Pilgrimage or **Sacred Tourism**? A Modern Phenomenon with Historical Roots, with Examples from **Fatima** and **Santiago de Compostela**

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Abstract | The aim of the article is both to discuss the phenomenon of pilgrim tourism from a post-modern perspective characterised by an increasing secularisation and to illustrate with the aid of a couple of examples - Santiago de Compostela in Spain and Fatima in Portugal – the distinctive features of this type of tourism-related product and link it to a regional development perspective. It is increasingly obvious that the world is becoming more polarised with an orthodox conservative religious wind blowing across the world at the same time as an increasingly secular view of life is gaining ground reducing religiousness in everyday life to a more subordinate position. We will therefore stress the importance of the desire to visit religious sites to find fellowship and achieve mental satisfaction is growing in importance. Irrespective of the individual's purpose in making their journey to various sacred sites in the world, the tourist industry is growing in importance here and thus, in the future, ever greater demands will placed on the regional and local actors who receive visitors at these sites. There are considerable opportunities for these actors to further develop sacred tourism as a post-modern tourism niche.

Keywords | Pilgrims, Tourism, Santiago de Compostela, Fatima, Religion.

Resumo | O objectivo deste artigo é discutir o fenómeno do turismo de peregrinação desde uma perspectiva pós-moderna caracterizada pelo incremento da secularização, assim como, ilustrar, com a ajuda dos exemplos de Santiago de Compostela e Fátima, os elementos singulares deste tipo de produto turístico, ao mesmo tempo que se relaciona com o desenvolvimento regional. Cada vez mais é evidente que o mundo se está a polarizar entre a conservadora ortodoxia religiosa, que se estende de forma global, e uma crescente secularização de vida diária que submete a religião para um lugar secundário. Porém, sublinhamos a importância do desejo de visitar lugares religiosos onde a procura da amizade e da satisfação mental são os objectivos valorizados. Independentemente da motivação individual da viagem aos lugares sagrados do mundo, a indústria turística está a crescer neste segmento e desta forma espera-se, no futuro, uma maior procura, afectando aos actores locais e regionais que receberão mais visitantes nestes lugares. Há muitas oportunidades para estes agentes induzirem um maior desenvolvimento do turismo do sagrado como um nicho de mercado pós-moderno.

Palavras-chave | Peregrinos, Turismo, Santiago de Compostela, Fátima, Religião.

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1. Introduction and aim

Tourism is today a worldwide phenomenon. The numbers employed in the tourist industry are especially high in developing countries, where inbound and domestic tourism accounts for a lion's share of income from exports and, in some cases, is the number one foreign exchange earner. In the past few decades, tourism has been one of the fastest expanding industries on a global scale, numerous new environments being discovered and established as destinations all over the world, increasingly in its most hidden and remote corners, a vast variety of hosts' and tourists' cultures, and a constantly growing number of people employed (World Tourism Organization Tourism Barometer, 2004).

This rapid increase in tourism in the world is a result of our continual desire for new experiences and what we perceive as different, which provides us with satisfaction and variation, and a break from everyday routines: something new, exciting and out of the ordinary which arouses our curiosity in different ways. Many experiences arise from our wish to spoil ourselves, to give in to our desires and for a shorter or longer period forget the routine existence that many of us live (Löfgren, 1999).

As tourism has developed in recent years, various concepts related to the industry have become more prominent. The term "experiences" is a clear example of a concept that has become something of an in-word in tourism in our post- or late-modern society. At the same time, travel and visiting other places has always been fundamentally a matter of creating an experience. As tourism consumers we generally request services which have the feature of being consumed at the same time as they are produced and thus cannot be stored as a commodity. Added to this is the fact the service or experience we request may have different values for different individuals depending, among other things, on experience, knowledge and interest. This means that the individual consumer is also a major part of the total product which produces the experience (O´Dell, 2002). Thus, the experience is closely related to the individual and must be described in terms of both its value and strength. From this follows that what is perhaps experienced in a positive manner by one customer may not be so by another and an experience may moreover be perceived as more or less intense (Söderlund, 1999). With this reasoning as the point of departure, it is thus of importance for the tourism producer to be able to continuously find new and differentiated niches in tourism that, in different ways, can stimulate our interest as consumers and thereby generate new visitors, which in its turn will lead to financial gain for the producers. Lury (1996) and Urry (1995) maintain that this is a natural result of the spread of consumer culture in our society, where both goods and services are continually being developed in the direction of greater diversification and where we must consume an increasing amount at an increasing rate in order to be seen as modern but also to be able to perceive our own modernity. The benchmark for the level of success of the destination and the strength of the attraction is, according to Dybedal (1999), the frequency of the visits and the length of the stays at the destination. In the struggle to maintain this strength a whole range of new products of various types are, therefore, continually being generated.

In this article we will consider one particular niche in tourism – pilgrim tourism – which in recent years has increasingly become a commercial product. Today pilgrim tourism attracts large numbers of people, at the same time as the phenomenon in itself cannot be classified as a new and recently created tourism product, on the contrary. Journeying to holy places has its roots far back in history even though the concept of tourism as such has not been used for more than about one hundred and fifty years. According to Smith (1981) the term pilgrim normally refers to a person making a religious journey but in its derivation from Latin it has a wider meaning of stranger, wanderer, exile, new arrival and traveller. Here we have chosen to use the term pilgrim in the sense of traveller.

In our continual search for "somewhere other" we are all in one sense involved in a never-ending journey even if this journey may take many different forms of expression. Increasingly we search for adventure and variation in different cultures far from our home environment. Keep-fit addicts and joggers keep their bodies in trim through regular exercise, local folklorists and archaeologists search for their local historical roots, backpackers give expression to their need of freedom, those who walk in the mountains seek grandeur and solitude, nomads often have no permanent home, and seekers and doubters look for truth, beauty and goodness in life. If we maintain a fairly open definition we might say that the pilgrim in some sense is related to them all or perhaps even that the pilgrim is the basis of all the expressions that have given rise to tourism today.

If we consider the various expressions that modern pilgrim tourism has taken, it is apparent that from one perspective there are clear links with the historical motives which led to pilgrimages, at the same time as, from another perspective, the individual has other motives for embarking on a pilgrimage. Turnbull (1981) emphasises the fact that the pilgrim primarily feels himself part of a spiritual rather than cultural heritage. Nevertheless, we would point out that apart from the more strictly religious motives many people also feel a great need to have an opportunity in their leisure time for a form of recreation which focuses on mental purification and the yearning for experiences that are diametrically opposite to everyday life. This reasoning is also supported by Graburn (1989) who sees tourism as something of holy journey where the tourist "flees" from everyday life. Thus we can see tourism as a kind of "sacred journey" where the sacredness is not strictly religious in character but rather an expression of an escape from our everyday environment.

The overarching aim of this article is both to discuss the phenomenon of pilgrim tourism from a post-modern perspective characterised by an increasing secularisation and to illustrate with the aid of a couple of examples – Santiago de Compostela in Spain and Fatima in Portugal – the distinctive features of this type of tourism-related product and link it to a regional development perspective.

2. Pilgrimages in an historical perspective

The motive of the journey unites, at a fundamental level, religious people in nearly all cultures in the form of exodus, pilgrimage, missionary journey and the wanderings of the beggar monks. The pilgrimage is perhaps the religious custom that is easiest to observe and recognise in the cultures of the different religions. There are many examples of these pilgrimages: Hindus journeying to the Ganges, Catholics to Rome, Jewish and Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the Muslim Hajj to Mecca. Holy places and different ceremonial events have attracted visitors throughout history. Holy places thus create an extraordinary link with the sacred in comparison with the visitors' "everyday" places and existence. It may therefore be maintained that tourism, which is generally often explained as something extraordinary, i.e. something over and above the ordinary and everyday, corresponds very well to people's desire to seek what is different and unknown to them.

Let us therefore begin by establishing a particular perspective on this "new but old" form of tourism. In the Christian world pilgrimages were common as early as a few centuries after the birth of Christ. From that time on, visiting the Holy Land and seeing the Biblical sights with one's own eyes has been a dream for many Christians. Initially the journeys went to Jerusalem and later to Rome and the other sanctuaries which could display relics. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, is considered as a pioneer in this tourism niche and she is said

to have made the first pilgrimage to the Holy Land as early as 324 AD. It was at this point in time that descriptions were first produced. The oldest known description of the "Jerusalem route" is from 333 AD and it describes the route from Bordeaux to the Holy Land. However, there is a problem in simply relating pilgrims to the Christian faith (pelegrin, pilgrim = stranger). Even in primitive cultures, where fishing and hunting were the means of subsistence, pilgrimages were made to specific cult sites to obtain the blessing of the gods. We find pilgrimages in many religions.

The oldest pilgrimages date from the transition period between antiquity and the Middle Ages. One of the most famous documents from this period, apart from the Jerusalem Itinerary, is the so-called "Jerusalem Breviary" which is a form of guidebook for a walking tour in Jerusalem and was probably written in the 6th century. These guidebooks, like those of today, were intended to help visitors with what they should see and experience during their visit. Sights such as the Temple of the Lord (Templum Domini), the Sepulchre of the Lord (Sepulcrum Domini), the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary, Pilate's Palace and Lazarus' grave in Betania were highlighted. All the sights that were indicated as tourist destinations and attractions were thus linked to the Bible. It was therefore hardly a case of the individual making his own choices but the pilgrim had a relatively clear picture before he began his journey of what he (and it was generally a man) should see.

After a certain decline in the demand for this form of tourism at the end of the first millennium (Rinschede, 1992) there was a renaissance in pilgrimages during the 12th century and they developed into what would today be called "mass tourism", particularly as people tended to travel in "organised groups". At its greatest extent, it is estimated that between 20 and 50 per cent of the population of Europe took part in various forms of pilgrimages. The pilgrim wore special clothes, a kind of all-weather dress, which was often handed over at special church services: a mantle, heavy boots or shoes, a rucksack, a hat for sunshine and rain and a staff. People had different motives for their pilgrimage, some sought penance, others wanted to pray for help for themselves and others and some sought themselves and God. The major destinations were Jerusalem, Santiago de Compostela, Rome and Nidaros (Trondheim) – destinations which still exert a strong attraction today (http://www.pilgrimscentrum.org/, 2004).

However, this form of journey in some sense loss its basic objective during the Middle Ages with the advent of the crusades, as the latter often meant general warfare against groups who, for more or less valid reasons, were assumed to be enemies of Christendom. This was hardly a question of ethical travel despite the religious undercurrents.

The development of pilgrimages led to the gradually establishment of inns and other places to spend the night along the pilgrim routes. A form of trade, similar to the modern tourist industry, also developed along these routes. Monks acted as an early form of guide and there were souvenirs for purchase, which were often in the form of relics. It was thus possible even at this time to buy a kind of badge or sign which was a form of verification that the bearer had visited the grave of a particular saint, i.e. a form of what we today refer to as "pins" and souvenirs.

Today, together with Jerusalem in Israel, Rome in Italy, Lourdes in France and others, Fatima in Portugal and Santiago de Compostela in Spain are very important sites for many Christian pilgrims. For Christians, pilgrimages play an important role, as they do in Islam. For the faithful Muslims the pilgrimage to Mecca – Hajj – is one of the absolutely most important events in their lives, which deepens the sense of belonging to a community. As laid down in the Koran, every Muslim who can afford it and is physical able is expected to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime. Every year

nearly two million Muslims visit the city during the month of Zilhicce, which concludes the Muslim year. Pilgrimages to Mecca are today as well organised as traditional tourist trips. Most pilgrims purchase a package journey including a visa, transport, accommodation and guide.

Equivalent pilgrimages for Hindus are the visits to the city of Allahabad and to Sangam. It is there that the Ganges and Yamuna rivers are thought to flow into the Saravati, the mystical and invisible river. At most nearly 30 million people have annually taken a purifying bathe in the river.

Against the background of this historical perspective on pilgrimages, today's often brightly coloured brochures, with a continuous stream of new tourism products to entice new visitors, would appear to be more nuanced. To summarise, we might say that today we are still attracted by approximately the same attractions as two thousand years ago. Previously it was a pilgrimage; today it is perhaps more a sacred weekend trip. Perhaps we travel to places like St. Peter's in Rome, La Sagrada Familia in Barcelona or St. Paul's cathedral in London – perhaps not primarily for religious reasons but to sense the flow of history and to learn about both culture and architecture. The primary reasons for undertaking a pilgrimage are, however, to find peace and harmony after the often stressful everyday existence than many people lead. Like pilgrimages in the past, today's sacred journeys are an expression of people's desire to achieve a satisfaction that goes beyond material values, where the inner pilgrimage is primary, but an inner pilgrimage which finds expression in the form of an outer one. The pilgrimage may thus be said to be part of the search by the individual for a better future. The key words in the cultural construction might be, then, belief and knowledge. This means that most of our journeys could be linked to pilgrimages, as most of us believe that a journey will lead to something better, such as recreation, relaxation, activity, etc.

The holy places around the world therefore attract a wide spectrum of visitors with different objectives and goals. Here pilgrims, who are primarily seeking a religious experience, come together with secularised tourists who are, in the first place, generally more curious about the holy site but also about the pilgrims as such (Nolan and Nolan, 1992). An interesting aspect here is the whole that the different visitors to the destination form together, a whole which also contributes to the amount of tourism in the place since the pilgrims, who are themselves, tourists, are also in themselves one of the major attractions for the secularised tourists. The tourists are thus part of the attraction which draws further tourists (Nolan and Nolan, 1992).

Irrespective of the aim of the journey this form of tourism, then, generates large sums of money every year, which is of importance for both regional and local development in the area which has the "tourist attraction".

3. The yearning for sacred contentment

At the beginning of this paper we discussed our desire for experiences and the yearning for what we perceive as different. Experiences may be said to have a beginning and an end, which thus implies an investment in time. Often, however, the individual perceives the experience as something relatively transient consisting of short events (Mossberg, 2003). Despite this transience, it is possible to speak both of a travel experience that lasts several weeks and of individual unique events which provide the individual with a feeling and contentment which are unique to him.

However, the tourist journey begins with the need to travel somewhere. This need is grounded in the fact that there is something that attracts and thus encourages us to transport ourselves to a specific place. All the same, we do not always seek a certain given physical attraction but even the feeling and the identity that the place creates for us (see, for instance Rose, 1995). We often seek a

holistic experience where many different influential factors interact to make us feel content and give us satisfaction. How the need to travel and the feeling we want to experience arise varies considerably over time and from individual to individual (Karlsson, 1994).

Selänniemi (1999) maintains that most of the theories regarding the behaviour of tourists are based on the idea that tourists travel because they are interested in the destination and because they seek variety in their lives through visiting environments that lie outside their everyday sphere. We might perhaps simplify the issue by suggesting that our need to travel is a function of the fact that we are interested in and continually yearn for something that we do not have access to here and now. We seek new places which are both geographically and mentally different for us, with the aim of attaining physical and mental satisfaction. However, at the same time, there is often the need to feel at home, a need which gives us a sense of safety and security. This would seem to be somewhat contradictory but there is a kind of symbiosis between what is new to us and what we are familiar with. We often seek places and events of which we have some prior knowledge, a knowledge that we may have acquired in various ways. Friends may have influenced our choice of destination or we may have become interested in a particular place through television, films, postcards, and literature or travel brochures (Karlsson, 1994).

Furthermore, we are no longer satisfied with just getting to know new physical environments, where the focus is on the material, physical attraction in the form, for instance, of buildings, artefacts or natural phenomena but we seek identifications and social environments, where existential nearness is becoming increasingly significant. We also seek individuals who have given the place a meaning and who together form a whole which creates an understanding and provides us, in our personal interpretation, with a form of authenticity. This authenticity may have several dimensions. The definition of something or somebody as authentic may be achieved, for instance, through the other, the observer, determining that authenticity. The tourist may experience authenticity as something that has been lost in their own society and instead see a vicarious authenticity in the foreign other. It is a matter of a kind of social game, where there is an inbuilt tension between nearness and distance. We approach something we want to identify with by distancing ourselves from something else (Andersson Cederholm, 1999).

MacCannell (1992) stresses the importance of feeling a sense of belonging and presence with all our senses and maintains that the ideal-typical tourist does not want to be a distanced observer of a course of events but a participant with both body and soul. It is doomed to failure, says MacCannell, if it is the aim of the tourist is to seek authenticity in traditional societies since she thinks she has lost it in her own modern society. The very attempt to go beyond the fragmented existence of modernity and construct a new form of totality merely contributes further to its fragmentation.

The material personified symbols together with the immaterial ones, where lifestyle, way of thinking and acting are attributes we seek, create in us a context which, at least in the short term, satisfies our desire to encounter something new and different. Thus we seek an antipode where the differences from our everyday life are greater than the similarities and where our imagination has free scope and where there are no ready answers available. This reasoning is also in line with the views of the sociologist Jan Vidar Haukeland (1993), who argues that people who daily find themselves in a hectic overstimulated situation seek tourist journeys which offer relaxation and rest, whilst the understimulated seek a contrast to their monotony through activity and excitement. In this way the tourist journey becomes a form of regulator which compensates for the limitations of everyday life, irrespective of whether it is matter of escalating or de-escalating our experiences. New impressions and

changes, positive or negative, in themselves provide a stimulus which creates the satisfaction we strive to attain. Krippendorf (1994) maintains that the main motive for travelling is to flee from something we lack in our daily lives. In today's technological world we feel increasingly imprisoned in routines and commitments over which we have no control, says Krippendorf. *"It is the journey to the Promised Land"* (Krippendorf, 1994).

We see here a clear link between the historical pilgrimage and today's and the niche in modern tourism which may be referred to as morbid tourism (Blom, 2000). This concept relates to a form of attraction involving death and accidents related to a particular person.

Thus from today's morbid tourism niche we can discern traces of the desire to experience religious places which led to the development of pilgrimage tourism as early as the 4th century of the modern era. Then as now, people sought out what they perceived as holy places, where there was a mystique surrounding both the place and, where appropriate, the person considered to be buried there. At the same time these places often developed a commercial activity.

A concrete example of what might be termed a modern form of pilgrim destination is Graceland. Elvis Presley's home is not just of major economic importance for the city of Memphis but is also a symbolic home for Elvis fans from all over the world. This is particularly in evidence during the anniversary week of his death (Elvis Presley died on 16th August 1977). This week is the high point as regards the number of visitors, when both musical and sporting events as well as dances, parties and memorial ceremonies fill the days. Even Elvis Presley's birthday, January 8, is celebrated with special events. People of the same mind meet at Graceland and worship the idol in fellowship. The most enthusiastic "pilgrims" even visit Elvis' childhood home in Tupelo, Mississippi, where he lived until he was thirteen.

This somewhat broader perspective on the latter-day pilgrim leads us to Turner and Turner (1978) who claim that "a tourist is half a pilgrim if a pilgrim is a half a tourist". In line with this quotation, we could say then that many tourists might be classified as pilgrims at the same time as many pilgrims are also tourists. If we accept that a pilgrim has a belief that is linked to something holy and that the aim of the journey is holy, we might, instead of talking of holy places, discuss journeys to individuals on whom some people have endowed a form of holiness. Here we see a clear relationship with, for instance, Lady Diana and Elvis Presley or why not with various natural phenomena.

Our continual desire to attain a mental, and to some extent sacred refuge, may thus find different forms of expression. At the same time as we live in an increasingly secular world, the demand during our leisure and holiday journeys for a mental purification which differs considerably from the everyday life we live is increasing. Even if the religious factors are diminishing in importance, as regards the aims of today's pilgrimages, we see the importance of experiencing together with other people a mood and an environment which create a harmony and a satisfaction within us.

Nolan and Nolan (1992) divide the tourist attractions related to religion into three partly overlapping categories:

- Places where the sanctuary is a goal for religiously motivated distant journeys for visitors;
- Religious attraction in the sense that the place has a religious significance and an historical and/or artist importance;
- Festivals with religious connotations.

Using these categories we can say that Fatima fits into the first category, as people visit the sanctuary for religious reasons. In comparison with Santiago de Compostela, Fatima has a relatively short history as a religious destination and cannot either compete with Santiago de Compostela in a cultural perspective as this city, apart from the sanctuary, also has a medieval centre which attracts tourists.

3.1. Santiago de Compostela

The city of Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, Spain is one of the main destinations of religious tourism in Europe. Its origin as a centre of pilgrimage goes back to the Middle Ages. One of Jesus Christ's disciples, Saint James the son of Zebedee, had been preaching along the Iberian western coast thus fulfilling the mandate of spreading the word of God to the most distant corners of the earth. History also recounts the tradition that, after his death in Palestine, body of Saint James was taken, sometime in the early decades of the millennium, to a place where the city of Compostela is located today. It was not until the ninth century that the existence of the apostle remains was recognised and shortly thereafter began a pilgrimage movement from all of Europe that at its peak in the medieval period was absolutely massive.

All of the legends surrounding this story must be seen in the context of the political situation of the times, with continuous disputes between the small medieval kingdoms, the struggle for power in the church, and the threat of Islam whose believers, it should be remembered did not occupy the more northern Iberian lands, precisely where the remains of the apostle appeared. Furthermore, it is very close to Santiago, in the kingdom of Asturias, that the Christian re-conquest of the Islamic lands began (López Alsina, 1994; Barreiro, 1997).

However that may be, the massive movement of pilgrims during the Middle Ages was followed by a period of crisis, motivated, among other things, by the wars and religious conflicts that divided the continent during the following centuries, including the disappearance of the body of the Apostle, which was hidden to protect it from the constant invasions of Galicia from the sea. Although they did not disappear altogether, the pilgrims on route to Compostela became more anecdotal. It was not until well into the nineteenth century, after the recovery of the coffin in a period of growing religiousness in Europe, that the "Xacobeo" phenomenon reinitiated a period of expansion. Although this began to be evident in the first half of the twentieth century, it has been growing since the 1940s (Rodríguez, 2001). The Spanish dictatorship, with its strong religious inspiration, elevated the figure of the warrior Saint James to one of the major icons of Spain and thus stimulated the growth of the pilgrimages. The official data estimating the number of visitors to the city during the holy years show an increase from 140,000 in 1909 to 700,000 in 1954. Since 1965, the growth has become spectacular with 2.5 million people in 1965 and 4 million in 1971 (Rodríguez, 2001; http://www.archicompostela.org).

However, these data should perhaps not be taken at face value. First, we must question their accuracy, as the methods for estimating numbers were not very reliable. Secondly, we must discuss the reasons why the visitors come. Taking into account that the majority of the visitors were inspired by religious motives, there is no doubt that they were pilgrims in the strict sense. This idea is reinforced by the powerful influence of organised trips from parish centres, schools or strongly inspired catholic movements.

From 1971 a very significant novelty has been introduced. It is the Compostela. This is a document of medieval origin that from that year serves to testify that the pilgrimage has been carried out on foot. The only people to be considered pilgrims are those who travel the route of the Santiago pilgrimage a minimum distance of 100 km on foot or 200 km on horseback or by bicycle, along any of the recognised routes and can demonstrate this by means of a stamped passport. Thus the term pilgrim is given a very restricted definition and thus from this year onwards we have at our disposal accurate pilgrim statistics.

This change in the concept of pilgrim was later accompanied by another which affected motivation. Little by little, the changes in social and space behaviour led to the fact that the religious motivation that every pilgrim is supposed to have when receiving the Compostela was enriched

with others, so that today they have the option of indicating cultural reasons for the pilgrimage. In fact, the church statistics (http://www.archicompostela.org) show that the strictly religious motivation does not very often reach 70%; in other surveys spirituality more than religion is indicated as the most valued element (Tourist Observatory of Santiago; Álvarez, 1999; Blanco and Garrido, 1994). At the same time, other motives, such as sports or ecological inspiration, are not uncommon, up to a point where the religious motivation becomes secondary.

As mentioned earlier, as from the Holy Year of 1971, some things began to change. In this sense a series of actions that served to incorporate Santiago into the merely recreational tourist market were observed, replacing the almost exclusive religious image. For example, in 1971 the ministry recognised the Santiago pilgrimage as a tourist route, giving a new significance to its declaration in 1962 that the route was an historic-artistic phenomenon. Also, in 1984 it was elevated to the rank of First European Cultural Itinerary and finally, in 1993 Santiago was declared a World Heritage site.

There have indeed been many events that have stimulated the rapid growth of tourist visits, including the various visits by Pope John Paul II which served to place Santiago on the destination map of potential tourists, whether religiously inspired or not.

Another very important event in the new--found interest in pilgrimages to Santiago was the Holy year of 1993. Galician tourist policy, which from the beginning of the 1980`s has been in the hands of the regional administration, based its main development strategy on the impetus of the Santiago Holy Pilgrimage, with a clear awareness of the singularity of the product and of its enormous potential; also its linear character meant that it was not just a unique destination but covered a much wider area. In this sense a process began for the revival and protection of the traditional routes, with the construction of free hostels and a powerful publicity campaign based on the Holy Route "Xacobeo". The result was that from 451 pilgrims in 1971 and 1,868 in 1982, in the Holy year of 1993 the figure reached 99,436, following a progression in the next Holy years culminating in 2004 with almost 180,000. But, even in the years in-between growth tendencies were observed in that in 1990 there were only 4,918 pilgrims, in 1997 25,179 and in 2003 74,614 (http://www.archicompostela.org).

These numbers only refer to pilgrims who come to Compostela and who, as such, arrive mainly on foot. It would also be necessary to include those who reach the city by other forms of transport. In this case the motives are diverse. It should be taken into consideration that, apart from the urban functions of Santiago as the political capital of the region and with a high university potential, the city itself is a grand attraction. Its recognition as a World Heritage site is supported by a dynamic historic centre and a rich cultural heritage, a consequence of the footprints of a long history of external influences and of a desire to show the power of the dominant groups, such as the church or the monarchy.

The studies regarding whether or not the motivation for the visits to Santiago is of a religious nature occupy a very secondary position as the statistics do not reach 5% of the total (Tourist Observatory of Santiago), considering that we are talking about an estimated volume of about 1,3 million tourists per year, and more than 3 million day-trippers (Santiago Tourism Board). Pilgrims, as strictly understood at this destination, are not included in this percentage; even were all of them considered to have a religious motive, which we have already seen is not true, the final values would not change very much.

Another important consideration has to be taken into account. In the strategic tourist plan elaborated by the Council of Santiago (2004), religious tourism does not appear in their market strategies as a

priority product, and only appears in the category of "to be sustained and balanced". This means that a high potentiality of destination exists but the attraction, or if preferred, the interest in this market is not on the front line. What is important is to maintain this market at the same time as balancing it, for example modifying the profile of visitor to increase they spend as tourists. Even in this document the visits connected with religion and the pilgrims appear as separate bodies as the pilgrims are considered to have a different connotation from the others.

Advancing a little further into this loss of consideration for Santiago as a religious destination, we can see that it is actually the church that is continuously in search of new resources for maintaining the attraction of the destination. This not only includes the museums related to the church but overall the opening of a patrimony that does not generate strictly religious motives. This could be the case of the recent introduction of guided tours of the cathedral's roof, from which one can admire a splendid panorama of Compostela's historic city quarters. Therefore, we should realise that the church has become fully incorporated into the tourist market, too, and the best example of this is the souvenir shop that is located in the cathedral building. This perspective contradicts the claim of the ecclesiastical institution that the Holy Pilgrimage of Santiago is not a tourist product or when it tries to harmonise the visit to the temple with the promotion of the cult. The very spectacular botafumeiro, a large censer that literally flies over the ogives of the cathedral, is one of the biggest attractions in the masses in which it is employed. The applause obtained once it is over gives the feeling more of a tourist spectacle than of a liturgical act.

Most definitely, Santiago de Compostela is today, overall, a destination of cultural tourism in which the religious motivation is secondary and where the concept of pilgrimage has its special significance that is identified with the walking pilgrim. The religiousness of the aforementioned pilgrims is not considered as a significant element and for as much as the church statistics show that such an element exists, other studies, such as the Tourist Observatory of Santiago, give evidence of a multiplicity of motives ranging from the spiritual to sportive.

It is true that the cathedral is, without doubt, the main attraction for the visitors but this does not suppose a religious motive as it is a building of singular beauty. Alongside this, the surrounding streets are also an object of intense tourist value where the large numbers of shops, souvenirs and restaurants multiply the tourist interest. The studies of motivation (Tourist Observatory of Santiago) emphasise, above all, the type of culture, although it is necessary to introduce many variables in this respect, but this is not the theme of this article.

In spite of what we have reported above, we should not undervalue the role of religious tourism in Santiago or think that the public and private sectors do not take this market into account. Some hotels in the city have specialised in this sector and certain Spanish and foreign markets, such as the Italian and German, base their visits to the city on this motivation. Santiago is also included in some of the Iberian itineraries of religious tourism and participates in international networks such as that which links Santiago with Rome and Jerusalem, or other collaborations with Lourdes, Loreto or Fatima, among others.

We can confirm that religiousness is, most probably, not the most interesting segment for the city, although a captive market exists with a high degree of loyalty from which profit can be made and that also has a great advantage in that it can be perfectly complemented with other products which, in one way or another, make use of the religious patrimony, such as the pilgrims or cultural motives.

3.2. Fatima

Fatima is a Marian sanctuary located in the west central part of Portugal near the city of Leiria, located in a plateau area dominated by calcareous rocks and where a profusion of karstic forms and abundant caves are found. This landscape, sparsely populated, entered onto the religious map in 1916/17 when three shepherds in the region had a continuous series of visions of angels and appearances of the Virgin in which various secrets were revealed. The deaths, shortly afterwards, of two of the shepherds added to the mysteries and increased belief in the veracity of the acts and led a continuous flow of pilgrims coming to pray in the places where these supernatural phenomena are observed.

The events in Fatima can be compared to many others that have taken place throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Esteve, 2002). On one hand, we have the proliferation of Marian sanctuaries linked with extraordinary phenomena which multiplied from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century and of which the most significant is that of Lourdes (France) in the year 1858 or the *second invention* of Santiago. On the other hand, we must link these processes to periods of great convulsion, such as the First World War in the case of Fatima or the advance of communism with its particular vision of religions; or for Lourdes, the revolutionary years of the middle of the 19th century with the relation of religion to nationalism and its search for a common past for all nations. During this period, to be precise in 1854, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed, practically coinciding with the Lourdes apparitions. Finally, there is also the common feature of the initial distrust of the church hierarchy fearful of losing control over the nations' spirituality. In this sense, it is interesting to note that the first chapel placed in Fatima was dynamited at the same time that the shepherds were taken away in chains, with the parish priest accused of having the main moral responsibility for the harm done to the protagonists (Santos, 2006).

Anyway, initial difficulties are always followed by a gradual process of recognition by the church hierarchy, together with an increase in pilgrim visits to the sacred place. In the case of Fatima, contrary to Lourdes, her miracles do not involve curing sick people but they have some specific characteristics which give them great transcendence in their historical and geographical context. Firstly, we must consider the strong religiousness of the Portuguese, which is a perfect cultural medium for the success of the sacred place. Secondly, the dictatorship which ruled the Lusitanian country during a good part of the 20th century was characterised by both a strong Catholic faith and deeply-rooted anti-communism. This last characteristic was also relevant during the cold war but mainly in more recent decades. The election of John Paul II to the papacy gave a significant stimulus to the Sanctuary of Fatima both through his intense Marian spirit and his powerful anti-communism, which is linked to one of the Fatima mysteries.

All these elements helped Fatima become one of the great pilgrim centres of Catholicism from 1942, when Pope Pius XII validated her message, throughout the second half of the 20th century. The construction of the temple and of all sacred symbols which identify the place, together with the provision of public and private services, made it possible gather the thousands of believers who come to the sanctuary every year, particularly during the cycle from May to October, which corresponds to the period of the apparitions. The completion of the highway which links the north with the south of Portugal in the 1990s, and which constitutes the central artery of the country's territorial organisation, favoured the frequency of visitors because of its proximity to the sanctuary and the direct access that it provided (Santos, 2006).

Although Fatima is considered a *world altar* by the Portuguese, it is necessary to modify that definition. It is true that the estimated number those attending liturgical events, an average of about 5-6 million per year (Santos, 2006), is a significant figure,

although that number would be clearly reduced when only visitors are counted. For that reason, the question of the universality of Fatima may be raised in a more detailed analysis. On the one hand, the sacredness of the place is quite limited territorially. A significant percentage of the visitors, between 70 and 75 per cent, are Portuguese so the site might be said to be a basically national phenomenon. On the other hand, the internationalisation of the destination is also linked to Portuguese culture in that Portugal has suffered throughout the twentieth century from considerable emigration, leading to the creation of colonies of residents in countries such as Brazil, United States, Canada, Switzerland and France, among others. In this process, Fatima was one of the centripetal elements around which the identity of the emigrants as members of a community was reinforced. In this way, many churches or sanctuaries with the name of Fatima in the Catholic world have their origin in initiatives from Portuguese living outside their native country, and many *foreign* visitors to the original temple are in fact emigrants, mainly those of the first generation, who temporarily return to Portugal on holiday or for some other reason (Santos, 2006).

In spite of what has been said, we cannot ignore the fact that Fatima is one of the great pilgrimage destinations of Catholicism, and one of the Virgin Mary centres in the world, included in the major religious tours that can be found in Europe. From a small village with few inhabitants, we have moved to an urban complex where a very specialised commerce, main and secondary housing, tourism accommodation, and, mainly, religious buildings linked with the apparitions are mixed. The site is still growing; with the construction of a new space for hosting events, which makes it possible to speak of functional diversification, with an eye to congress tourism. The official data indicate a growth in what is the Fatima urban area from 793 inhabitants in 1911 to almost 8,000 today. On the other hand, the number of tourists beds is 3,700, to which another 9,500 offered in the non-regulated market must be added (Santos, 2006), resulting in a very clear tourism specialisation. This last aspect is reinforced a comparison is made of the different uses of the land. In her doctoral thesis, Santos (2006) estimates that 27,5 % of the built area in Fatima is occupied by religious facilities; 15% by hostelries and restaurants; almost 28% is residential, which, as we have already seen, is mainly focused on non-regulated tourism accommodation; and 16% for commerce, specialised of the religious type.

3.3. Comparison

As seems obvious, the Fatima model is clearly different from that in Santiago. In the latter case, as we have already seen, we have a city where the religious imprint is subsumed under the influence of a strong cultural heritage; furthermore, the multi-functionality of the urban space provides an opportunity for a relatively diversified tourism. In contrast, Fatima is only a sanctuary which capitalises on all the activities surrounding it. With all the shades that time introduces, we can almost say that Fatima is in the state in which Santiago might have been in the Middle Ages, when the temple with the Apostle's remains was the only motive for travelling to Compostela.

We still must analyse the geo-strategic reasons why Fatima was born and developed, starting from the idea that the appearance of sanctuaries is not neutral in space or time. In order to understand Santiago, we have to go back to the Middle Ages and take into account the role of the Muslim advance from the south of Europe, the consolidation of the Church of Rome, and the competition between the different Christian kingdoms. In the case of Fatima, a *national* explanation dealing with its geographical centrality may probably not be enough, and we would have to go further to achieve a space-time contextualization.

The religious motivation is clearly dominant in Fatima. The intensity of the feeling towards Virgin

Mary also makes us often ignore any relationship between the journey and the phenomenon of tourism. This aspect, linked to leisure time and enjoyment, has a certain negative connotation, which prevents it being associated with such deep feeling as that derived from sacredness. Let us remember that, to a certain extent, that was already the case in Santiago when the church refused to accept that the *Camino* de Santiago be identified as a tourism product, despite the fact that the Church was among the sectors that financially benefited most from tourists. The distinction between pilgrim and religious tourist is a result of this dissociation.

A pilgrim is a person who, guided by deep religious feelings, travels to a sacred place, in this case Fatima, with for pray and penitence. On the other hand, a religious tourist manifests a lower degree of religiousness and, although he/she participates in religious events, his/her journey includes leisure elements, too. Santos (2006) summarises the complex distinction between both figures by saying that a pilgrim is a pious believer and a religious tourist is a believing tourist or, perhaps, a customer who is interested in things sacred. Obviously, from a strictly sectorial approach, both figures are clearly touristic. In this context, Esteve (2002) states that the first tourist movements in the world, already in the antiquity, were the ones related to religious motivations. For its part, Fatima, like other religious places, is, according to Sack (1997), a meaningful place, which would help us to understand the strong attractiveness that it exerts.

The pilgrim, as is understood in the example of Fatima, is an individual who, for non-labour reasons moves away from his/her usual place of residence place. Even his/her role as a customer includes all typical elements of tourism: accommodation, when not just on an excursion (¾ of the visitors to Fatima), restaurants, memories and transport. Let us consider again that the functional specialisation of Fatima shows a segmentation as strong as any tourism destination; of course, with the singular specificities of a religious centre, where the beach postcard is replaced by the image of the Virgin, the suntan oil by holy water, or club attractions by night preaching. Other characteristic elements of the very specialised destinations, such as their seasonal nature, are also repeated. A distinctive aspect may be that visitors spend less, which, anyway, may be a result of the direct relationship between a higher degree of religiousness and lower income, as we are mainly talking about lower-class people.

Paradoxically, the Church is the organisation that benefits more from all this tourism. Much of the non-regulated accommodation is in establishments related to the Church, such as convents, which mainly host Catholic groups on organised journeys (Santos, 2006). It is necessary then to investigate fundamental aspects of Fatima's urban and economic structure. For instance, who is behind the souvenirs, i.e. their production and sale. It would also be interesting to make a detailed survey of the ownership of land and property. The main religious buildings surround the chapel of the apparitions and they thus occupy the central position whilst nucleus growth is widespread in the suburbs; in this context, it is necessary to understand the role of the housing promoters and their relationship with the Church.

In her survey Santos (2006) find that, in the most recent years, less intensely religious tourism seems to be increasing. This means that it is important to consider the less relevant role that traditional religions have in present-day society, even in countries like Portugal. In addition, the *Lusitanian identity* of the second and third generation emigrants is becoming weaker or, at least, they do not rely on the religious element so much. It would also be interesting to consider the influence of the highway, which, although it has certainly increased the flow of visitors, favours day-trippers who, when passing, very often decide to make a brief stop at the sanctuary for very different reasons.

The diversification of the product would then seem easy to achieve. However, the extraordinary weight the Church with regard to all aspects of Fatima, the lack of a qualified product and the non-existence of an architectural heritage make this difficult. The development of congress or nature tourism have been mentioned as possibilities but they come into conflict with the image of an excessively segmented destination.

4. Conclusions

Places which are perceived as holy in that they are connected with one of the religions are among the oldest tourist destinations in the world (Esteve, 2002). These holy places form a link with something that is extraordinary in relation to the visitors' "everyday" places. Tourism is often explained as something extraordinary, something over and above the ordinary, and given this, holy places are in some way the "purest" form of tourism, in that a pilgrim who makes his way to a holy place undertakes a both mental and physical journey that takes him beyond the "ordinary".

The places which attract pilgrims are many--facetted. In these places pilgrims who are seeking a religious experience come together with ordinary tourists, who are curious about the holy place and, also, about the pilgrims. An interesting aspect today is that the number of visitors to religious tourist attractions around Europe is continually increasing (Robles, 2001; Vilaça, 2003) at the same time as the religious communions are declining in several places in Europe.

A pilgrimage along the *Camino* de Santiago may thus play a significant role in the wellbeing and mental recuperation of the individual even though the religious reasons for the pilgrimage have become less important. Spirituality is today perhaps more important than religion (Frey, 1998).

Using Nolan and Nolan's (1992) categories we can say that Fatima fits into the first category, as people visit the sanctuary for religious reasons. Santiago del Compostela fulfils the requirements for the category of religious attraction in the sense that the place has religious significance and an historical and/or artistic importance where greater emphasis is placed on the holistic aspect of the physical as well as the social and mental. Further, Santiago de Compostela, to some extent, fits into Nolan and Nolan's (1992) category of festivals with religious backgrounds since certain years are designated as holy years and in connection with these holy years a number of activities take place in Santiago de Compostela, which attract an even greater stream of tourists. In comparison with Santiago de Compostela, Fatima has a relatively short history as a religious destination and cannot either compete with Santiago de Compostela in a cultural perspective as this city, apart from the sanctuary, also has a medieval centre which attracts tourists.

Santiago may also be seen as a post-modern place of pilgrimage since today it is striving to attract new groups alongside the religious ones, with the emphasis on other forms of spirituality where both body and soul can find satisfaction. The more strictly religious aspect has thus, in one sense, had to give way to other attractions which can satisfy our mental needs and our gastronomic and physical ones as well, with pilgrimages as an obvious examples of the latter. Fatima, on the other hand, concentrates more on pilgrims than tourists as far as consumption is concerned. A clear distinction is made between the two groups. Both places stand apart from the everyday sphere as regards both the physical and the mental. In Fatima the pilgrim expects something from the Madonna rather than something material whereas travellers to Santiago seek rather the material experiences available there.

The more significant difference between the two destinations is that Fatima can be more clearly seen as a link with the historical pilgrimages of the past whereas Santiago de Compostela is more multi-facetted today and may rather be seen as a modern tourist destination where the tourism producer meets the tourism consumer on other terms, in the sense that the commercialisation of the tourism product here is different than is the case in Fatima.

However, the common denominator in this type of sacred tourist destination is that the individual is assumed to have a total experience satisfying all their senses and feelings, as well as their philosophy of life. There is a clear link here with MacCannel's (1992) idea of the tourist seeking a feeling of belonging where the presence of all the senses is central and with Krippendorf's (1994) discussion of our desire to satisfy what we sense is missing in our everyday lives.

Our increasing demand for some form of mental purification and the desire to get away from our everyday environment is, as we see it, a direct reflection of the society in which we live and by which we are formed. It is increasingly obvious that the world is becoming more polarised with an orthodox conservative religious wind blowing across the world at the same time as an increasingly secular view of life is gaining ground reducing religiousness in everyday life to a more subordinate position. In both cases, however, the desire to visit religious sites to find fellowship and achieve mental satisfaction is growing in importance. Irrespective of the individual's purpose in making their journey to various sacred sites in the world, the tourist industry is growing in importance here and thus, in the future, ever greater demands will placed on the regional and local actors who receive visitors at these sites. Moreover, there are considerable opportunities for these actors to further develop sacred tourism as a post-modern tourism niche.

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