, to turn, comes from Latin *tornare*, Greek *tornos*, to polish, round off, fashion, turn on a lathe. The sense of a travelling around, journey is first recorded in English in 1643. The verb is attested in 1746, the noun 'tourist' is first attested in 1780, and 'tourism' in 1811, that is when the Grand Tour of Europe became fashionable. In sum, until the 18th century, most people considered travelling within the notion of 'work', and spent their leisure time at home (in the broad sense comprising one's village or in one's country seat).

Carlo Goldoni's Holiday Trilogy (Trilogia della Villeggiatura 1761: Pining for Vacation, Holiday Adventures, Back from Vacation) stages the Venetian middle class aping the aristocracy, which in summer left the town to spend some months in their country seats made famous by Palladio and his school, along the river Brenta or on the hills of Vicenza, Treviso, etc. Goldoni makes fun of two Northern Italian families and their respective entourages who prepare for a fashionable stay in the country, and in the process forsake all their cherished precepts of bourgeois prudence and parsimony. This means that when Goldoni was writing his trilogy the ideal of 'otium' still belonged to the aristocracy, while the middle class, albeit starting to become aware that wealth allowed its members to buy leisure time, was still deeply immersed in the 'negotium'. Hence the comic quality of the plot.

The Italian word 'villeggiatura' comes from the verb 'villeggiare', from Latin 'villicare', 'villicari', meaning staying in one's villa, contraction of 'vicula', diminutive of 'vicus', village. Literally 'vicus' means a group of houses and buildings, and 'villa' also means a landed estate made of the owner's manor, the farm, the village and the tenants' houses. Villa also has the more restricted meaning of country mansion where to spend leisure time.

Vacation, feast and fair

Let's analyze the term 'vacation' (n.): the first meaning is 'the status of a civil or ecclesiastical office, a benefice, vacant of the incumbent and also the period during which the office or benefice remains vacant'. This meaning corresponds to the Old French term *vacation*, vacancy, vacant position (14th century), from which derived the English 'vacation' (late 14th century) as freedom from obligations, leisure, release (from some activity or occupation). Both words come from Latin *vacationem* (nominative *vacatio*) meaning leisure, freedom, exemption, a being free from duty, immunity earned by service, a noun of state from the past participle stem of *vacare*, be empty, free, or at leisure. The

meanings ‘state of being unoccupied,’ ‘process of vacating’ appear in English in the early 15th century, and the meaning of ‘formal suspension of activity, time in which there is an intermission of usual employment’ (in reference to schools, courts, etc.) is recorded from mid-15th century. What is interesting is the connection of ‘vacation’ with the adjective ‘vain’ (c. 1300), meaning devoid of real value, idle, unprofitable, from Old French *vain*, *vein*, worthless, void, invalid, feeble; conceited (12th century.), from Latin *vanus*, empty, void, figuratively idle, fruitless, from PIE **wa-no-*, from root **eue-* to leave, abandon, give out (source also of Old English *wanian* to lessen, *wan* deficient; Old Norse *vanta* to lack; Latin *vacare* to be empty, *vastus* empty, waste; Avestan *va-* lack, Persian *vang* empty, poor; Sanskrit *una-* “deficient, Armenian *unain* empty). Therefore, there is nothing in the etymological history of the term ‘vacation’ nor in its Latin antecedent *vacare* that authorizes us to agree with Graburn’s interpretation of ‘vacation’ as “to leave (one’s house) empty.”

While ‘vacation’ means “being empty (office, school, court etc.)”, and also “being at leisure (at home or in one’s villa)”, the proletarian origins of the words ‘travel’, ‘journey’, and ‘tour’ speak of work and even toil. By contrast, ‘holiday’, ‘vacation’, ‘feast’ and ‘fair’ (Italian *vacanza* / *ferie*, *festa*, *fiera*), all semantically connected, are useful to link ‘leisure’ travel, tourism and pilgrimage, because they tell a story of religious duties connected with trade fairs, special meals, and pilgrimages to local shrines. ‘Holiday,’ from Old English *halig daeg*; in the 14th century meant both religious festival and day of recreation, but pronunciation and sense diverged in the 16th century. ‘Feast’ is related to Latin *feriae*⁸, religious festival, holiday (Italian *ferie*⁹). The English word ‘feast,’ attested since the 13th century as secular celebration with feasting and entertainment (often held on a church holiday), changed in the 14th century into a religious anniversary characterized by rejoicing (rather than fasting), and by the late 14th century it also meant ‘abundant mealing’ (whether public or private) and, in general, any enjoyable occasion or event. ‘Feast’ comes from Old French *feste*, religious festival, holy day; holiday; market, fair; noise, racket; jest, fun (12th century, Modern French *fête*), from Vulgar Latin **festa* (feminine singular; also source of Italian *festa*, Spanish *fiesta*), from Latin *festa*, holidays, feasts, festal banquets, noun use of neuter plural of *festus*, festive, joyful, merry, related to *feriae* holiday and *fanum* temple, from Proto-Italic **fasno-* temple, from PIE **dhis-no-* divine, holy; consecrated place, from the **dhes-* root of a cluster of related religious words.

The noun ‘fair’ (c. 1330, Italian *fiera*) comes from the Anglo-French term *feyre* (1292) from Old French *feire*, from Latin *feria*, holiday, market fair, from Latin *feriae* (holy days in which one did not do any activity, different from *festus*, when there were also sacrifices). As Morris (2002:165) has pointed out for England, medieval pilgrims did not usually go too far from their normal contexts, since most of their journeys involved only a few days. This tradition is still alive in Italy with innumerable *sagre* (sing. *sagra*) and culinary tourism. The Italian term ‘*sagra*,’ pl. *sagre* comes from Latin *sacrare*,

8 cfr. Italian Ferragosto from the Latin expression *feriae Augusti* (Augustus’ rest) indicating a festivity set up by the emperor Augustus in 18 B.C.

9 “The noun *feria* (from late Latin ‘weekday’, from classic Latin *feriae* -arum, connected with *festus* ‘public holiday’) indicated in the Roman world the day dedicated to the public and private worship, in which it was forbidden (*nefas*) exercise judicial power and to convene meetings. With the advent Christianity, the noun underwent a change in meaning and passed to indicate the days of the week (Saturdays and Sundays) dedicated to the celebration of Jesus, the Madonna, or a saint. To avoid the usual names of pagan origin, the days were distinguished by a progressive number from Monday (*feria secunda*) to Friday (*feria sexta*). Sabato (Saturday) kept its Jewish name and Sunday, the first day of the week, was named Domenica, “Lord’s day”. The present use of the noun to feminine plural in Italian (*ferie*) keeps the original meaning of ‘festive, resting period, mostly in summer’. The Italian adjective *feriale*, weekday (from Latin *ferialis*) followed, semantically, the way of the church calendar, and defines the days of the week, except holidays, as working days. French, however, retained the ancient meaning in the formula “jours fériés”, ‘public holidays’. “Accademia della Crusca (<http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/it/lingua-italiana/consulenza-linguistica/domande-risposte/ferie-feriale>)

to consecrate or from Latin *sacra* (neuter plural), sacred things, and therefore sacred ritual, religious feast. A *sagra* is an Italian local festival, with a fair, commemorating the consecration of a church, or the patron saint, but it can also celebrate the harvest or promote local food and wine products. As such it draws mostly local patrons, although the most renowned can attract people from a much wider area. In sum, the survey of the above-mentioned words disproves Graburn's statement that "we cannot properly vacation at home." At least before the 18th century in Europe, most people spent their free time at home or nearby. There were exceptions, of course. Pausanias, the Greek traveller and geographer of the 2nd century AD, is possibly the first writer of a real tourist guidebook with his *Description of Greece*, although the *periegesis*, or "progress around" was an established literary genre during the Hellenistic age.

Pilgrims, Diaspora tourist, New Agers and strippers

Duffy (1992) has been very influential in the charge against the Turners' (1978:166) theory that pilgrimage is "liminal", that is a religious ritual that removes temporarily pilgrims from their normal environments both physically and socially, across geographical and social thresholds, and creates new *communitas* which give way to a wider common identity and equality. On the contrary, Duffy (2002:165-166) argues, the single most important energy in late medieval England was its drive to localism: for most going on pilgrimage was less like launching on a journey to the extreme parts of the earth and more like "going to a local market town to sell or buy geese or chickens." Shrines mapped the familiar as much as they were signposts to the other world¹⁰. Morris (2002:145-152), in contrast, points out that the Wife of Bath had gone three times to Jerusalem, the most impressive of international pilgrimages; moreover, in the early modern period, after the Franciscans have established themselves as guides to the holy sites and distributors of indulgences, pilgrims arrived in 'package tours' from the Republic of Venice. Turner and Turner (1978) add that the great pilgrimages in medieval Islam and Shinto Japan were also associated with great fairs and feasts¹¹.

In any case, I am not going to throw out the baby with the bathwater, because the concept of pilgrimage is still useful in the debate about cultural tourism. The ludic side is an important aspect of both short and long distance pilgrimages, as we have seen so far from etymology and history, but it is the penitential and experiential side, which re-generates and re-creates the pilgrim, the aspect Graburn (1989:34) refers to when he says that Ethnic and Environmental tourism emphasises the "spirit quest", the self-testing, often maturing, pioneer endurance. Indeed, the different meanings of pilgrimage as a "travel to foreign lands" and as a "journey to a sacred place", and of pilgrim as "foreigner" and as a "travelling devotee" may shed some light on both aspects, which are summed up by Victor and Edith Turner's statement that "a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist" (1978:20). Pilgrim (*pilegrim* c. 1200) comes from Old French *pelegrin*, from Vulgar Latin *pelegrinus*, from Latin *peregrinus*, foreigner, from *peregrinare* (*peregre* (adv.), from abroad (from *per* beyond + *agri*, locative case of *ager*, countryside, territory, land, country), properly that found outside Roman territory. *Pilgrimage* is dated c. 1250. The Italian word *pellegrino* still has the meaning of foreigner; the Italian language also distinguishes between *viandante*, one who makes a long journey out of necessity, and *viaggiatore*, one who travels more comfortably, on business or for leisure.

10 I am partially indebted to Coleman and Eade (2004:13) for this "reframing pilgrimage" in England. For a detailed discussion of the tourism-pilgrimage issue, see Simon Coleman and John Eade's Introduction: Reframing Pilgrimage, in Coleman, Simon, and John Eade (eds.). 2004. Reframing pilgrimage. Cultures in motion. London: Routledge.

11 For the recreative and frivolous aspects of contemporary pilgrim/tourists in Sri Lanka and Thailand see Pfaffenberger 1983 and Mills 1999.

Diaspora tourism may incorporate both the meanings mentioned above: in fact, many African Americans going to visit Elmina Castle in Ghana think that the “castles,” “are sacred grounds not to be desecrated,” and even that “the castles belong to them” (Bruner 1996:291) because their slave ancestors were supposedly imprisoned there. Similarly, English-Caribbean people go to their “ancestral homelands” in the West Indies (interestingly not in Africa), searching for their cultural roots in what looks like a secular pilgrimage (Stephenson 2002). This point of view, however, is that of the “guests”: in fact, native Ghanaians call their black tourists *obruni* (white man), which “labels the African Americans as both white and foreign” (Bruner 1996:295), and native West Indians call their guests “black-tourist”, “English”, or “foreigner” (Stephenson 2002:409-410).

Local places, on the other hand, after “world heritagization” and “touristification,” have been catapulted into the global order (Urry 2002), have become part of a large and complex repertoire of the media world and have been converted into objects of dreams, fantasies and desires. Arellano shows how “after the world heritagization of Machu Picchu, bodies, spirits, and Incas are now haunting the reassembly of the ‘secret place’ of the Incas into a playful global place for contemporary urban quests” (2004:77). Adventurers engage into four days of gruelling hiking that gives way to a self-transforming experience and New Agers buy ‘mystic tours’ to Machu Picchu as a ‘power place’ to get in touch with their ‘creative energies’, to return to the basics and reconnect with the sustaining power of the ancient civilization (Arellano 2004:74). These notions have started an interesting outcome: the tourist stalker. “There has been a rise in the trend of naked tourists snapping selfies since 2014, causing Peru’s Culture Minister Diana Alvarez-Calderon, to state what should be obvious: that nude tourism is forbidden at Machu Picchu. The warning has not stopped tourists from stripping to their skivvies and running among the ruins, though. In 2015 alone, ten tourists were arrested for posing in the buff at the Incan citadel, according to *The Telegraph*.” (Locker 2017. *Don’t Even Think About Getting Naked at Machu Picchu*)

Machu Picchu, however, is not the only ‘sacred station’ of a global pagan path, and Rountree (2002) has illustrated how European and Middle Eastern archaeological sites have become integral to the tourism/pilgrimage circuit of the Goddess’s worshippers. The overlapping of pilgrimage and tourism of the Goddess pilgrim’s itinerary, like the tourist’s, frequently incorporates a number of ‘attractions’ in a given area often in a short space of time. Actually, the same attraction can be sacred for the Goddess pilgrim and secular for the tourist, while other attractions can be secular for both. This aspect has also been noticed by Berzano (2002) in his study of the Catholic Jubilee of the year 2000, when pilgrims reserved a place for tourism in their pilgrimage throughout Italy. Thus today we cannot consider the phrase ‘religious tourism’ an oxymoron any longer. In fact, while Neo-pagans and New Agers use tourists attractions as sacred sites, Catholic pilgrims indulge in some artistic and culinary tourism along the way. I met some Argentinean pilgrims in a restaurant who were in Rome to see the Argentinean Pope, Francis I, for the Jubilee of the Holy Year of Mercy (2015-2016) as well as their grandparents’ mother country. Doron’s (2005) Indian tourists to Varanasi, on the other hand, although their modern sensibilities prevent them from bathing in or drinking the sacred river Ganges’ water, find their tourist experience enhanced and complemented by the religious one (cf. Brown 1996:34).

Although guided tours are anathema to most scholars, even in these tours the distinction between tourism and pilgrimage is blurred according to MacCannell (1989:43), who suggests that modern guided tours are ritually constructed around “musts”: when in Europe one “must see” Paris, the Louvre, Mona Lisa, and today, we may add, *The Da Vinci Codex’s* locations. On the other hand, MacCannell remarks, throughout the world churches, cathedrals, mosques and temples are being converted to touristic functions. Freud’s cultural shock before the Parthenon (Rojeck 1997:56) had

something in common with the Stendhal Syndrome (Magherini 1982) in Florence, and both can be seen as a sort of anti-epiphany, a reaction to the aura of a monument or a work of art (cfr. Benjamin 1936). Deep and genuine feelings and even epiphanies, however, can be aroused by “genuine fakes” such as the Peace Park in Hiroshima (Brown 1996:33), or by “black spots” (Rojek 1993) like Pearl Harbour, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Ground Zero in Manhattan, or even by Jim Morrison’s grave in Paris or Elvis’s Graceland. Even an IKEA store, as improbable as it may appear, may become a tourist attraction in itself: Hutton (2013) describes how Chinese customers find it as attractive as a theme park: “There is no other store in China quite like Ikea, where customers are welcome to spend hours lounging on every sofa and bed in the store, or thoroughly testing the toys available in the children’s section. The sofa section is a particular favourite. People lounge on the furniture, some carrying out heartfelt conversations. Others zone out with their mobile phones. In the bed section, one exhausted-looking mother paces with her young baby, trying to calm him before placing him for a nap on a display bedroom. She walks past customers who are tucked up in other beds, their shoes neatly lined up on the floor beside them.”

Male travellers and female tourists

Another aspect which associates pilgrims with tourists is gender. Women, in fact, have always been numerous in pilgrim groups. On the other hand, sightseeing has evolved from exploration and aristocratic travel as discourse in the sixteenth century, throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when “scientific” curiosity gave way to “taste” (Adler 1998). In the 20th century “imperialist nostalgia” (Rosaldo 1989) has been the characteristic feature of both modernist and post-structuralist writers and critics posing as émigrés (Kaplan 1996). Consequently, secular serious travel has evolved as a masculine enterprise par excellence, sponsored by governments, royal societies, and academies. «The ‘traveller’ who occupies primary place in this formation can be characterized as a Western individual, usually male, white, of independent means, an introspective observer, literate, acquainted with ideas of the arts and culture, and, above all, a humanist» (Kaplan 1996:49).

Following Bourdieu (1984), I note that tastes function as markers of ‘crass’, and the ‘eye’ is a product of history reproduced by education: thus, the gentleman traveller’s cultural consumption fulfils the social function of legitimizing both social and gender differences. The tourist, in turn, is despised because s/he usually refuses the refusal of ‘facile’ involvement and ‘vulgar’ enjoyment. In sum, the traveller’s cultural experience is ‘high’, ‘authentic’ and ‘masculine’ (most ‘travellers’ are men), the tourist’s is ‘low’, ‘contrived’ and ‘feminine’. In fact, thanks to Thomas Cook and other Christian reformers, as well as working class organizations, travelling was made easier and safer for women. As a matter of fact, a gender bias may account for the highbrow stance of many critics about both mass tourism and modern pilgrimage (cf. Dubisch 1995). Actually, they look still stuck on the flâneur’s ideal, the ‘gentleman stroller of city streets’, as Baudelaire (1863) characterized him, although there is a curious family resemblance between the elitist flâneur and the Chinese IKEA customer in Walter Benjamin’s (1935) description:

The crowd was the veil from behind which the familiar city as phantasmagoria beckoned to the flâneur. In it, the city was now landscape, now a room. And both of these went into the construction of the department store, which made use of flânerie itself in order to sell goods. The department store was the flâneur’s final coup. As flâneurs, the intelligensia came into the market place. As they thought, to observe it—but in reality it was already to find a buyer...

Rojek and Urry (1997) have claimed that the failure to distinguish clearly between travel, tourism and pilgrimage can be explained by the move from organized to disorganized capitalism, which has caused a de-differentiation between all sorts of social and cultural spheres. Albeit considered a post-modern phenomenon, however, it has existed since 130 B.C., when Antipater of Sidon, a Greek author of a travel book, listed the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, mixing together secular and sacred sights/sites. The notion of the Seven Wonders can be traced back to the 5th century B.C., when Greek historian Herodotus marvelled about some of them. The first list of the Seven Wonders was originally compiled in the 2nd century B.C., and the final list was compiled during the Middle Ages. Not all the Seven Wonders, however, existed at the same time.

I have gazed on the walls of impregnable Babylon, along which chariots may race, and on the Zeus by the banks of the Alphaeus. I have seen the Hanging Gardens and the Colossus of Helios, the great man-made mountains of the lofty pyramids, and the gigantic tomb of Mausolus. But when I saw the sacred house of Artemis that towers to the clouds, the others were placed in the shade, for the sun himself has never looked upon its equal outside Olympus.

In conclusion, social scientists have been debating the relationship between the tourist and the pilgrim for a number of decades, using in a somewhat loose way terms such as vacation, travel and tour. The etymologies of the words used for travel, journey, voyage and tourism, as well as vacation, holiday, feast and fair, and the history of both classical and medieval European travels and pilgrimages tell a story of work and leisure, market fairs and religious festivals, pious pilgrims and frivolous travellers, merchants and minstrels, fasting penitents and gargantuan meals, soul blessing and body healing, food for the soul, the body and the mind, mass-produced replicas of relics, talismans, miraculous images and souvenirs, connecting pilgrimage and tourism as the two sides of the same *viaticus* coin.

References

- Adler, J. (1998). "Origins of Sightseeing". In C. T. Williams (ed). *Travel Culture. Essays on What Makes Us Go*. Westport.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA.
- Allcock, J. B. (1988). "Tourism as a Sacred Journey". *Society and Leisure* 11:33-48.
- Arellano, A. (2004). "Bodies, Spirits, and Incas: Performing Machu Picchu". In M. Sheller and J. Urry (eds). *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London.
- Barzano, L. (2002). Il Giubileo tra fede e cultura. In C. Cipolla and R. Cipriani (eds). *Pellegrini del Giubileo*. Milan.
- Baudelaire, C. (1863). "The Painter of Modern Life", (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964). Orig. published in *Le Figaro*.
- Benjamin, W. ([1936] 1968). "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". In W. Benjamin. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. New York.
- Benjamin, W.(1935). "Paris: the capital of the nineteenth century", in W. Benjamin. *Charles Baudelaire: a lyric poet in the era of high capitalism*. (trad. ingl. London 1983).
- Benvenisten E. (1969). *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Paris.
- Bonifazi, A. (2009). "Inquiring into Nostos and Its Cognates". *The American Journal of Philology*, 130(4), 481-510.
- Brown, D. (1996). "Genuine Fakes". In T. Selwyn (ed). *The Tourist Image. Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. Chichester.
- Bruner, E. M. (1996). "Tourism in Ghana. The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora". *American Anthropologist* 98:290-304.
- Burns, P M. (1999). *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*. London.
- Campo, J E. (1998). "American Pilgrimage Landscapes". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 558:40-56.
- Cohen, E. (1972). "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism". *Social Research* 39:164-89.
- Cohen, E. (1988). "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism". *Annals of Tourism Research* 15:371-386.

- Cohen, E. (1992). "Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence". In A. Morinis. *Sacred Journeys*. Westport.
- Cohen, E. (1995). "Contemporary Tourism. Trends and Challenges: Sustainable Authenticity or Contrived Post-modernity?" In R. Butler and D. Pearce (eds). *Change in tourism, Place, Processes*. London.
- Coleman, S. and Eade, J. (2004). "Introduction. Reframing Pilgrimage". In S. Coleman and J. Eade (eds). *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. New York.
- Coles, T. and Dallen, J. T. (eds). (2004). *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*. New York.
- Colin, M. and Roberts, P. (eds). (2002). *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*. Cambridge.
- Crick, M. (1989). "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18:307-44.
- Doron, A. (2005). "Encountering the 'Other': Pilgrims, Tourists and Boatmen in the City of Varanasi". *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 16:2.
- Dubisch, J. (1995). *In a Different Place*. Princeton.
- Duffy, E. (2002). "The Dynamics of Pilgrimage in Late Medieval England". In M. Colin and P. Roberts (eds). *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1912) (English translation 1915). *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, [New York 1965].
- Frow, J. (1997). *Time and Commodity Culture. Essays in Cultural Theory and Post-Modernity*. Oxford.
- Graburn, N. H.H. (1977). "Tourism: The Sacred Journey". In V. Smith . 1977 [1989]. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia.
- Hatton C. (2013). "Ikea in China: Store or theme park?" *BBC News*, Beijing 4 November <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-24769669>>
- Hubert, H. and Mauss, M. (1964) (French original, 1898). *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*. Chicago.
- Leach, E. R. (1961). *Rethinking Anthropology*. New York.
- Lett, J. W. (1983). "Ludic and Liminoid Aspects of Charter Yacht Tourism in the Caribbean". *Annals of Tourism Research* 10:35-56.
- Locker, M. (2017). "Don't Even Think About Getting Naked at Machu Picchu". *Travel+Leisure*. <<http://www.travelandleisure.com/articles/nudity-ban-machu-picchu>>
- MacCannell, D. (1976 [1999]). *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley.
- Magherini, G. (1982). *La sindrome di Stendhal. Il malessere del viaggiatore di fronte alla grandezza dell'arte*. Firenze.
- Mills, M. B.(1999). "Migrant Labor Takes a Holiday. Reworking Modernity and Marginality in Contemporary Thailand". *Critique of Anthropology* 19:31-51.
- Morani M. (1981). "Lat. « sacer » e il rapporto uomo-dio nel lessico religioso latino". *Aevum* 50:30-46.
- Morris, C. (2002). "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages". In M. Colin and P. Roberts (eds). *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*. Cambridge.
- Nash, D. (1981). "Tourism as an Anthropological Subject". *Current Anthropology* 22:461-481.
- Pfaffenberger, B. (1983). "Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists. The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka". *Annals of Tourist Research* 10:57-74.
- Rojek, C. (1997). "Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights". In C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds). *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London.
- Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape*. Basingstoke.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture and Truth. The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston.
- Rountree, K. (2002). "Goddess Pilgrims as Tourists: Inscribing the Body Through Sacred Travel". *Sociology of Religion* vol. 63:475-496.
- Sears, J. F. (1989). *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New York.
- Smith, V. (1977 [1989]). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia.
- Stephenson, M. (2002). "Travelling to the Ancestral Homeland: The Aspirations and Experiences of a UK Caribbean Community". *Current Issues in Tourism* 5:378-425.
- Turner, V. and Turner, E. (1978). *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. Oxford.
- UNESCO. (1977). "The Effects of Tourism on Socio-cultural Values". *Annals of Tourism Research* 4:74-105.
- Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Gaze in Contemporary Society*. (2nd edition). London.
- Urry, J. (2004). "Death in Venice". In M. Sheller and J. Urry (eds). *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London.
- Van Gennep, A. (1909). *Les rites de passage*. Paris.
- Etyomologies: *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* 5th edition, *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, *Online Etymology Dictionary* <<http://www.etymonline.com/>>, *Dizionario Etimologico Online* (<<http://www.etimo.it/>>).