





ABSTRACT

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Religious Tourists. Constructing Authentic Experiences in Late Modern Hungarian Catholicism

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Diss.

This study deals with the subject of religious tourists. It therefore focuses on a group created from without: for even if religious tourism exists – as many doubt – we never find anyone *professing* to be a religious tourist. The subjects of this study identify themselves mostly as tourists or pilgrims, but never as ‘religious tourists’. To the public mind, the subjects of this study are not pilgrims but tourists if we are talking of ‘pilgrimage’ as such, and they are not tourists but pilgrims if we are talking of ‘tourism’ as such. From an academic point of view religious tourists are *group travellers with religious motives making use of the services of professional travel organisers*. Understood in this way, religious tourists as a group exist; indeed they are quite numerous and are present in all world religions. However, because of the powerful concepts which lie behind the terms ‘tourist’ and ‘pilgrim’, they are rarely perceived or examined.

The Hungarian religious tourist constitutes the subject of this investigation. I wish to present a ‘locality’ of contemporary Hungarian society, a pilgrim travel agency and its denizens, the travellers. This locality is both extraordinarily new, sporadically occupied (used only occasionally by individuals) and part of a multi-layered supra-national system.

This study focuses on the travellers. I am interested in how they interpret the places they visit. I aim to reveal the motivations of religious tourists. I seek to explore how their perceptions change during a trip and how the physical and spiritual journeys are related to each other. I wish to analyse how participants define themselves (as pilgrims, as tourists, as both or as neither) and, to be more precise, I will attempt to reveal how the modern European believer conceives of his or her identity as pilgrim. Key areas to be explored: 1, the relationship between individual, group and faith; 2, the significance and meaning of religious tourism in the internal sense of devotion and external travel experience; 3, the function of religious tourism as a spiritual movement and as a mode of consumption for modern Western man granted the opportunity of choice; 4, where modern Western man can find and how he constructs his self-image; 5, what ‘material’ he has available for this. All in all, what is the meaning of being a pilgrim today?

Keywords: pilgrimage, religious tourism, religious tourists, late modern Catholicism in Hungary, authentic experience, interpretativism, constructivist anthropology

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PREFACE

In retrospect, the present study on religious tourism may be seen, in fact, as a logical result of my intellectual development. By means of memory that systematises the past in a logical order, the years that passed from the end of my university studies (or rather from the beginning of my university studies) until the present paper was born, might be considered as *the one possible outcome*.

However tempting it may seem to create an individual mythology, it would simply not be true. Religious tourism is not the only topic I have been interested in. Neither is it the only theme I have been preparing for, or dealing with, during the near decade that has passed since I graduated. (This may partly be the cause, why we had to wait so long for this paper to be written.) In spite of this, the initial sentence written above is true, as religious tourism seemed to be a suitable research topic for me, since in this field I could use and make the most of all my knowledge and studies, as well as the possibilities provided by my environment, together with the theoretical-methodological problems I had been interested in. In this way elaborating the present topic was in fact a logical result (among several others) of my intellectual development.

Once I have driven myself to an unavoidable "discursive field", perhaps exactly at this point, in the most personal context of the most humanistic and subjective science, it is worth saying a few words about this "intellectual way". My highly respected and beloved grammar school had the effect - hidden for outsider observers - in late Socialism, that it educated us to think critically. This is rather surprising from a denominational school - at least for those formulating their opinion not on personal experiences, but on their images instead. In my opinion encouraging the students to think and judge clearly was not only a reaction to the already exhausted (but still hostile) regime, but it was also characteristic of the Piarist Order, of the Piarist monks.

Participating in a school competition I had the possibility of experiencing the wonderful human gifts of qualitative cultural research, and it became clear for me that I should study *something similar to that*, where I could do *something like this*. At the university for a while I was amused by the evolutionist and statistical description of what was at that time an extinct and staged peasant culture, presented as the ethnographical reality. Yet, being interested in religious studies, especially in the problems related to Catholicism so well known to me, I soon started to feel, rather than understand, that studying culture in fact means studying human cognition and imagination. Studying religion as a non-material phenomenon - in other words due to human restrictions it can be comprehended solely through the mind of another individual - made it clear to me that qualitative culture research should aim at revealing individual interpretations and meaning-creations. It was only one step further from this position to realize that interpretations are in fact individual constructions - creations - which are naturally dependant on other social processes that also provide meaning. All these revelations naturally led to the adoption of a critical position with regard to the identity-creator romantic

ethnography, a phenomenon so potent in Central Europe, and also turned my attention towards the present. All in all it logically led from the romantic idyll of searching for a normative cultural picture to the acceptance and enforcement of a different definition of culture in my research. It follows from the foregoing that religious tourism seemed to be an excellent research topic, as hopefully this work will demonstrate.

Besides my graduate university studies, my years at the Invisible College (1992-1996) in Budapest, my summer scholarships spent at the Catholic University of Leuven, in Collegium Hungaricum (1994, 1995), together with my postgraduate studies at Åbo Akademi, Department of Comparative Religion and Folkloristics in Turku (academic year of 1996/97), and finally my teaching experience at Szeged University all contributed to the fact that I have devoted some years on studying religious tourists. These experiences all helped me to realize that at the intersection of pilgrimage and tourism, two phenomena so full of meaning, there is something that can be studied only with the *critical thinking, methodological sensitivity* and *theoretical devotion* provided by contemporary European ethnology, cultural anthropology. To what extent this was realized, the reader will judge.

This paper was not written in the easiest possible way, or in places closest to home or under the most comfortable circumstances. All this was my deliberate decision. I thought it was worth seeking an understanding of the core of contemporary European ethnology from one of its outstanding representatives. At the end of this process now it has become clear to me that it was worth joining Professor Bo Lönnqvist to get to know first-hand the human and contemporary face of mainstream ethnology. Professor Lönnqvist's perceptive guidance made me realize what message ethnology - step-by-step leaving behind the task of identity creation - has for our contemporaries. Besides the fact that being close to his engaging personality is always a great experience, I must thank Professor Lönnqvist for teaching me several basic lessons; first of all that of faith in man. Thank you, Bosse, for keeping my integrity and my researcher's self-esteem alive when times got difficult.

I must also place special emphasis on the support of Professor René Gothóni, from whom I profited not only via his excellent books, but also through his supportive pre-evaluation of my paper. The other reviewer of this paper, Dr. Marjut Anttonen, has helped me in my work by analysing and evaluating the manuscript with her usual accuracy and clear vision. Independent of this, through analysing with an ethnologist's eye the difficulties of integrating in another society, as well as through her true friendship, she on many occasions helped my family and myself to survive spiritually.

Here I should remember several of my teachers and colleagues. In the first place I should mention my colleague, Associate Professor Gábor Barna's decade-long general support and attention. It is undoubtedly due to him that the present paper is linked to the field of pilgrimage. I must mention my workplace, the Faculty of Arts at Szeged University, which provided me with the necessary study leave to accomplish my work. I will always cordially remember my discussions with Professor Ulrika Wolf-Knuts in Åbo. As I began

my doctoral studies in Jyväskylä Professor Päivikki Suojanen provided me with great assistance at this crucial time. In different phases of my work I received useful advice and constructive criticism from my colleagues: anthropologist Dr. Tom Selänniemi, folklorist Dr. Laura Aro and historian Professor Anssi Halmesvirta. Besides my ethnologist colleagues in Jyväskylä, Professor Sabine Winker-Piepho, Freiburg also considered helping my work as a labour of love. I owe thanks to my friend and colleague Dr. Neill Martin, for taking care of the English language outlook of this thesis. The certain misspellings remain my responsibility. I have to thank my friends, Henna Mikkola and Pasi Hannonen for taking care of the Finnish summary of this study and for Gyula Erhardt for composing the cover illustration of this book. I owe all my colleagues not mentioned here by name my profound thanks for spending their time to think things over with me. In recalling the inspiring study periods I spent in Finland, I should mention Magyar Ösztöndíj Bizottság (Hungarian Scholarship Board), Magyar Állami Eötvös Ösztöndíj (Hungarian State Eötvös Scholarship), the Finnish Center for International Mobility and the Hungaryology Program in Jyväskylä who supported me at the beginning of my research work. I must also emphasize the Office for International Cooperation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and its partner institute, the Finnish Academy, who, being consistent in their support, provided me with fundamental assistance in the most critical period of my work.

Finishing this long list of thanks, I should turn back to those, who represent the very basis of the present research. First I thank Gyula Madari, the owner and director of Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency, for his readiness to discuss things with me at any time, as well as for his great help. He and his colleagues believed from the very beginning that I would succeed in completing this work and helped my research in many different ways. Lacking any fieldwork support, in the completion of my work it was essential for me to be the guest of the agency during my fieldwork trips. I must mention here, that as with all qualitative papers, my thesis could not have been written without the help of the most important sources and irrefutable authorities, namely the interviewees. Here I express my thanks for the infinite trust and patience of my conversation partners, hidden in the text behind aliases or not mentioned by name. I am enriched through having met them.

I owe many thanks to our families, especially to our parents, who had supported us, being also significant patrons of the present paper. Their firm support was needed in our wanderings over the past years. I thank our brother and sister, who spared no effort to help me practically, as well as with useful advice and thorough discussions.

Finally, in the end, but in fact in the first place I owe my wife, Ildikó, thanks. As a partner of my 'pilgrimage' she was ready to set out and settle with me in Hungary and several times in Finland. Her love, despite all the estranging consequences, made a home for us - a vital and irreplaceable stability. She not only provided a safe foundation for us, but having proficiency in 'translating cultures' she also understood very precisely what I was doing. In fact it was she, who partly translated the text of the present paper. I thank my

son, Berci, for his patience and understanding, despite the many games unplayed due to tight deadlines and urgent tasks. He always made me remember what was, in fact, important in life. As a child of an ethnologist/anthropologist he could not avoid gaining a fundamental experience in another culture, in his case that of Finland. Kiitos Pertsai!

Szeged, October, 2004

Bertalan Pusztai

I have no intention of belittling our pilgrims speeding along railway lines, for it is not the walking that counts, but the humility of heart, faith, trust, and heartbreak; but my soul keeps musing upon the pilgrimages by believers in mediaeval times as they approach the Holy City and the apostolic graves, and, most surely, the grace of God, too. It is in them that one sees the Tannhäuserian processions going through ridge and vale, through the Alps and the plains of Lombardy only to go up into the mountains again, all barefoot or in sandals, bundles on backs, guilt in heart, singing woeful songs, weeping, looking forward in hope.

Ottokár Prohászka

The pilgrim steps gently onto holy soil; the tourist overruns holy places and photographs their remains. The pilgrim travels with humility and patience; the tourist travels arrogantly and in a hurry.

Christian Conference of Asia (cited by Boris Vukonic)

No emergent style of travel will ever prove to be entirely new in all of the conventions that governs its reproduction in recognizable form.

Judith Adler

◆ ◆ ◆

When people converge in pilgrimage, meanings collide.

Michael J. Sallnow

◆ ◆ ◆

...every age has its own mode of relating to the sacred. Today, the sacred no longer rests on compulsion or on fear of the imminent end of the world.

Luigi Tomasi

The religiosity of man manifests itself in two ways: as the serfdom of the Tablets, or as the free struggle of man for God. There is a religiosity which is social, and one that is beyond society. There is prayer in a church, and there is prayer in the depths of our lives... this eternal contradiction of man is what is called Church and Gospel in the Christian world. The Church is the defence of society against the subversive, anarchistic element in religious emotion. The Gospel is the protest of the lava against basalt cooled off. Society seeks to break in religious emotions, to absorb them into its organism, but the Eternal Gospel always lifts its head up: my only responsibility is to God.

László Németh "On Károly Pap"

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ABSTRACT

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Ethnographic Ecstasy

It has been raining all day, just like it did the day before. By morning, snow has covered all the surrounding peaks. On the northern slopes of the Pyrenees there is nothing surprising in this. But, for our group, coming as we did from the warmth of a Hungarian spring, it is astonishing. We are utterly unprepared for this.

We are especially unprepared for the pouring rain, in which we are to go the Stations of the Cross. But, having come all the way to Lourdes, we absolutely have to get there, if for no other reason than because one of them was built by Hungarians. The Calvary stands on top of the hill above the shrine; this group of elderly people can only climb up at a very slow pace, even in good weather, but now the rain has made streams of water trickle down the muddy path.

The time is perfect for meditation. We are not meant to be in a hurry; performing the Calvary has its special rhythm: repeating the very same rite and prayer at each of the 15 stations of Christ's suffering. Only the brief sermons differ. Nobody is in a hurry, nobody is late, and nobody is talking: we are standing as a soaked, beaten army, one next to the other. Casually, we approach more and more groups of statues every quarter of an hour. Nobody looks either to the left or to the right, the scenery enraptures none of us: chilled to the marrow, we are forced to turn inside by the merciless rain. The 70-year-old lean and lanky bishop is the leader of our devotion. For him this is a highly significant event, as our group of two to three bus-fulls of believers has come here to represent the national pilgrimage of Hungary in the Holy Year.

My roommate, Mr. Zalai, is standing at the top of the slope. He is a strong man with short grey hair; he is in his 60s, a passionate hunter in his leisure time. He lives with his wife and hunting dog on the eighth floor of a Budapest block of flats. In the past decade, he worked as a technological manager for a security service firm. He was often on night duty – a stressful job. However, a few months ago, due to a series of threatening phone-calls, he felt he ought to give up his job. Far from being diffident, he is used to a life of tension. Nevertheless, after a while, he decided to retire. Although in his childhood he had served as an altar boy, after this, he never practised his religion. Now, however, he feels he had to come on this trip, all alone. He knows no-one in the group, and does not intend to get to know his fellow travellers either. Nor does he take part in any kind of religious activities. However, he is there on each occasion, standing aside, as though he only wanted to listen and settle his own matters. All he needed was the opportunity to come here and think over his whole life.

Standing by my side, are Dr. Várhegyi and his wife, successful lawyers. They set out on this journey from their apartment in a historic house situated in the castle area of a rural town. They have travelled all over the world. They are practising Catholics, active members in a Catholic lay movement, which promotes an increased participation of the laity in Church life, at times even

questioning the favoured role of the clergy. They came seeking relaxation, and they have already made up their minds about such pilgrimages. This is the first time they have travelled with this agency. They are worn out from the two-day, non-stop bus drive, which they had to sit through in a small lobby in the lower deck of our coach, together with the bishop. Moreover, they were not exactly cheered up by having to stay in a room overlooking the air-shaft at the corner of the small hotel. And now here we are standing in the middle of the Calvary – it all seems endless in the pouring rain. Clearly, this is too much for them. After months of hard work, they hoped to have a rest visiting one of the most significant shrines in Europe. They are sensible people, who have the manners not get involved in quarrels. However, they do speak their minds to me adding: “once you get down to studying this, we’ll tell you everything”.

A little further off, there is the retired small-town barber, Uncle János, who sits next to me on the coach. He has lent his umbrella to somebody, so now he is listening to the sermon and singing the chants quietly with a plastic bag on his head. He lost his wife recently, as it slowly emerged during the long drive through the Alps. Smart, responsive, though sometimes brooding, Uncle János received this trip from his children as a present. Of Hungarian stock born in the Ukraine, he moved to Hungary as a young man. He spent most of his life working – “to please the dear customer”. He was enthused by all the sights on the way; but he would almost always be equally disheartened when realizing he had to enjoy this alone.

At the end of the group, lagging behind a little, is Aunt Margit, hanging on to somebody. At the age of 82, she has finally managed to make the pilgrimage to Lourdes. She has difficulties with walking, and wears very strong glasses. She buried her husband after living with him for 62 years. She had been brought up in a religious family, and never would have expected the sort of thing that was to happen to her. As a young woman, she got to know a man who had just been divorced after a very short period of marriage. And although according to civil law, he could get married again, his previous Catholic marriage, a sacrament, could not be annulled. According to the Church, Aunt Margit and her husband lived in ‘concubinage’ all their lives. Now, she feels that she has proved with her own life that this was a marriage bond for a lifetime. She is seeking comfort, forgiveness of their sin, or, rather reconciliation after half a century of bitterness.

And here I am myself, standing among them. By the time we arrived at the church, my shoes had been soaked through. It was perishing cold in the church, and I had but one pullover to put on while sitting through the devotions and then while visiting the two undercrofts. My teeth were chattering at times. Finally, I spent half an hour looking around in the bookshop, and then leaning against the radiator at the information desk. Frozen to the bone, the group decided not to shrink back from going the Stations of the Cross on the hill over the basilica in the pouring rain. And here the usual ‘big dilemma’ came up again. Common sense told me to go back to the room, change clothes and get warm, especially given that I had just recovered from a bout of flu. However, there is my other self, the researcher, much like a poker player

bluffing to win a bet, or even a harrier which cannot help running after its prey, the rabbit in front of him. This other self has told me to go the Stations. Having lent my umbrella to a fellow pilgrim, I wore only one pullover and a rather thin raincoat in the cold 5 degrees centigrade.

Standing here, I feel the rain chilling my back, the cold slowly penetrating to my very lungs. I am thinking of turning around and going back to the hotel after the next Station. But simply, I cannot. This is, I reckon, 'a moment of grace'; I must stay. It is my 'pilgrimage'. I cannot; it would spoil the relationship I have built up with the group. To put it more bluntly, it would expose the role I play in front of them, crush my image as a 'fellow pilgrim'. It would undo the enhancement I gave it this morning by reading the lesson during mass. A believing Catholic researcher can surely take part in a Catholic pilgrimage, but since he has other motives too - his work - he is bound to wear a mask, irrespective of his conviction. Without wearing this mask, his work cannot be done. Herein lies the essential shortcoming of all ethnography. It gets close to man, closer than others, but due to the strong attraction of the closeness it is sometimes swallowed up.

I am staying, hoping that in this state of physical exertion, this preying on body and the soul, I will be focused on gaining new, worthwhile insights. This is something like meditation or ecstasy - 'Ethnographic ecstasy?!' I do not think torturing the body can lead to the clearing of the mind, as believers of fasting claim. They may feel something all right, but this is inaccurate, not enough. It leads to something different. It allows us to have a look at ourselves from a new, peculiar, extreme and unexpected aspect.

Beyond rosaries and souvenirs, beyond the Blessed Water of Lourdes and seeing the Pope in Rome, each one of us is here, standing in the rain, exactly because of this.

(Edited excerpts from the research diary of 2001.)

1 INTRODUCTION

Religious Tourists, the Subject of this Study

This study deals with religious tourists. It thus focuses on a group created from without: for even if religious tourism existed – as many doubt –, we never find anyone *professing* to be a religious tourist. The subjects of this study identify themselves mostly as tourists or pilgrims. My informers identified themselves as ‘religious tourists’, in very tense situations of journeys, particularly highlighting the dual linkage of this form of travel. However, speakers in this study primarily identify themselves as pilgrims, and only sometimes as tourists. The subject of the study and, indeed, the research area could be called fictitious if I was to study only self-definitions. In everyday life, however, the concept of ‘religious tourist’ certainly exists: for example pious pilgrims will dub pilgrims whom they do not regard genuine ‘religious tourists’, if not simply ‘tourists’. To the public mind, the subjects of this study are not pilgrims but tourists if we are talking of ‘pilgrimage’ as such, and they are not tourists but pilgrims if we are talking of ‘tourism’ as such. In other words, *those taking part in religious tourism are too profane to be pilgrims, but too pious to be tourists.*

Luckily, the definition of the term is not always laden with values: for scholarship, not surprisingly, the participants of religious tourism are religious tourists; I therefore use it here as a purely technical term without any value judgment involved. For the purposes of this study it means a *group of travellers with religious motives making use of the services of professional travel organizers.* Understood in this way, religious tourists as a group exist; indeed they are quite numerous and present in all world religions, but, because of the powerful concepts underlying the two terms, and the two roles, of tourist and pilgrim, they are rarely perceived or examined. In this study, the term stands for subjects of *organised, religiously-motivated tourism.* (Other ‘voices’ represented below may naturally use it differently.) However, I often use the terms *traveller, pilgrim* and *religious tourist* interchangeably, as synonyms; should their differentiation be important, it will be pointed out.

It is worth clarifying the marked forms, designations and characteristics of religiously-motivated travel in contemporary European Catholicism at the beginning of my investigation, and to establish the names I have given them. This is important because I could of course label the studied phenomenon as *pilgrimage*. At the beginning of my research work, after surveying both the ethnological literature on pilgrimage and the tourism-anthropological research on religiously-motivated travel, one feature of the topic particularly encouraged me to continue my research. Besides a primary intellectual interest, a most trivial motivation of all scientific research drove me: I felt that something had not been recognized or discussed to a necessary extent by the various social-scientific disciplines.

Having surveyed the ethnological, anthropological literature, I came to the conclusion that the concept of pilgrimage refers to something else (or to something else, as well) both in public and academic discourse. As Tomasi puts it: "the typical image of the pilgrim, however, is that of 'a poor wayfarer who travels on foot'" (Tomasi 2002, 3). Contrary to the widespread use of the term pilgrimage, the concept of religious tourism has only been sporadically introduced in tourism-anthropological works analysing the topic. Since this thesis is written in the context of pilgrimage and tourism, it is necessary to clarify the main types of *homo viator* on the road in contemporary Europe.

In this study, by the concepts '*modern pilgrimage*' and '*organic pilgrimage*', I always refer to travellers with a religious motivation, however separated they are from (religious) tourism either deliberately or due to their particular way of conducting themselves. I consider one recognisable profile of the modern pilgrim to be the solitary, mostly intellectual foot-pilgrim taking the old pilgrim-routes of Europe, whom Paul Post introduced in several fascinating studies (Post 1994, Post-Pieper-van Uden 1998). Another group of 'modern pilgrims' are the close communities of intellectuals seeking spiritual change who usually organize foot-pilgrimages, openly and deliberately avoiding tourist destinations and infrastructure. An excellent northern example of such a revival movement is the Bishop Henry pilgrimage from Turku to Köyliö in Finland, a detailed presentation of which is given by Pertti Anttonen (Anttonen 1999). I define also as modern pilgrimage those foot-pilgrimages that emphasize traditional forms although they bring strangers and urban communities into a route, such is the pilgrimage of thousands of young people walking to Czestochowa every year (Jackowski - Smith 1992, Galbraith 2000). In this study, for the sake of simplicity, I use the rather dubious-sounding '*organic pilgrimage*' for the surviving forms of former peasant pilgrimages where closed communities organise their pilgrimages. These journeys attract their participants from smaller, mostly rural communities, and aim to reach their local or regional destination or shrine on foot or by hiring a bus. With the word '*organic*', I intend to indicate their closed community and low-scale, non-professional organisation. Historical-ethnographical analyses of these surviving forms have mainly been carried out in continental Europe. Among numerous studies I refer here on the overviews of Guth (1986) and Barna (Bálint-Barna 1994) both with further references.

To the external observer, the peculiarity of religious tourism is obvious, as the people involved in such journeys visit mainly, but not exclusively, places of religious significance, such as churches and monasteries, and they also perform devotional acts at the locations or during the journey (participation in masses and prayers). However, they are also tourists, since they make use of the infrastructure of tourism on their way, and regard the high-quality organization of the journeys to be important. Moreover, sights without religious importance are also included in their itinerary. According to my studies, these travellers can be clearly differentiated from both pilgrims and tourists as conceived of in mainstream interpretation due to their distinctive form of travel, group formation, motivations and demands.

In this study my intention is to focus exclusively on travellers making use of specialized tour agencies of the kind widespread in the Catholic world. In my approach, religious tourism is a form of travel where religious and tourist motivations co-exist, it is organised by specialised agencies, and it usually collects and brings strangers on a pilgrimage route. According to my observations, the external organizer of the journey exerts significant influence over the individual interpretations of these journeys. Though I differentiate the journeys under examination from certain forms of pilgrimages on the basis of external criteria, I do not aim at a sharp delimitation. My study primarily intends to present the dual origin and dual attachment of this form of travel, as well as the characteristics resulting from this.

The Hungarian religious tourist constitutes the subject of this investigation. There are undoubtedly certain ethno-political features in present-day religious tourism (for example the significance of certain shrines in different nations, noted among others by Rinschede (1992, 53), however, this study does not intend to discuss these in detail. The study of these journeys offers a unique opportunity to learn about urban man living in a complex society, to understand him from a European ethnological perspective based on general, behavioural-scientific points of view. I consider these travellers not to be mainstream, monolithic or homogenous societal groups. Not only is my whole concept of society different, but my perceptions and findings have made it quite obvious that pilgrims who are often treated and represented as homogenous are actually heterogeneous and fragmented. I wish to present a 'locality' of contemporary Hungarian society, which is both extraordinarily new and rather sporadic (occasionally used by individuals) and part of a multi-layered and complex supra-national system.

Instead of travel destinations and shrines, this study focuses on *the traveller*. I am interested in how they interpret the places they visit. I try to reveal the motivations of religious tourists; how much they have travelled before and the nature of their religiosity. I try to explore their experiences of and with their fellow travellers; whether religious tourism is a communal religious experience; whether they remember general or specific impressions of a journey; how their perceptions change during a trip; how the physical and spiritual journeys are related to each other; how participants define themselves: as pilgrims, as tourists, as both or as neither. To be more precise, I will attempt

to reveal how the modern European believer conceives of his or her identity as pilgrim; the relation between individual, group and faith; the significance and meaning of religious tourism in the internal sense of devotion and external travel experience; the function of religious tourism as a spiritual movement and a mode of consumption for modern Western man granted the opportunity of choice; where modern Western man can find and how he is to go about constructing his self-image; what 'material' he has available for this. All in all, what is the meaning of being a pilgrim today? Throughout this study, I try to maintain the diversity of the group under investigation while I 'organize' them into certain profiles and describe the main features of their journeys.



Profiling: the praying religious tourist. (B. Pusztai)

Who, in the final analysis, are these travellers?

Are they pilgrims?

No doubt they are, since their primal motivation is to visit a Roman Catholic shrine or ecclesiastical centre of great significance. They are pilgrims, since they consider it important to have a spiritual leader or a priest on the journey with them – this seems to be a necessary condition of all such travel. They are pilgrims, because, during their journeys, they sing hymns and pray, which is definitely not a characteristic of any group of tourists. Consequently, they are *pilgrims* in their *self-definition, acts* and *motivations*.

Are they tourists?

No doubt they are, since they regard the perfect organization of the journey, a comfortable journey and good-quality accommodation as important factors. They are tourists, because most of them do not seek, moreover definitely reject physical penitence; they are not ascetics. They are tourists, since most of them consider it important to visit the non-religious sights on their way as well. Consequently they are *tourists* in their *acts, choices* and *motivations*.

The Structure and Scope of this Study

I will first of all try to clarify who religious tourists are and what the basis of religious tourism is in Catholicism. I think it is important to delineate the meanings (and the changes in the meanings) of pilgrimage and tourism and of related concepts in Hungarian culture. This will provide the narrower limits of my study and also shed some light on contemporary European Catholicism. In concluding the introduction, I will briefly refer to the significant scholarly debates on the relationship between pilgrimage, travel and tourism, and I will also summarize the major lessons to be drawn from investigations into religious tourism to date.

This study is a result of fieldwork carried out with varying intensity depending on my tutorial duties between 1999 and 2004. Fieldwork was carried out at Hungarian and European shrines, in the company of Hungarian travellers who were *en route* to these. It is important to note that fieldwork made *en route* started to lose importance, whilst research done in the homes of the travellers and in the travel agency - providing the framework of my research - gained more and more significance. Since the study focuses on a phenomenon widespread in European Catholicism, I have done my best to touch upon related, non-Hungarian phenomena, taking into consideration the various sources. At the beginning of my fieldwork (in fact, even earlier, when my interest was first drawn to religious tourism) my objectives were quite draft-like; I merely sensed an interesting issue (Pusztai 1998). As work reached newer depths, it provided raw material for a self-reflexive investigation. Moreover, it became teaching material for university courses in qualitative ethnology and anthropological fieldwork. After each period of fieldwork, I returned to my university teaching with new experiences and impressions, which I always referred to and reflected on to my students. I believe that the opportunity to reflect on the lessons drawn from research on a phenomenon of contemporary European culture in a university environment contributed a great deal to my understanding of the characteristics, limitations and profoundly humanistic nature of late modern qualitative cultural studies. It



Profiling: the sightseeing religious tourist. (Macroworld photo)

is in the second chapter that I shall discuss the *methodological lessons* of the research.

Before presenting the results of my own fieldwork, I intend to point out, that certain phenomena connected to tourism, especially the *professional travel organization* as well as *non-necessary motivation* were already present in the activity of travel before the time of Grand Tours, or before the age considered as the beginning of organised travel. It is important to note that the medieval pilgrim (regarded as the archetype of the pilgrim) also benefited from the advantages gained through a gradually improving infrastructure while travelling. To a certain extent this undoubtedly affected his way of travelling. In the second part of the chapter, referring to Hungarian sources, I briefly summarize how foot pilgrimage gradually became the province of lower social strata in the 19th century. I will show how a particular type of tourism - namely religious tourism - developed. In my opinion, tourism appearing and expanding in parallel with the social narrowing of late Baroque pilgrimages offered a clear alternative for several groups of society who had the desire to embark on religiously-motivated travel. At the end of this chapter I will briefly refer to the development of religiously-motivated journeys after the 1950s, emphasising the situation in Central-Europe afflicted at that time by the Communist regime.

From the earliest stages of the fieldwork, it was quite clear to me that the superfluous tourist-versus-pilgrim contrast can only be transcended by qualitative methods, whereby I seek to reveal the diversity in the meanings of these concepts. Nevertheless, I have always attached significance to apprehending the *external characteristics* of the travellers studied insofar as given opportunities permitted. The third chapter therefore seeks to portray religious tourists as a group on the basis of a questionnaire survey I carried out.

Subsequently, I attempt to reveal the diversity of the interpretations of the concepts of pilgrim and pilgrimage through the *cases of individual persons*. It is also in this chapter that I dwell on the meanings and roles of religiously-motivated travel in the lives of individuals. After examining these individual and distinctive cases, I seek to point out, through the use of other fieldwork material, the kinds of lessons that may be drawn from the collision and contrast of the interpretations and concepts of pilgrimage, and the changes that these bring about in the individual. The individual interpretations presented are obviously individual "compilations," deriving from what I term *Catholic vernacular*, the multi-layered European Catholic culture. I think that this vernacular has always been the subject of powerful interpretation and usage, which in turn has strongly influenced the interpretation of religiously-motivated travel. This is the reason why I seek to pursue the *tourist* element in the historical layers of religiously-motivated travel, and to show in detail how contemporary travel agencies make use of the complexity of meanings surrounding the concept of pilgrimage. Finally, following a discussion of the various individual, non-professional and professional, lay and clerical interpretations, I shall point out what the various concepts of pilgrimage have

to say about the identities, the beliefs and the self-imaginings of late modern man.

In examining the contemporary traveller, this study seeks and revolves around *understanding*. On the one hand, it attempts to trace and understand the explanations of individuals carrying out various actions in such a way as to enable emic concepts of a given culture to gain both meaning and interpretation, as well as to remain usable. On the other hand, it also attempts to be readable, so that the reader who is not a participant in the research process receives an understandable text. Indeed, it seeks *an understanding of culture* which is a kind of *translation*. In this respect, it has been a great act of *grace* that this study was written in a language and culture different from that of the research. It brought home to the anthropologist a most difficult issue, namely that our concepts are not self-evident at all, they do not carry their meanings by themselves. I thus had to maintain a critical approach to concepts thought to be clear not only for pilgrims but myself as well, simply because they were untranslatable. This study tries to achieve its objectives by connecting to and following the trend in anthropological tradition that is reflective, polemic, dialogic, gives voice to the other – the field researcher being an “other” too. It also strives to ensure that classics of the scholarship do not suppress explanations deriving from the material acquired in the course of the research.

The Theological Basis of Catholic Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is a general religious phenomenon based on a particular aspect of the human sense of space that interprets space as a structured, hierarchical phenomenon. It has been known in European Christianity for two thousand years, and it has gained great importance as one of the forms of absolution in the past thousand years. In the following, I will discuss the fundamental motivation in the Christian pilgrimage of the past millennium, the *principle of absolution*, its forms, as well as the changes of its meaning and interpretation. I will outline in brief the *theological and dogmatic basis* of absolution as understood by present-day Catholicism. This I consider essential in understanding the phenomenon of pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage has been a form of absolution for a thousand years, through it one can obtain '*indulgentia*' ('*búcsú*' in Hungarian) i.e. forgiveness of sins. Indulgence (L. *indulgentia*) is, as the dictionary definition has it “a remission of punishment which is still due to sin after sacramental absolution, this remission being valid in the court of conscience and before God, and being made by an application of the treasure of the Church on the part of a lawful superior” (OED web 2002, *indulgentia*). It is actually the remission of the temporal punishment of sin. This practice is accepted and known in the Roman Catholic Church while Protestant Churches expressly deny it. This article of faith is based on the fact that the Western Church tradition distinguishes between sin and absolution (annulment of sins) and between punishment and remission of punishment. In

order to obtain remission of punishment one has to undergo penitence, seek the presence of God, convert and change one's behaviour. Sins are forgiven by God, who entrusted the mediation of this to the Church. This is the *authority of binding and loosing*. The Church explains the authority of forgiving sins and remitting punishment with the words of Christ to Peter: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (Mt. 16:19) Thus, by virtue of this authority, the Church annuls the sins in the sacrament of Penance (confession) and remits due *eternal punishment* for the believer doing penance.

However, *temporal punishments* still remain, and these may be remitted through the mediation of the Church in the cases of living believers belonging to the Church. The remission of these is indulgence *per se*, the granting of which the Church achieves by applying the treasury of the merits of Christ and the saints. The conditions of obtaining indulgence are a state of grace, performing prescribed good works and at least a general intention to obtain the indulgence.

Teaching on indulgence was shaped through gradual development. Accepted in early times, *penance* and *amends* have practically always been regarded as essential for forgiveness. By virtue of the authority of binding and loosing, the Church began to decide on the form and measure of penance and amends quite early. From the 6th century absolution from sin was given immediately after confession, with an obligation to perform penance afterwards. This was strengthened by the differentiation between sin and punishment. When it came into being, indulgence was the remission of a penance to be performed in public within a defined period of time (Katekizmus 1994, 295-309, Gál-Erdő n.d., 59-61).

It was on the basis of such considerations that licensing indulgences began to spread in the 11th century. The Church, by virtue of its treasury of merit (*thesaurus ecclesiae*), was authorized to remit temporal punishment in the world to come, on certain conditions.

We should note that an indulgence can also be related to place. Visiting a sacred place invested with the authority of indulgence (for example a pilgrimage place) is a kind of penance in itself. It is thus possible to obtain an indulgence through pilgrimage, termed 'local indulgence'. In this case, the conditions needed to obtain indulgence - saying a special prayer, confession and taking the holy sacrament - are connected to a concrete place. Without prayer, visiting such places would be simply a journey to that place. Through prayer, doing penance and making the sacrifice of visiting the place, a believer who had already been granted the remission of his eternal punishment in confession is granted also remission of his temporal punishments (Bálint-Barna 1994, 16). The notion of indulgence became widespread in the wake of the Crusades and the Holy Year 1300. With regard to both these events the Church granted indulgences to those performing prescribed practices. As a consequence, the Church created the possibility of obtaining indulgences for an ever-increasing number of more or less pious acts. The doctrine of indulgence,

due to certain excesses, became one of the main causes of the schism in the age of the Reformation (Barna 1993, 667-668).

Through continual development and clarification, it has become evident that, through indulgence, the Church does not 'pay' the 'debts' of its members from the merits of Christ and the saints, but, in referring to these merits, prays to God for the remission of sins. By the 19th century, the significance of local indulgences (once the main reason for visiting a shrine) and pilgrimages (in the concrete Catholic sense of the word) decreased in official ecclesiastical teaching (Barna 2001, 279). Contemporary theological thought emphasises the religious act in obtaining indulgence (Katekizmus 1994, 295-309, Gál-Erdő n.d. 59-61). On the basis of my own study, I may state that the clergy regards indulgences, pilgrimages and pilgrimage feasts as religious feasts rather than meritorious pious practices (Pusztai 1999). Before the Holy Year 2000, the Holy See published *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum*, the handbook of indulgences, and many regarded this as raising the value of indulgences (Dolhai 2000, 32). However, if we take into consideration the fact that, according to the new regulations "indulgence can be obtained by way of a public profession of faith performed in the circumstances of every-day life" (Dolhai 2000, 322), it is obvious that the extension of the opportunities of obtaining indulgence is not only a response to the changes brought about by the modern world, but also a devaluation of local indulgences, that is to say pilgrimages in the strict Catholic sense of the word. By contrast, however, travel derived from a spiritual motivation and a reference to pilgrimage, though seldom meeting the requirements of Catholic teaching, has survived, is still popular and moves significant numbers of people in our day.

Pilgrimage and Tourism – the Life of Concepts

The field of meaning of *peregrinatio sacra* in the Hungarian language is covered by the word 'búcsú', which has several different concrete meanings, and also by the word 'zarándoklat', which has fewer concrete but several allegorical meanings. Though partly overlapping, the two terms sometimes gain diverse meanings as well. A brief overview of the development of the two may throw light upon the phenomena. Their complexity is due to the fact that the establishment of the Hungarian state coincided with the upsurge of pilgrimages in Europe, and thus the later phenomenon has been an essential part of Hungarian Catholicism for almost a thousand years.

'Búcsú', 'Búcsújáró', 'Búcsújárás'
(Indulgence, Pilgrim, Pilgrimages)

'Búcsú', a word of ancient Turkish origin, is the Hungarian equivalent of the Latin *indulgentia*. It is a derivative of the Turkish verb *boşa*, 'become empty, get

released', and the adjective *boš*, 'empty'. It probably found its way into Hungarian via its meaning of 'absolution, permission', and is traceable back to the 14-15th centuries. It gave rise to two basic meanings, one mundane - 'permission to leave' or 'saying good-bye' - the other religious as 'absolution' and, its later development, 'pilgrimage for absolution' (MTESZ I. 1967, 376-377; Bálint-Barna 1994, 16). The later and additional meanings it acquired in Hungarian are rather complex. According to Barna, these are the following: "1. permission (lat. *licentia*); 2. indulgence (*indulgentia*); 3. leave-taking (*discessus*); 4. pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*); 5. wake or feast of the patron saint of a church (*dedicatio ecclesiae*); 6. procession (*processio*); 7. a fair organised at a wake" (Bálint-Barna 1994, 16). Within the meaning of *indulgentia*, it can be traced back to before the 16th century, and the first record of the meaning *peregrinatio* is from the end of the 16th century (MTESZ I. 1967, 376). Following the development of its meaning 'a fair organised at a wake', the word 'búcsú' has come to signify several profane feasts and fairs (for example 'Budapesti Búcsú', a fair organised to commemorate the departure of Soviet troops from Hungary, where it utilises the meanings fair and leave-taking at the same time).

'Zarándok', 'Zarándoklat' (Pilgrim, Pilgrimage)

The word 'zárandok' has a much narrower scope of meanings. It derives from the Slav base *stranьnikъ*, 'stranger', coming into Hungarian language from Old Bulgarian. It first appeared with the earlier meaning of 'traveller, migrant, stranger' in 1222. It was from this that the later meaning of 'traveller for religious purposes' developed. According to linguists, this evolution had already taken place in the Hungarian language. However, I must note that its development seems similar to that of the Latin word *peregrinus*, which I will discuss below. Its derivative 'zárandoklat' with the meaning of *peregrinatio* first appeared at the end of the 18th century (MTESZ III. 1976, 1188). Its wider, also contemporary meaning is "a reverential visit to some notable place" (MNYESZ, VII. 1966, 577). It is in this sense that visiting memorial places of historical or literary importance ('literary pilgrimage') is called 'zárandoklat'. A place significant for a culture of a group of people can become a pilgrimage destination as well ('Pilgrimage to Graceland').

Comparing the two terms, 'búcsújárás' has a more archaic flavour to it, implying a shorter journey made on foot, and carries a somewhat obsolescent connotation of archaic peasant life. It is no wonder that contemporary travel agencies involved in this kind of travel always call themselves 'zárandok' agencies. This fine distinction recalls that of the German 'Wallfahrt' and 'Pilgerfahrt'. As noted by several ethnological studies of pilgrimage, 'Wallfahrt' refers to a shorter journey with a more concrete meaning, while 'Pilgerfahrt' signifies a longer journey and has several allegorical senses (Vukonic 1996, 121). Other differences emphasized include companionship, travelling in a group, and the intention to return as relevant features of 'Wallfahrt'. Kriss-Rettenbeck and Illich have defined 'Pilgerfahrt' as a journey to prepare for the Kingdom of

Heaven, whereas 'Wallfahrt' is a journey through foreign lands to a holy place in this world (see Lukatis 1989, 202). Naturally, as we can see the terms are clearly related and complementary.

Behind these notions of pilgrimage in Western Christianity, there stands the Latin word *peregrinatio*. One of its basic forms is *peregrinus*, 'a man wondering far away from his home and relatives, in strange countries'; its relation to 'странникъ' and 'wallen' is obvious. Its base is the adverb *peregre*, 'far away, beyond lands'. *Peregre* itself is a compound: *per* 'through' and *ager* 'field, country, land'. The voluntary exile of ancient Christian monks and hermits to deserted places was described with the words *peregre* and *peregrinatio* from the earliest times. This voluntary withdrawal gained a new meaning during the 10-11th centuries and started to refer to pilgrimages led to the sacred places of Christianity (Holl 1993, 533-34). At the time, it indicated the visiting of sacred places with the purpose of praying and penance (*causae orationis, causae poenitentiae*). The meaning of *peregrinus* thus became more and more complex with the increasing number of travellers (and abusers) of pilgrim rights. Owing to the appearance of sham pilgrims, the expression also acquired the meaning of 'highwayman', 'tramp' and even 'burglar' in the Middle Ages.

The English term *pilgrim, pilgrimage*, also has a whole complexity of meanings and connotations. It too derives from the Latin *peregrinum*, meaning 'one that comes from foreign parts, a stranger'. Its primary meaning is wider: "1. One who travels from place to place; a person on a journey; a wayfarer, a traveller; a wanderer; a sojourner. (Now *poet.* or *rhet.* in general sense)." Its secondary meaning is equivalent to *peregrinatio sacra*: "2. *spec.* One who journeys (usually a long distance) to some sacred place, as an act of religious devotion; one who makes a pilgrimage. (The prevailing sense)." From this, numerous narrower meanings have derived by interpreting the original meaning in an allegorical way, as with the case of the English Puritans who founded Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts, in 1620, who are nowadays referred to as the Pilgrim Fathers. It can also refer to an original settler; a newcomer, a recent immigrant (OED web 2002, 'pilgrim'). It was on the basis of these many layers of meaning and connotation that Byron created his figure of the wanderer returning from his sins, the pilgrim Childe Harold. In the present day the word has obtained several non-related and differing meanings in English.

'Turismus', 'Turista' (Tourism, Tourist)

The words 'tourist' and 'tourism' have come into general, international use in almost all European languages deriving from the English word *tour*, 'circuitous journey' (MTESZ III. 1976, 1004). The word comes from the Latin *tornus* 'a person who goes on a circuitous journey and returns to his starting point' (Smith 1992, 1). According to Vukonic 'tornus' had a more direct connection to religious acts as it "referred to the obligation of pilgrims to make the rounds of the shrines in Rome" (Vukonic 1996, 54). As even Vukonic points out, this

derivation is not widely accepted by scholarship - it makes a rather profound and central connection between tourism and pilgrimage.

The internationally widespread expression 'turista' (tourist) came into the Hungarian language through German mediation. It is mentioned sporadically at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century, in the form of 'turista' (1798) or 'tourista' (1851), meaning 'traveller, globetrotter'. The term was not included in the most comprehensive dictionary of the Hungarian language of the period published in 1874 (Czuczor-Fogarasi VI. 1974, 498). By the end of the 19th century, its meaning of 'hiker, walker in nature' had already gained currency (MTESZ III. 1976, 1004). Its widespread use can be connected to the development of large-scale bourgeois tourism in the last two decades of the 19th century, although it continued to preserve its meaning of 'hiker', excluding other forms of travel for a long time – for example 'travelling to spas' ('fürdőre utazás'), which flourished at the end of 19th century. This meaning dominated for a long time, probably a result of the influence of the German 'Touristik'. The dominance of 'hiking' and the change in meaning is quite marked in the most important Hungarian encyclopaedia of the first part of the 20th century. The entry on tourism ('turistaság') says: "the sum of hike-like journeys, wanderings and walks made regularly out of a love of nature, due to which getting to know a particular area of countryside, the discovery of new places of natural beauty and the growth in sightseer traffic can be put to use for the purposes of learning about one's country and public well being" (Pallas Nagylexikona 1897, 429). The socialist-era encyclopaedia symbolically entitled *New Hungarian Lexicon* discusses hiking in detail and mentions tourism only as a synonym for this, without a separate entry (Új magyar lexicon, VI. 1962, 418), partly reflecting the late 19th-century development of the term, but also the possible ideological motivations which regarded tourism as a retrograde bourgeois pastime. In our day, the two meanings (*hiker* and *traveller for pleasure*) exist side by side (MNYESZ VI. 1966, 845).

Discourses on the Relation of Pilgrimage, Tourism and Religious Tourism

Contradicting Roles in Everyday Thinking

A dominant feature of human cognitive orientation is the interpretation of the world with the help of binary oppositions. One such pair of oppositions is the way the public mind views tourism and pilgrimage – the two concepts whose field of force gives life to this thesis.

The concept of *pilgrimage* undeniably involves *asceticism*, *renunciation* and *mortification* both in European and Hungarian culture. According to the Christian worldview, practising these in the course of religiously-motivated journeys helps people reach spiritual purification, overcome sensual or worldly

desires and moral licence. Indeed, these are to be overcome when Catholic believers go on pilgrimage to gain remission of sins. This relief can only be achieved through penance. As a recent popular Hungarian pilgrim-guidebook, reflecting and formulating the public mind claims, "Pilgrimage awakes the spirit of penances in us... It teaches us how to detach ourselves from present things, from the web of pleasure and suffering. ... Each pilgrimage is long... We give up our everyday eating habits and the residence we are accustomed to. We suffer weariness.... In this way, we can more easily turn to God in prayer" (Zarándokok 1998, 2, 6). Although services aiming at making travel more comfortable for pilgrims were already in existence in past centuries, pious practice has always attached some kind of asceticism to this type of travel.

Asceticism was part and parcel of the devotional practices of former centuries, as it was inseparable from pilgrimage; indeed, it constituted a substantive element of the *normative image of the pilgrim*. In analysing the peasant forms of pilgrimage, research has already shed light upon this: "That is why most of the pilgrims go to visit a sacred place: to do penance and to make amends. This is the gist of pilgrimage. The most *meritorious* pilgrimage is the one done on foot, leading to most exhaustion, weariness and fasting. Herein we can still find the survival of the mediaeval mindset and the pilgrimages based on it" (Bálint-Barna 1994, 158-59 - emphasis mine). Clearly, it is with a characteristic naturalism that the peasant belief quoted below explains the connection between pilgrimage, penitence and asceticism: "... those who do the pilgrimage on foot thrice over... , will suffer for their mortal sins in Purgatory, not in Hell, and due to suffering in fire they will then swallow nothing but smoke there" (Bálint-Barna 1994, 158-59).

Throughout the centuries, a definite cognitive image has been formulated of pilgrimage, which has existed as an organic part of European culture for over a thousand years. It is doubtless rooted in the Catholic theology of absolution. However, after refinements in Catholic theology (and especially after Vatican Council II) it has now become estranged from mainstream Catholic teaching, and still exhibits special archaic features. This image has a wide currency in our day, and associates the concept of pilgrimage with the ideas of *mortification*, *asceticism* and *renunciation*. Going on a real pilgrimage means self-denial and physical exhaustion; the real pilgrim focuses on his inner life on the journey, shunning the worldly vanities which surround him. It is due to this tenacious association (a feature of a nostalgically-driven mentality which regards as authentic that which is archaic) that attracts and provokes the writing of the many colourful articles which feature a pilgrim going on foot to Jerusalem, Rome or to Santiago de Compostella.

Our idea of tourism is something entirely different. We associate with the term images of *relaxation*, *recreation* and *entertainment*. No wonder the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as follows: "tourist – person who is travelling or visiting a place for pleasure" (Oxford 1989, 1356). Mainstream tourism and especially the *image of tourism* communicate unclouded recreation, carefree relaxation, exotic places and foods. The message of tourist-orientated

commercials and the often characterless sun-sand-sea icons of tourist brochures illustrate the point.

In spite of the fact that tourism is a relatively new social phenomenon, the sets of ideas associated with it are not new and rather complex. In the present, not only are carefree relaxation and recreation connected to tourism in the public mind, but also loose moral values and indecency. In his book entitled *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), John Urry cites Henry James' words as a motto: "Tourists are 'vulgar, vulgar, vulgar'". James himself, a highly-respected travel writer (and, I may add, an active and nostalgic tourist of the turn of the 19-20th centuries) seems to have been shocked at the degeneration of 'romantic travel' into 'tourism'. In order to 'fill' the meaning of tourist, Nancy Mitford made use of a characteristic figure of European culture when she wrote: "The Barbarian of yesterday is the Tourist of today" (Crick 1989, 308). In present-day thought, the tourist often appears not as a traveller seeking relaxation but rather as a vulgar individual who exploits his environment. Shortly after the actual emergence of the tourist as such at the end of the 19th century, the cognitive image of the tourist was expanded to include the image of an uncivilized, superficial man hunting for experiences and souvenirs. Mark Twain (1964) offered this description in *The Innocents Abroad; or the New Pilgrims' Progress* at the relatively early date of 1867. Konrad Köstlin cites Theodor Fontane's opinion from 1873 as one of the early critiques of mass tourism (Köstlin 1996, 120). This was the age when the heretofore positive conception of the tourist began to be qualified by negative connotations. Previously, travellers complained only about travel conditions. However, along with the development of these, criticism began to be levelled at other phenomena. According to Köstlin, condemnations of mass tourism reflect the astonishment at and aversion towards the democratisation of travel which took place from the end of the 19th century. This was the reaction of an élite, which had until that time enjoyed travel as their prerogative. Köstlin briefly describes the characteristics of 'frantic' mass tourism: "short time period, fast transport, hunting for 'sights', lack of intellectual preparation, buying of postcards and souvenirs, loud curiosity, superciliousness, and the constant clicking of cameras" (Köstlin 1996, 122). The credo of the critics of mainstream tourism has hardly changed in the past hundred years; only the list of the attributes of the mass tourist has been expanded and enriched. Perhaps it is enough to refer to the subtle distinctions made by tourists themselves: for example backpackers consciously dissociating themselves from the rest of the common herd. The idea of tourism has recently been 'enriched' by a further layer of meaning as a result of the appearance of the concept of "dark tourism" in both scholarly discourse and the media. This form, which treats scenes of assassinations and catastrophes as must-see sights, or sex-tourism in Southeast-Asia reaffirms the morally negative associations of tourism.

This is true even though almost all members of modern complex societies become tourists for a certain part of a year, and tourism, the experience of 'having travelled', is still fashionable, indeed considered to be a value in the consumer societies of our age. This is because the public mind associates with travel the acquisition of knowledge, the acceptance of new approaches and the

widening of horizons. The tourism industry explicitly advertises travelling as a way of getting to know new countries and other cultures. In addition, tourism is undeniably a phenomenon of democratisation and emancipation. In the past, travel was exclusively the privilege of men. Apart from elite visits to spas, pilgrimage was the only legitimate mode of travel for women. To a certain extent, the effects of this are still felt. In a given environment or social stratum, for example in rural areas, travelling *for the sake of travelling* does not have a generally positive connotation among older generations (Köstlin 1996, 117). Such travel is, of course, the necessary condition for all tourism (Smith 1992).

The pre-existing, latent antagonism between pilgrim and tourist, pilgrimage and tourism, both banished to distant cognitive regions, is further intensified in the public mind if the two roles are openly compared and contrasted, as in a



Profiling. the servant of God as a religious tourist. (B. Pusztai)

prayer cited by Crick: “During the 1970s the Greek Orthodox Church recommended a new prayer: ‘Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on the cities, islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland, as well as the holy monasteries which are scourged by the worldly tourist wave’” (Crick 1989, 334).

It should be strongly emphasised that these conflicting images often appear in symbolic and allegorical fields of meaning that not only regard tourism and pilgrimage as two different forms of travel, but also intend to speak of something quite different. Transgressing the boundaries of time and space, the allegories of tourist and pilgrim use different forms of travel to interpret the world and to articulate observations about the world and the thoughts invoked by them.

The oldest allegory of the pilgrim in European culture compares the course of *individual human life* to a *pilgrimage*. Human life is an endless, spiritual ‘wandering’ on earth. Although it aims at perfection, due to the deficiencies and faults of mankind since creation it cannot be achieved. The allegory is of course rooted in the Christian teaching concerning the perfection of the otherworld as opposed to earthly life. In this comparison, earthly life can be no more than a troublesome wandering, an ascetic pilgrimage full of renunciation. The allegory of the pilgrim, the *homo viator*, thus is not only fitting for the Christian believer, but also his community, the Church. The *Lumen Gentium* constitution about the Church issued by the Vatican Council II defined in detail the teaching on the Church-as-pilgrim. According to this, by the earthly sacrifice of Christ

“the final age of the world has already come upon us... for the Church is adorned with a sanctity real though imperfect on this earth already. However, until the coming of the new heaven and new earth in which justice dwells (Pt 3,13), the pilgrim Church, in her sacraments and institutions which pertain to this present time, has the appearance of this transitory world, and she herself dwells among

creatures who groan and travail in pain even now and await the manifestation of the sons of God (Rom 8,19-22)" (Lumen Gentium 1964, VII/48).

It seems evident that, through the allegory of the "pilgrim Church", the teaching refers to both the divine origin and thus the perfection-bearing though defective, earthly nature of the Church. The duality of the Church characterized by earthly restrictions and heavenly message has profoundly influenced European thought and self-expression to this day. This provided the allegorical framework of interpretation that is used by works as late as Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* or Walter M. Miller Jr.'s *Hosanna to Leibowitz!*

Late-modern frustration over modern society added to the image of the pilgrim as falling but aiming at perfection, and wandering with an other-worldly vision - both the allegory and the alter ego of the tourist. Zygmunt Bauman, in his paper "Tourists and Vagabonds. The Heroes and Victims of Postmodernity" (1997) tries to detect the manifestations of fragmentation, disintegration and subjectivism in everyday life so typical of present-day society. Bauman applies the allegory of the pilgrim, the tourist and the vagabond in order to portray the identity of modern and post-modern man. He places the pilgrim in the age of modernity: man as still believing in development, clearly seeing its direction, having a stable sense of time and space, building his identity throughout his life. Pilgrims characterise the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, he describes the identity of post-modern man with the allegory of the tourist.

"In the life-game of post-modern men and women, the rules of the game keep changing in the course of playing. The sensible strategy is therefore to keep each game short... To keep the game short means to beware of long-term commitments. To refuse to be 'fixed' one way or the other. Not to get tied to one place, however pleasurable the present stopover may feel... The hub of postmodern life strategy is not making identity stand - but the avoidance of being fixed."

"the figure of the tourist is the epitome of such avoidance... First and foremost, they perform the feat of not belonging to the place they might be visiting; theirs is the miracle of being in and out of place at the same time. The tourists keep their distance, and bar the distance from shrinking into proximity... In the tourist life, the length of stay in any place is hardly ever planned in advance; neither is the next destination. The point of tourist life is to be on the move, not to arrive; unlike those of their predecessors, the pilgrims, the tourists' successive stopovers are not stations on the road, since there is no goal beckoning at the end of life's travels which could make them into stations" (Bauman 1997, 89-90).

Bauman considers the world around us as a source of insecurity. Referring to the allegory of the pilgrim, he creates a text deliberately full of religious connotations: "How can one live one's life as pilgrimage if the shrines and sanctuaries are moved around, profaned, made sacrosanct and then unholy again in a stretch of time much shorter than the journey to reach them would take?" On the other hand, he accepts the life of a tourist as the only one possible for man living in the age of late modernity: "But the horror and the allurements alike make life-as-pilgrimage hardly feasible as a strategy and unlikely to be chosen as one. Not by many, anyway. And not with a great chance of success" (Bauman 1997, 88-89).

“A word of warning: tourists and vagabonds are the *metaphors* of contemporary life. One can (and often is) a tourist or a vagabond without ever travelling physically far... Having this in mind, I suggest to you that in our postmodern society, we are all ... on the move; none of us can be certain that he or she has gained the right to any place once and for all and no one thinks that his or her staying in one place forever is a likely prospect; wherever we happen to stop, we are at least in part displaced or out of place” (Bauman 1997, 93).

Lastly, Bauman differentiates between the tourist, who voluntarily takes on the mobility of his identity, and the vagabond, who is on the move and made rootless against his own will, constrained by superior forces.

The ideas of tourism and pilgrimage are widely divergent in the public mind. In most cases, the two concepts appear in such a strong opposition that they not only refer to the different motivations of travel, but reckon the *pleasure-seeking tourist* and the *penitent, ascetic pilgrim* to be two opposing life-styles, two different ways of getting to know the world.¹

The Quest for Authentic Travelling

As shown above, the public mind harbours polarized ideas with respect to pilgrimage and tourism. The romantic ethnographical approach to tourism (i.e. unrecognised, unstudied and considered inauthentic) originates here: in the image of a group of people who do not fit in the normative picture of an ideal society described by European national ethnographies.² For a long time, tourism and tourist were not the subjects of scholarly investigation. As they began to be studied, following the post-war surge of mass tourism, they provoked heated and memorable debates. Scholarly – in my case, sociological and anthropological – analyses of tourism betray a polarity similar to that I have observed in the public mind, although embedded in far more profound and consequential arguments.

The relationship between tourism and pilgrimage is approached in two ways in contemporary scholarly discourse: first, the rather resolute idea is that there is no essential relationship between tourists and pilgrims; tourism is simply the degeneration of modern man. To some extent, this conception is the inheritor of the noble aversion to the rise of mass-tourism. According to the second view, pilgrimage and tourism are essentially related phenomena, being formal variants of similarly motivated, historically developed series of actions. All in all, these debates revolve around the issue of authenticity, which, as Selänniemi has put it, is the fundamental question of the anthropological study of tourism (Selänniemi 1996b). Taking this further, it does not seem to be an exaggeration to claim, especially from the perspective of the historical development of national ethnographies from ‘Europe-in-between’, that it is the

¹ It was only after closing this section that I was made aware of some important works related to this argument, first of all Baumer (1984) and Dann (2002), which I could not include in my discussion.

² There are of course refreshing exceptions, like the excellent study by the economic historian Sándor Gyömrei, *Az utazási kedv története* [The History of the Desire for Travel] (1934), which did not attract any attention from the quarters of Hungarian history or social sciences.

fundamental question of continental cultural studies (ethnology and ethnography) moreover, of even anthropology.

In his *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (1961) Daniel Boorstin, a highly influential proponent of the first view, summarised how we “lost” the “Art of Travel”. He sharply contrasts the two kinds of travel, associating the change with a particular period of time:

“Sometime past the middle of the nineteenth century ... the character of foreign travel ... began to change. ... Formerly travel required long planning, large expense, and great investments of time. It involved risks to health or even to life. The traveller was active. Now he became passive. Instead of an athletic exercise, travel became a spectator sport... The traveller was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him” (Boorstin 1975, 84-85).

Boorstin thus sees the fundamental difference in the active nature of the two roles. His description of characterless, or to be more exact, extra-spatial air trips, faceless stewardesses, nostalgically contrasted with the passengers of the *Mayflower* enduring insecurity and want, or the children of Israel wandering for forty years, clearly shows that he regards the unification and simplification of travel as a loss of authenticity, even though he does not use the term. On top of this, the traveller arriving at his destination is awaited by a unified chain of hotels and attractions, the latter being easily the worst, in his opinion. “These ‘attractions’ offer an elaborately contrived indirect experience, an artificial product to be consumed in the very places where the real thing is free as air. There are ways for the traveller to remain out of contact with foreign peoples in the very act of ‘sight-seeing’ them” (Boorstin 1975, 99). In his arguments, travel agents and guidebooks appear as the “makers” of the falsity, or, to be more precise, the inauthenticity of tourist experience. In his view, this has moulded the tourist to such an extent that he has undergone fundamental changes: “The tourists seldom likes the authentic ... product of the foreign culture; he prefers his own provincial expectations” (Boorstin 1975, 106). As Suzanne Kaufman pointed out, in this line of argumentation all forms of “serious travel”, not only ancient travel for knowledge or modern literary travel, but also medieval pilgrimage are considered authentic. It was this sophisticated and thoughtful form of travel that, according to Boorstin, ended with modern tourism, with the advent of “well-prepared man” interested not in truth but in the ‘reality’ that supports his convictions (Kaufman 2001, 63). Following Kuhn’s three-stage model of scientific development, Selänniemi considers Boorstin’s work as a sign of the pre-paradigmatic stage of the “authenticity paradigm” (Selänniemi 1996b).

More respected than Boorstin and his followers³ by several researchers (such as Kaufman) Dean MacCannell’s similarly seminal work, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (first published in 1976) focussed on the similarities of pilgrimage and tourism, stating that modern tourism has several

³ Chief among these is Turner and Ash’s work with the telling title: *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (1975).

elements which resemble pilgrimage. In criticising Boorstin, he maintains that the tourist's breakaway from mundane life and his seeking of authentic experience are just what make the two forms of travel similar. This represents his rehabilitation of the *truth of motivation* for travel. Following his lead, Nelson Graburn expressly spoke of tourism as holy travel (Graburn 1977). MacCannell, however, came to the conclusion that the tourist encounters not an authentic but a *staged culture*. On this basis, Selänniemi states that the tourist in MacCannell's work appears no different than in Boorstin's: we continue to pursue the deception of tourists hunting for authentic experience, the researcher continues to pass judgment on the experiences of the tourist, and we continue to read an élitist definition of authentic experience (Selänniemi 1996b). MacCannell's text at first sight seems to critique Boorstin but in fact begins to have affinities with it: "Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to tell for sure if the experience is authentic in fact. It is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation" (MacCannell 1973, 597).

Recently, however, authenticity as a central concept in the explanation of tourism has been subject to robust criticism. Experience deemed inauthentic by the élite may very well be authentic for the participants. This recognition, the criticism levelled against objective or *object-related authenticity*, brought about the examination of the constructive nature of authenticity. After the highly important work of Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, constructionism⁴ started its career in the social sciences with *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger. Most recently, Wang attempted to summarize the major tendencies of thought related to the issue of authenticity. In his opinion, there are several common points concerning the authenticity question of tourism. First, "there is no absolute or static original or origin on which the absolute authenticity of originals relies". Second, following the analyses in *The Invention of Tradition*, traditions are invented and constructed according to the needs of the time of invention. Third, the decision about the authenticity of a social reality depends on individual interpretation. Fourth, "authenticity is a projection of the tourists' own beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images and consciousness." Finally, in the course of time, things considered inauthentic can lose this quality and appear as authentic in their own way, making sense in their environment. As Wang states, according to constructionists, tourists seek authenticity in travel but this authenticity is not objective, it is "symbolic authenticity which is the result of social construction". In this way the experience of authenticity of an attraction is not because it is original, but because "it is perceived as the sign and symbol of authenticity" (Wang 1999, 355-356).

⁴ Which, according to Wang (1999, 354), is not quite identical with social constructionism, but, for simplicity's sake, can be identified in the case of tourism.

My study investigates the very signs travellers seek and find, and the ways they interpret them. In the final analysis, my basic question concerns the nature of the interpretative media into which contemporary experiences of pilgrimage fall, what influence they exert upon the interpretative medium, and human consciousness itself.

A Hidden Mass of People - Unnoticed Religious Tourism

The brief review of the historical, sociological and anthropological literature on tourism and pilgrimage prompts me to draw a conclusion already hinted at: there is a whole series of 'wants' to be experienced. Where these wants intersect, we find the participants of religiously-motivated organized travel. We find extensive researches on *pilgrimages* in the strict sense of the term or of *cultural tourism* manifesting certain pseudo-religious traits, while there is hardly any mention of the intermediary form, *religious tourism*. This shortcoming is only exceeded by the fact that the *traveller* is far less studied than the *destination*.

Comprehensive analyses of pilgrimages tend to discuss either the inter-religious or supra-religious general human features of pilgrimage even with a view to possible pastoral concerns (Post 1994, Elizondo - Freyne 1996) or the characteristic historical details of Christian pilgrimage that will later define our whole concept of pilgrimage (Sumption 1975, Turner - Turner 1978, Kriss-Rettenbeck 1984). No doubt these represent legitimate research, but they do not reflect on certain contemporary changes.

Studies focusing on the present often treat pilgrims as a group, and concentrate on what can be revealed with respect to a group (Nolan - Nolan 1983). Work on the major issues of pilgrimage, for example the role of the body (Dahlberg 1991) or the *communitas* regarded as *differentia specifica* (Turner - Turner 1978, Sallnow 1981, Pfaffenberger 1983) are particularly important. The most noted research on the present approaches the issue from the point of view of the locality or destination (McKevitt 1991, Eade 1991, 1992), in the same way as religious-geographical studies, which document the changes and development of a site (Park 1994, Rinschede 1992).



Profiling: the begging, solitary religious tourist. (B. Pusztai)

According to Selänniemi, the *tourist* is little discussed in the anthropology of tourism (Selänniemi 2003). Similarly, it can be stated that the *pilgrim* is also little examined. There is *only one group* of contemporary pilgrims we know, the foot-pilgrims who chose a form of travel radically different from what they think is usual (Frey 1998, Post 1994).

Reviewing the material strictly related to my subject matter, I may state that the term *religious tourist* hardly ever appears. It is first mentioned seriously, if sporadically, in an exclusively locality-centred study, *Pilgrimage in Western Europe*, by Nolan and Nolan. Somewhat contrary to what their title suggests, they analyse the *places* of pilgrimage in Western Europe. They make the valid point that current European shrines are not only destinations of pilgrimage but also, to a varying degree, of tourism (Nolan - Nolan 1989, 16-17). However, they offer only sporadic observations concerning travellers with a religious motivation as a group. Indeed, irrespective of all external similarities, everyone appears as pilgrim in their work, while the motivations of the various travellers are treated cursorily, the result of lack of thorough fieldwork. Thus travellers in “package tour groups” who are pilgrims may be travelling because of “recreational” motivations (Nolan - Nolan 1989, 40-41). Under the heading “Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism”, the authors finally discuss the diverse motivations of the visitors of shrines. Quoting André Leféuvre of the Pontifical Commission on the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Tourists, they seem to make a pastoral issue of religious tourism: what should the Church do with mixed groups of mostly tourists in churches that are both shrines and tourist attractions (Nolan - Nolan 1989, 42-46). In their highly important work, they provide useful and rich discussions of European *shrines*, but they have no intention of revealing the diversity of religiously-motivated travel from the perspective of the *traveller*. This, of course, can only be achieved through small-scale qualitative analysis.



Profiling: collecting religious paraphernalia – Jubilee souvenir coin. (left, B. Pusztai)
 Profiling: collecting sacramentalia – water from Lourdes. (right, B. Pusztai)

The first and yet most significant discussion of the question is the 1992 special issue on religious tourism contained in the *Annals of Tourism*, entitled *The Quest in Guest*. It is worth exploring what this compilation has to say about religious tourism. The introduction by Valene L. Smith briefly touches upon the theoretical perspectives related to both pilgrimage and tourism (Smith 1992, 1-17). The theories listed are the great narratives that have achieved fine careers in the anthropological study of tourism. Following Adler's thoughts Smith tried to demonstrate the segmentation of travellers in the following way (table 1).

TABLE 1 Segmentation of religiously-motivated travel (Smith 1992, 4) a. pious pilgrim; b. pilgrim>tourist; c. pilgrim =tourist; d. pilgrim< tourist; e. secular tourist

PILGRIMAGE		RELIGIOUS TOURISM		TOURISM
A	B	c	d	e
<i>sacred</i>		<i>faith/profane</i>		<i>profane</i>
		<i>knowledge-based</i>		

According to Smith "... the polarities are labeled as sacred (a), and as secular or profane (e). However, the diagram is only a momentary interpretation of present-day thought, and the destinations are by no means immutable. Between the extremities lie almost infinite possible sacred-secular combinations, with the central area (c) now generally termed religious tourism. The positions reflect the multiple and changing motivations of the traveler, whose interest and activities may switch from tourist to pilgrim" (Smith 1992, 3-4). This slightly static comprehension of pilgrims and tourists was the first attempt to grasp segmentation. Smith stresses that the interest and activities are temporal and changeable. Smith provides a short sketch of the historical changes in pilgrimage, and then, coming to the present, focuses on current spiritual and religious changes and the dimensions of the phenomenon – these constituting the undoubtedly necessary framework for understanding contemporary religious tourism. Referring to the lessons of Feinberg's study of Santiago, Smith's summary emphasises the significance of emic examinations: "only through the emic approach can one learn how people use symbols and ritual to obtain meaning to their lives" (Smith 1992, 12). Smith points out that the possibilities of emic



Profiling: collecting memories - flowers for Our Lady of Fatima. (B. Pusztai)

examinations are unlimited. If I consider pilgrims, their emic understanding has certainly achieved outstanding results in the past decade, as I have mentioned above. However, if I think of the particular target, the religious tourist, whom the compilation edited by Smith actually seeks to aim at, the results seem to be rather limited.

The next essay in the issue, the study by John Eade, deals with the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism in respect of Lourdes. He first surveys the "Turnerian tradition", the formulation and development of *communitas*-centred interpretations. However, he also hints at a critique of the Turnerian tradition, especially emphasizing that "the Turnerian perspective should be understood as 'representative of a particular discourse *about* pilgrimage rather than as an empirical description *of* it'" (Eade 1992, 21, emphasis in original). Then Eade goes on to discuss the origins of the popularity of Lourdes, and the development of its locality. The essential part of the study then touches on the various interpretations of Lourdes by different visitors. Its fundamental supposition is that the activity of those appearing at Lourdes can only be described from an outsider perspective as a dichotomy of tourists and pilgrims. No doubt, Eade's study got closest to presenting the extraordinary heterogeneity of pilgrims who create equally diverse interpretations of shrines (Eade 1992, 18-32).

Eric Cohen, in his study entitled *Pilgrimage Centers – Concentric and Excentric*, analyses certain elements of the work by Turner and Eliade, namely: the relationship between places of pilgrimage and mundane socio-political centres. His distinction between *formal* and *popular pilgrimage centres* is important from my perspective because, in an earlier writing (1992a), he argued that pilgrims and "pilgrim-tourists" peregrinate toward their socio-cultural centres whereas travellers and tourists move in the opposite direction. According to his analysis, this distinction can be particularly demonstrated with regard to formal pilgrimage centres. He then goes on to examine the classification of shrines in relation to political power centres (Cohen 1992b, 33-50).

The *Annals of Tourism* special issue then presents the results achieved by geographical scholarship. In his essay "Forms of Religious Tourism", Gisbert Rinschede first tries to place religious tourism within the system of tourism. In his view, "religious tourism is that type of tourism whose participants are



Profiling: collecting memories and recording in a pilgrim diary. (E. G. photo)

motivated either in part or exclusively for religious reasons. Listed here as a separate form it could just as well be a subgroup of cultural tourism within this classification." The next section of the study surveys the historical development of religious tourism, providing a brief summary of the history of pilgrimage. His text is a fine example of the extraordinary differences and shifts in the interpretation of a concept, even within one piece of writing. In examining the contemporary forms of religious tourism, he differentiates between long-term and short-term religious tourism, somewhat after the model of the German 'Wallfahrt' and 'Pilgerfahrt'. Finally, he presents quantitative characteristics, such as the numbers of participants in religious tourism, their composition, means of travel, the seasonal patterns involved, and the influence all these have on development. Rinschede's study, in attempting to describe external characteristics, practically identifies all kinds of religiously-motivated travel (Rinschede 1992, 51-67).

Mary Lee and Sidney Nolan's "Religious Sites as Tourist Attractions in Europe" also approaches the question from the perspective of geography, and classifies, in the way already mentioned, destinations of religiously-motivated travel as *non-touristic pilgrimage shrines*, *religious tourist attractions* and *religious festivals*. The classification is of course very useful and realistic, but it pertains primarily to destinations (Nolan and Nolan 1992, 68-78).



Profiling: in the moving parish travelling through Europe. (B. Pusztai)

Similarly, Boris Vukonic's "Medjugorje's Religion and Tourism Connection" focuses on one concrete shrine, in which he first surveys visions that began in the Bosnia-Herzegovina village in 1981. After discussing the historical antecedents and present political connotations, the most important part of the study presents a vivid picture of the changes that took place in the locality as a result of the massive surge of visitors coming in the wake of the visions (Vukonic 1992, 79-91). In their paper entitled "Polish Pilgrim-Tourists", Antoni Jackowski and Valene Smith examine the Polish pilgrim tradition (1992, 92-106). Not founded on regular fieldwork, the paper clearly struggles with defining 'true pilgrim'; it states:

"true religious pilgrimages are most frequently associated with Latin American countries and with Poland... By contrast, pilgrimage tourism, as used in the Polish literature, places primary emphasis on the secular aspect of travel... Religious tourism... used to define individuals whose motivation for the journey is largely knowledge-based... As in most Western European sanctuaries, the number of religious tourists often exceeds that of the *true pilgrims*" (Jackowski - Smith 1992, 93, emphasis mine).

As observable, their study uses value-laden concepts without problematising them in order to categorise individual travellers purely on the basis of modes of travel and organisational features. After surveying the history of pilgrimages in Poland, the study briefly portrays present-day pilgrimages, presenting their demographic features and effects on infrastructure. Finally, it gives a short description of a walking pilgrimage to the Feast of the Assumption.

The last paper in the special issue, "Mormon Pilgrimage and Tourism" by Hudman and Jackson, guides the reader to an area outside Roman Catholicism. After depicting the role of religiously-motivated travel in several world religions, the authors define the way they use the term 'religious tourism' in their study:

"The process by which formal pilgrimage among Christians became secularised to part of tourism is associated with changes in the Christian church, diffusion of Christianity with European migrants, and social changes such as urbanization and industrialization. Analysis of one Christian church illustrates how the phenomenon of pilgrimages creates major tourist flows. To identify tourism related to pilgrim-like attitudes and motivations, the term *tourism pilgrimage* will be used to describe tourism that combines travel for recreation or pleasure with religious beliefs, whether or not church doctrines promote pilgrimage" (Hudman – Jackson 1992, 109).

Clearly, the authors view the studied phenomenon as tourism. After presenting the Mormon destinations, they analyse the results obtained from a questionnaire survey made among the visitors of Temple Square in Salt Lake City (Hudman - Jackson 107-121).

Religious tourism seldom features in non-anthropologically motivated interpretations of tourism. One such exception is Kadir H. Din's 1993 summary of the question for the *Encyclopaedia of Hospitality and Tourism* (Din 1993, 822-829). Din includes under this heading all travel that is primarily or partly motivated by religious considerations. He is also careful to distinguish the characteristics of these journeys from the traits of those of the rest of tourism: "Although such journeys may be regarded as sacred by the travellers concerned, they differ from the more inclusive concept of tourism as a sacred journey as used by social scientists in discussion on tourism as a form of 'non-ordinary' activity" (Din 1993, 822). In addition to this he holds the view that religious tourism includes all forms of religiously-motivated tourism, and makes no attempt at any internal division. With a perspective on all world religions, he seeks to outline the general characteristics of religiously-motivated travel.

Most recently, a remarkable work attempting to give a detailed analysis of religious tourism is the volume entitled *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism* edited by Luigi Tomasi and William H. Swatos (2002). The first two studies included in the compilation provide a vivid discussion of the various concepts of the religious tourist. Luigi Tomasi does not deny the relationship between the two phenomena, saying:

"Without a doubt, the tourist industry and the media are offering pilgrimages as consumerism. Given that tourists share the same attitudes as pilgrims – in other

words, the search for authenticity at different levels of depth and involvement – it could be said that pilgrims are partly tourists and that tourists are partly pilgrims... This means that the modern individual is seeking transcendental values to overcome the fragments, the discontinuity, of modern society and that he or she is the 'pilgrim tourist' of modern times" (cited by Swatos 2002, 91).

It is notable that Tomasi, though seeing a similarity between pilgrim and tourist in this field of allegorical meaning, actually regards the differences as more significant:

"Penitential practices, which inculcated in the pilgrim the idea that earthly life is a journey to the Home of the Father, were not always taken seriously... Thus I fail to agree with Stopani when he writes 'one cannot evade the suspicion that in many pilgrims a desire for inner renewal overlapped with other reasons for travelling, ones similar to those that motivate the modern tourist.' Seeking to compare the non-religious mode of travel in the Middle Ages with that typical of the modern tourist is entirely improper because it is difficult to support empirically" (Tomasi 2002, 9).



Profiling: notable individuals, such as the 'traditional pilgrim' picnicking beside the highway parking lot should be recorded on a snapshot. (É. G. photo)

Tomasi provides a detailed presentation of how the experience-centred journey became an important element of post-mediaeval travel rather than a discussion of pilgrimage focusing on shrine and faith. The author quotes Leed's powerful statement isolating the pilgrim mentality: "The ancients saw the journey as suffering, even as punishment, while for the moderns it was a pleasure and a means to obtain it" (Tomasi 2002, 14). According to the author, the age of journey was followed by the age of tourism, and truly, his differentiation of the pilgrim, the traveller and the tourist seems to be most worthy of consideration. However, his work actually reveals the changes in the motivations for travel, or, to be more precise, the changes in thought regarding travel in the past thousand years of European culture. His evaluation, based as it is on a black-and-white conception, fails to take into consideration any surviving or reviving form when discussing pilgrimage. Nevertheless, the most critical element of his study is that it does not analyse the experiences of the contemporary traveller from an

emic point of view. Examining the travellers of our day externally, Tomasi's discussion has no room for pilgrimage as such at all: all religiously-motivated travel is a form of religious tourism. However, as my study attempts to demonstrate, the relationship between the internal experiences, conceptions of the traveller and the luxurious conditions of modern travel is far more complex and indirect than Tomasi seems to suggest. Naturally, he has no intention of drawing this conclusion, and he therefore mitigates his judgment: "Nevertheless, the sense of the religious persisted: the faithful continued to visit the sanctuaries, and the concept of pilgrimage also remained, although it assumed a value different from the past, now being a form of pilgrimage that was a close reflection of modern culture" (Tomasi 2002, 16). My study, though adopting a quite different perspective than that of Tomasi, takes into account the changes of meaning in the concept of pilgrimage, but does not attempt to formulate an opinion on contemporary travellers from without, and seeks to give a narrower definition of shrine based on Catholic terminology. Tomasi, though constructing a strong antithesis between pilgrim and tourist, recognizes the parallel existence of diverse motivations for contemporary religious travel in his examination, but still accepts religious tourism on the basis of purely obvious, visible phenomena:

"To speak of religious tourism is therefore entirely appropriate, and it is so because the individual of late modernity is more fully complete... The stone used as a pillow, typical of the pilgrim of the past and symbolic of penitence, had given way to the cellular phone, the paramount symbol of comfort in the modern age, and of the tourist-pilgrim of Jubilee 2000. But yet they [religious tourists] came" (Tomasi 2002, 20-21).

In another very important essay in the volume, Judith Adler develops, so to speak, an antithesis to Tomasi. In analysing early Christian monasticism, she comes to the conclusion that the 'desert fathers' themselves were the first 'attractions' when religious tourism began. To a certain extent, the discovery seems to have been surprising for her, too:

"having set out to gain a contrasting perspective on modern, secular mass tourism by examining a travel culture seemingly distant in time and ethos, I discovered a social world organized to stimulate and support large-scale popular mobility, a world whose moral discourses about such movement bore striking similarities to contemporary debates concerning modern tourism" (Adler 2002, 27).

According to her, the examination of this early Christian period actually confirms the general conclusions drawn from tourism; upon close analysis, all novel forms of tourism are based on a few conventions that have existed from earliest times (Adler 2002, 25-50).



Profiling: cheerful religious tourists at the feet of Our Lady of Gaudalupe. (Macroworld photo)

As it can be readily observed, studies acknowledging and problematising the phenomenon of religious tourism tend to focus on destination, the shrine to be visited. This often takes the form of highly detailed presentations of the external development of the locality concerned. Furthermore, anthropological literature on contemporary pilgrimage betrays the effects of the two marked views concerning tourism I dwelled on above. According to one, religious tourism is essentially different from 'true pilgrimage', it is a phenomenon which beings under the heading 'tourism'. This idea is often paired with a terminology where one cannot but take note of a kind of normative criticism levelled against any form of travel diverging from 'true pilgrimage'. The other view simply identifies religious tourism with contemporary pilgrimage, usually not problematising and not emphasising the diversity of contemporary pilgrimage. In the meanwhile, the few non-anthropological studies of religious tourism do not even discover this pseudo-contradiction, simply classifying religious tourism with all religiously-motivated travel. The present study, by examining the contemporary pilgrim, the tourist, the pilgrim tourist, the religious tourist, seeks to describe contemporary individual interpretations.

2 PILGRIM, TOURIST, RESEARCHER

Epistemology of Ethnography and Self-reflexive Representation

As with other fields of human sciences, a fundamental epistemological change has been taking place in ethnological research in the past two decades. Today it is not yet clear whether this change has only been a form of humanistic (or subjective) shift, something that has already occurred in the history of the social and cultural sciences (followed by a backlash) or if it can be considered to be a fundamental change with a long-term effect.

The gist of the essential change, in contrast with the quantitative approach, is the declared championing of the qualitative approach. This is something far more than simply a new method; it is seen as the new epistemology of human sciences, which in itself involves several different methods. Nevertheless, the basis of all these methods is a conscious differentiation from the so-called *scientific approach* as well as from its dominant *positivistic method*. The difference is often expressed in opposing adjectives: *scientific* versus *humanistic*, in which humanistic refers to a “commitment to subjectivity ... to use feelings” in order to understand human behaviour (Bernard 1998, 16). According to humanistic approach specific methods are required to explore the role of *meaning* and *history* in sciences analysing human behaviour. Accordingly hermeneutics, the science analysing the meanings created by man, is expected to influence fundamentally the epistemology of cultural sciences. The humanistic approach rejects the claim for a unified epistemology for all the sciences, denying that a method based on the same principles would be appropriate to explore both biological and social life of humans (Schweizer 1998, 39-42).

In accordance with humanistic approach, one of the main tasks is to analyse *ethnographic cognition*. In the course of investigating human cognition it has become evident that the *logic* and *objectivity-concept* of natural sciences earlier used by social scientific research cannot settle finished and definitive statements concerning human culture and human behaviour. The cognition of the researcher is, for instance, thoroughly influenced by his/her previous

knowledge and experience alongside with the discourse of his/her scientific environment. It has become evident that *human cognition* is necessarily *partial* due to the character of ethnographic work. Cultural sciences are able to contrast only individual cognition (or more precisely, cognitions) with the complex cultural phenomena interpreted by every human being individually and filled with symbols and meanings. This is not much, although it is the utmost obtainable.

In present day ethnological discourse, alongside the emphasis on human cognition, stress is laid on the *representation of culture* in ethnographical texts. Those studying the representation of ethnographical texts summarized their conclusions in the influential book entitled *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Clifford - Marcus 1986). James Clifford, analysing the determinants of ethnographical texts, has proved that ethnographies are consciously built up and formed - although he did not call into question the fact that the representations intended to be and are indeed (partly) true. Investigations of this kind have dispelled once and for all the earlier unquestionable authority of researcher; the researcher of culture in our age is only *one voice*, interpreting the world around him/her. Perchance a more qualified voice; perhaps they see more patterns, comparable group-cultures. However, not as somebody claiming the ultimate truth for himself or herself. According to Clifford our descriptions and interpretations are seriously affected by contextual, rhetorical, institutional, political and historical influences and by the genre (Clifford 1986, 6). Looking at it in retrospect, these first post-modern critics severely questioned the possibility of the "valid description of the Other" (Schweizer 1998, 42) as well as questioning fundamentally the principal method of empirical cultural sciences - fieldwork. After debate on the issue, it has become obvious that *ethnography* has preserved its central role in the qualitative research of human culture. At the same time advantaged interest has turned towards the other central part of accomplishing ethnographical knowledge, that is towards recording.

During the past two decades three remarkable methods have developed, based on the hermeneutical principals of humanistic approach: *interpretativism*, *postmodernism* respectively *radical constructivism*. The school of greatest effect has been undoubtedly interpretativism, which stresses the exploration of meaning in a certain behavioural situation. The principal goal here is to reveal the versatile, context-dependent "common understanding" generated by the people in cultures rooted and defined historically (Schweizer 1998, 42). The model of investigating culture in this method is the thousand year-old and more tradition of interpreting texts (hermeneutics) in European culture. Cultural research regards human behaviour as a symbolic act, i.e. an act including hidden, non-explicit meaning encoded beyond the obviously observed as well. In this way human behaviour can be "*read*" in several different ways, with several different meanings and so can be compared to *text*, a form of text that can be read, provided we disclose the adequate 'grammar' (Geertz 1973, 10). This system of rules is, in turn, culture itself, which has been formulated by human communities for a long time, and which is being handed

down successively through learning and socialization. A remarkable part of this system is not manifested; it exists more as a sort of common understanding. It is culture, notably this 'text' that the researcher coming from a different national or group culture hopes to read. At the same time learning to read here does not principally mean learning written and obvious rules, but mutual communication with the members of the studied culture aspiring to gain a consensual meaning (Geertz 1973, 20).

While studying religious tourism I was continuing my academic tutorial work. I was inevitably affected by my own research-methodological classes, which intended to present most of all the above-introduced humanistic approach. Since I started my researches on the field, it has become more and more clear to me, that above all I have been able to, and intended to, hand over to my students the theory of self-reflexive cognition aspiring to interpretation as the basis of ethnographical research. Therefore during different fieldwork periods from 1999 to 2003 I started to work more and more consciously myself. I intended to direct special attention towards my own personal role in the research process, the effect of my own personality and behaviour in the studied community. This reflexivity has, however, its own limits. It is exceedingly troublesome to look at our own activities from outside, to follow the individual logic of our own cognition breaking away from the given situation. During fieldwork the solitary researcher is caught up by events. My attention was in most cases completely occupied in getting to know the surrounding world, and my fellow passengers, or rather the observation of those travelling with me and the conscious communication with them, aspiring to cognition. The self-reflexive analysis of my research was in general completed only after arriving home, finishing my fieldwork diaries and completing the collected material with analytical, interpretative notes.

In the course of analysing and completing the *secondary text* (interviews, diaries, photos etc.) made during the cognition of the *primary text* (culture), a *tertiary text* was formulated. This is still a description of culture, nonetheless full of interpretative, self-reflexive and associative parts. In this way it could be considered as a sort of ethnographical rough sketch, a step forward to an analysatory text. This was the time when I managed to look at my former personality, at the field-worker, from outside, from the point of view of the analyst. Specifying the field-work material, its positioning and describing its context has proved to be appropriate in order to make self-reflexive remarks of the kind. To analyse my own activity in such a self-reflexive way *during fieldwork* was possible only in moments of particular role-conflicts.

Transient and Loose Fields: Agency, Coach, Church, Street

In the course of studying religious tourism I succeeded in getting to know exhaustively the principal feature of the *concept of field* in modern ethnology:

field is everywhere. As a matter of course the journeys themselves, the specially-marked, festive and ritual days and weeks of the theme are regarded as *primary field*. However, this field was rather unstable, which required intense adjustment and an ability to react. It needed then extra energy to keep the research process going, to look for the suitable *method, voice, style and moment* for fieldwork. The physical conditions of the field were not fixed either: the bus transporting the passengers which itself was moving in physical space, the city centre in Rome (where my informants and I were walking), the monumental cathedrals of Europe or churches in the countryside (where souls were looking for and perhaps finding "the way") - all affected substantially not only the possible modes of cognition, but their contexts as well. Very soon I had to accept: this is the kind of field considered to be "ideal, producing minimal external effects" in modern cultural research! Naturally, as with my interviewees I was unable to exclude myself from the effects of the permanently-altering field. At times I myself went sightseeing, leaving my fellow passengers to one side in order to have a look at a sight significant for me. The *researcher* became a *tourist* in these hours (Selänniemi 1996a, 32-36). Nonetheless, scientific work, this unavoidably intense, at times shortsighted *goal-oriented behaviour* did not allow "tours" of the kind. The goal-oriented behaviour helped to explore the volatile primary field to the greatest possible extent. This spoiled only one thing - a great part of my own tourist experience. However, this does not belong to the topic of this paper and influenced nothing more significant than the photos taken and my reports of the journey afterwards. Having visited the most important tourist destinations of Europe, my photographs, so much awaited by my acquaintances, show praying pilgrims, shopping tourists and arguing passengers for those expecting a memorable iconic experience at the sites of European cultural history.

My discussions with the tour organizers and passengers not carried out *en route* are considered the *secondary field* of my research. The field here in the case of the travellers is past itself, respectively the spirit: reports of journeys, reminiscences, photographs or the basic questions of religion, soul and spirituality. In the case of the tour organisers I regard as field the real and imaginary world surrounding and serving modern mass tourism: business conceptions, analysing journeys which are planned or completed, or presently underway, as well as making travel brochures.

We should not forget that the research process is surrounded by a particular environment, by a sort of *tertiary field*, a post-communist society, in which a conversion to socialism from a western Christian basis was attempted. It is a society which again debates the questions of Church, religion and state, a dispute that ended half a century ago, a society whose religiosity is referred to with diverse measures, conceptions and wishes. This is a society which, in line with the reactivation of historical Churches, found itself in the spiritual overflow of the end of the millennium and whose religious variety has been expanding even faster than its experience and knowledge of religion as such (Tomasi 1999). In connection with my research topic, extremely diverse and simultaneously contradictory ideas can be traced in this society.

Tripled Personality: Changing Levels of Consciousness

Analysing my fieldwork at a later phase, it has become clear that I myself accept at least two different roles, which I try to adjust to in my fieldwork. My activity can be described by at least two different behavioural patterns in accordance with my own acts and the levels of my own consciousness (as a researcher). In certain parts of my fieldwork I was a *researcher*, at other times I was a *traveller*. If I analyse the latter two roles any further and I accept the *tourist* and the *pilgrim* as two conflicting and competing roles, modes of cognition and action, my observations written down in the course of field-work may be considered as the reflection of the intellectual activity of a *tripled personality*. These three personalities are in fact *three voices*. Each one describes a different journey, which has a geographically common destination. However, their motivations, observations, interpretations and behaviours are markedly diverse.

If I accept that I travelled in the first place because of my research, I regard these changes of roles as the *different levels of consciousness*. Thus it can be easily understood why the pontifical masses held on Saint Peter's Square in Rome, captivating a mass of a hundred thousand people, was left out from my reports. At that time obviously *my pilgrim ego* dominated my acts; I entirely identified with my fellow travellers and those celebrating around me. To put it another way, my eagerness and consciousness as a researcher was thrust into the background on these occasions. This clearly indicates that the 'distance' between the researcher and those observed is variable during field-work. We cannot speak about 'the field-worker', as an unchanging and constant entity, as a sort of research machine, although contemporary anthropology seriously takes into consideration the self-reactive analysis of the researcher's self. As René Gothóni asserted, the fieldworker-self in this way can turn into 'the pilgrim to be interviewed' (Gothóni 1995, 27-45). It is impossible to describe the researcher in a *normative way* in the course of fieldwork. We can rather speak about a 'role-market' from which the field-worker selects in accordance with his consciousness and the environment. During the masses at Saint Peter's Square, in the centre of Roman Catholicism surrounded by a huge and enthusiastic community of believers, I identified myself to a great extent with the travellers I was supposed to study. At the same time in the main part of my fieldwork carried out in the primary field I was able to find what one might term an *ideal balance* between the external observation and participation as a fellow pilgrim. However, on those occasions I consciously made an effort to achieve a balance with regard to the ideal status; each of my distancing and careless moments was followed by a conscious counter-act. On the other hand, this *continuous adaptation*, combined with an intense, short-sighted goal-orientated behaviour can easily degrade field-work to a sort of adaptation-game, losing the "miraculous, graceful moments" of understanding in field-work. However, these moments are those which the qualitative cultural researcher has made a great effort to prepare for, organised and taken the trouble to travel for; these

are the moments for which he or she has to endure the grey and boring work of several months. The idea of the so-called “miraculous, graceful moment” (a concept with a religious connotation in fact) I consider to be appropriate in order to describe how the researcher is given a hint, a clue, or indication in understanding the specific logic of the studied culture in the course of successful field-work. These are the moments that in general turn out to be wondrous only after they have passed. During fieldwork, however, one can have experiences of another kind as well. In certain situations I became *estranged* spiritually from my fellow travellers. These situations provide the very rare self-reflexive insights already in the field, usually ‘asking for’ a very high price: the ‘price’ for disappointment, frustration, capitulation, later on that of overcompensation.

Taking into consideration the roles and role-conflicts which occurred during my fieldwork, I could describe my mental status and self-definition with a *sine curve*: the former was swinging between absolute estrangement and total identification. The same can be observed in connection with my acts; during masses I identified myself almost completely with those surrounding me, at the same time in the evenings while the others were retiring into their rooms I was relating my observations into a recorder on the empty night-time beaches of the Mediterranean or in the streets of different pilgrimage towns. As the schedule of the journey – as well as that of my research – had its own momentum and was completely beyond my authority, I had to use these moments of solitude.

If I take it for granted that the identity of the researcher is also dynamic and situational during fieldwork, it is understandable why I left the group of pilgrims I was studying for a few hours, turned off the tourist path and looked for an out-of-the-way restaurant. The researcher was orientated towards alternative methods owing to fieldwork sickness (Selänniemi 1996a, 32-36), or on the contrary, I could argue I had my tourist identity strengthened.

During fieldwork my observations were gradually altering. While at first I made a great effort to concentrate on every small detail, step by step I started to let the events ‘flow’ and tried to explore the context and meaning. At the same time after my first ascetic journey, my spasmodic resolution started to disappear and I myself was able to become a tourist or a pilgrim at times. On a number of occasions I had the possibility to realize how advantageous it was that on several occasions I had a role of the participant as observer, which slightly differed from that of the observer as participant (Gold 1969, 35-36). My participation in religious acts inspired confidence and I am sure that it was due to this that some of the travellers told me very openly about the ordeals they had endured in their lives, and that were the motivations for their joining the journeys. Thus I never refused to take part in a liturgical activity when I was asked as one of the few younger travellers participating in the journey. Furthermore, to my mind this did not represent an unethical stance. At the same time, it is evident that it could have been disadvantageous in the balanced exploration of the topic, if I had not tried to compensate my participation with a conscious external observation in each case. As I was aware of the fact that my Catholic identity could have caused problems in the balanced research process,

I tried to withdraw myself consciously from my research subject. In this it was a great help to me that I was studying a segment of religious life, pilgrimages, which is not compulsory, often considered to be strange and which is additionally very distant from my own concept and practice of religion.

Nevertheless, it was the conflict of the given roles that threw light upon the peculiarities of my own role. The Holy Stairs (Scala Sancta) is a special place in the city of Rome, to be visited almost compulsorily by all Catholics. According to tradition, Christ was led on these stairs in front of Pilate. Since it is a part of the road leading to Suffering it should be climbed on the knees. During my fieldwork, that is to say my taking part in this particular journey, all of the participants identified me as their fellow traveller. Although I had had inner conflicts being an active Catholic believer, my activity did not differ markedly from that of those surrounding me. Climbing up the Holy Stairs on the knees is a devotional, pious act that does not affect the essence of religious conviction. It is a form of religious observance which is very far from my own religious practice. At the same time, I knew if I did not climb the stairs on my knees, the community whose members had not paid any special attention to or had not realised at all the real motivation of my travelling with them up to this point and so had regarded me as one of the pilgrims, now all of a sudden would recognize me, would start to wonder why I had failed to fulfil the devotional expectation. In turn, I was also aware that if I climbed the stairs on my knees, I would in fact be acting against my own will, which I could later explain to myself as nothing but a pretence undertaken in order to secure success, which in turn would mean adopting the dubious ethical position of the researcher pretending to be a complete participant (Gold 1969, 33-34). Finally, at this point my role as a researcher and my personal ego got into conflict. On the basis of my chosen topic I had not been prepared for conflicts of this kind. I believed I would not have to meet such unsolvable conflicts while researching pilgrimage. Accordingly, in the end I chose the only possible solution; while the others were carrying out their own personal devotion I spent a long time writing in my research diary on the role-conflicts of the field-worker. My remarks on fieldwork written in front of the Holy Stairs reflect my momentary state very precisely:

“9. October, 2000. 18.15. Ecola Santa - Holy Stairs, Rome

It is interesting, but so far I have not felt sufficiently a member of this group that my identities conflict (pilgrim and researcher). Although at times I did not sing each song, neither was I the only one who fell asleep in the middle of continuous singing.

Here, nevertheless, it has happened and the others will also notice it. Climbing the stairs on one's knees with devotion in such a mass of people, in the noise of the street - this form of devotion I did not need at all and I did not fulfil. When the climbing started one could hear: “believers are expected to climb them on their knees”, (however, commanded by the non-religious guide) we were forced to make a rather difficult choice. If one does not do it, one is not a believer. Fortunately, I had already told the young priest leading the journey that despite all his regard I was a selective Catholic believing in my own way. (As if I had already thought that it was better to excuse myself beforehand...)

They have been up to the top on their knees; they are coming back right now, seeing me sitting here... I have not been with them at the place that gives them such

an emotional experience. I am sad and worried. What will happen in the next half an hour? I am at the bottom of the sine curve, I have become estranged from the community.”

Interviews on Transient and Stable Fields

In course of studying tourism in a qualitative way it is extremely problematic to make interviews with a tourist *en route*. The traveller is ready to have a conversation at home, since they are being asked to do something rather familiar, not to say enjoyable - to describe their experiences. The tourist *en route*, however, is a different case, which Selänniemi has already investigated. The tourist has paid to experience something entirely different far away from home. This traveller is not at all pleased when a stranger, whose purpose is not abundantly clear, wants to take up their very limited time (Selänniemi 1996a, 32-36, Markwell-Basche 1998, 229). During my field-work I was made to realize rather quickly, that at the destinations of our journey the travellers were not ready to waste their time answering my questions, that I was not a guest warmly welcomed. However, as to my research technique, the initial phase of communication was not different from that of my previous, successful researches in other circumstances. I made an effort to open my personality, to get to know myself, to reveal my motivations, ask for help, to initiate friendly conversation. Although using all the initial formulas, tricks and tactics needed in an ethnographical interview, most of the time I remained unsuccessful in interviewing travellers. Generally the conversation was a rather short and superficial one that the interviewee quickly ended. On other occasions I was told directly that they wanted to take full advantage of their time spent at the pilgrimage place. I was occasionally able to carry out interviews in the pilgrimage-centres using the travellers' time while they were relaxing or eating. Aside from these occasions the time spent in the pilgrimage centres was occupied by organized or private devotions such as sightseeing and shopping, which obviously did not make it possible to initiate a discussion.

On the other hand it is important to mention that whenever I did succeed in making interviews with the travellers, these conversations were then far more intense and personal than interviews made in other topics or elsewhere. The principal reason for this was that most of my fellow travellers had set out on this journey to find answers to essential existential questions, and their personal problems, by reflecting on themselves, at times looking over their whole past lives. Whenever they were willing to open up and spare some time to engage in conversation, these were astonishingly deep and honest, touching on the fundamental and extremely personal questions of life. (These, however, sometimes could lead further away from the research topic. Nevertheless, qualitative fieldwork is always an activity showing a *deficit* if I describe it exclusively from a utilitarian point of view.) It is remarkable that considering my fellow travellers were often seeking deep spiritual experiences having

visited a shrine, participating in a mass or other devotional activity, they were able to self-reflect, analyse themselves in spite of the fact that taking into account their age, education and home environment this self-reflexive attitude was not typical in their everyday life. My fellow travellers freed, or at least for a short time, relieved of their burdens were able to formulate, express and at the same time leave their problems behind. This was also possible because they saw me, like them, becoming exhausted by sitting through what were often two-day long bus trips, suffering from heat and cold. Thus I managed to counter the *lack of balance* so typical of research situation (i.e. researcher asks, informant answers). In addition I tried to undermine this asymmetry by offering organizational help, my language knowledge, by carrying packages and looking for the lost fellow travellers in cities. The idea of travelling together (on the analogy of suffering together so important in Christian faith) could deconstruct efficiently the imbalance of the research situation, which in a classical fieldwork situation is achieved through long hard work.

While on the one hand organized mass tourism has *taken away* from me the classical interview-situations, on the other hand it has *brought forth* two new ones. For instance, I managed to make excellent (if acoustically very poor) interviews during the sightseeing tours. In the centre of Milan, supporting my 82-year old fellow traveller, we had an uncommonly intense and sincere conversation. Leaving our group behind, almost detached from the city swarming around us, we had the possibility to talk for a long period about the motivations behind her journey. In Padua, returning from a visit to Saint Antony's cathedral - a great spiritual experience for many - a middle-aged fellow traveller of mine told me about her problems. In Avignon I listened to a traveller with painful joints talking about her experiences and motivations about travelling while supporting her as she walked. Sightseeing of this kind, 'sightseeing-ethnography' has become a distinctive feature of my journeys. Those having a conversation with me broke away from the group only for an hour or so missing only a little information about the city. However, during the noisy sightseeing tour in the city centres, none of us had the possibility to catch all the information passed on by the guide. Moreover, many of my elderly fellow-travellers were not interested in more than the basic facts about the sights visited. It is significant that remarkably few travellers took guidebooks with them. I spent nearly all the sightseeing-tours interviewing; I will thus always remember the important cities of Catholic and European cultural history through my personal memories of the conversations I had there and not because of their famous sights. In most cases the sightseeing took place after visiting a religious monument, church or after a religious experience, for example a mass. In these conversations the experience of spiritual relief continued, as did the increased focus on spiritual problems.

Besides sightseeing, long bus-trips provided excellent possibilities to make interviews. However, besides the noise of the engine, singing or praying could disturb the interview. Between endless chants and Rosary prayers, long vacant hours remained, when the travellers were ready to speak about the distinctive character of pilgrimage journeys. It was on the journeys home I had the

possibility to participate in exceptionally deep conversations. The travellers' spiritual experience and feeling of relief resulted in such openness, that they talked about the motivations, the experiences of their journey, although in a way that others could hear it as well. It is well known in the study of pilgrimages that the achieved relief has a special effect on the pilgrim, who turns towards the world with a different, "fresh" eye (Gothóni 1993, 133).

There was another noteworthy feature of the interviews made in connection with religious tourism. In a number I was told about a personal tragedy, a calamity that had been, in most cases, the revealed motivation for the journey. All *the fates had settled on me*, and the trust I was given during the journeys became more and more serious. Often I felt that I was listening to avowals, cathartic monologues, almost *confessions*. The spiritual capacity of man, even that of the researcher, is limited; I am not able to listen calmly and unemotionally to all these tragedies. The researcher is not a well-made complex recording machine, but merely a human being who cannot be immune to other people's problems. In the Roman Catholic Church the *sacrament of the clergy* provides a form of assistance in listening to and managing personal narratives in the sacrament of confession. This helps the listener to keep the spiritual burden in perspective, to avoid becoming overwhelmed by the tragedies transferred to them, so that the spiritual recovery of one should not be followed by the sickness of the other. Although in ethnology there is nothing like the '*sacrament of the ethnographer*', the deep, self-revealing, at many times extremely personal conversations made me feel numbed, burdened and much troubled by the end of the journeys. In most cases by the end of the journey I had closed myself; I was not able to continue active field-work in spite of the fact that many travellers expressed their readiness to have a conversation with me. On arriving home these tragedies began to pour out from me, like from an overloaded barrel, as I transferred my burden at least partly to my immediate environment.

I assume these conversations had a special function for my fellow travellers. However, although most of the participants define themselves as pilgrims, they do not cite gaining indulgence as an aim of their journey. Therefore they had not been to confession, necessary in order to gain indulgence either before or during the journey. While at local pilgrimage places one can often observe a large number of confessions, even nowadays among older generations, during the journeys there was no indication of this at all. The priests in attendance did not offer confession, nor did the believers ask for it; moreover, the intensity of the schedule did not allow the possibility of it. I had the feeling that for some of my fellow travellers our deep and cathartic conversations played the same role as a confession, dissipating the great problems and worries of their lives. I in no way suggest that I heard confessions, since for this generation the form of confession is not a conversation taking place on a bus or in the street while walking. On the other hand I think that through our conversations they could find relief and to some extent put their worries to one side, as usually happens in course of a confession.

As opposed to the interviews made during the journeys, the interviews remembering the journeys made in the homes of the interviewees brought about a different result. They presented contemporary man from a peculiar aspect. My interviewees talked about their own pilgrimage in an intense life-historical setting. Moreover, exactly due to this setting I could even say that they talked about *their own lives as a pilgrimage*. The interviewees are markedly self-reflective in the interviews: I got to know people, who look at themselves from outside, and who fight and argue with their own selves. The constructed image of the pilgrim, religion and community, so readily traceable in the interviews, provided the framework. My interviewees reacted to this image, as well as analysed their own acts, and sometimes even their own faith, in the light of this. These interviews have rightly become my most significant source in research. Seven of these are analysed in a separate chapter.

Letters - the Normative Idea of Travelling

In the opening phase of my research I came across a rather distinctive and broad secondary source material, namely the shorter or longer letters, reports, itineraries, journals and postcards written by the travellers to the agency. If I consider these letters as a part of business communication, the traveller-letters can be regarded as a special (according to my knowledge so far unanalysed) manifestation of communication between supplier and customer. The *traveller-letter* is a term created by me. A heterogeneous group of sources, which is unified solely in its origin. Regarding their formal features they are in most cases normal letters addressed to the owner and leader of the agency, whose approach is to run his business very personally. However, it is only the existence of the formal units such as address, text, date and signature which are common in all cases. That is besides long typed diaries illustrated with photos and reports written by hand in a friendly tone I can find postcards, picture postcards as well as words of good wishes written on a name card. Serving as a basis of my research, Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency provided the group of resources for me. It is certain that numerous other agencies receive letters from their customers; nonetheless, the letters sent to Macroworld have a particular quality.

It is their origin. The agency, in order to get regular and thorough feedback from their travellers, announced a lottery ten years ago. Among those sending their opinion to the agency in a written form journeys and books are drawn at the end of each year. Satisfaction, disappointment or the possibility to win a journey free of charge has resulted in travellers writing more than 1000 detailed letters in the past ten years. These have become not only a form of communication between the agency and the travellers, but at the same time served as an extended and analysable source material for me.

Having looked over and analysed this huge volume of material it is now evident that the representative ability of these letters is limited. However they are rather distinctive: this is an emic perspective of the kind in which, through example stories, the travellers describe, often metaphorically, the ideal travelling circumstances. On rare occasions solitary paths accomplished in the crowd are described; elsewhere asceticism, self-restraint carried out in the middle of a cheerful company. Nevertheless, it is also noticeable how alienated modern man is able to find his way back to communal experience.

During my research, building ethnography around a research topic, I interpreted the letters as a sort of text partly providing me with the travellers' *normative idea of travelling*. The letters frequently criticise the journeys openly, the format of different kinds of programs or even their fellow travellers. At other times I encountered not explicit criticisms, but implicit remarks, comments and suggestions. In both cases I could apprehend the travellers' normative idea, formulated on the basis of their previous experiences or wishes. In my estimation the experiences recorded in these letters reflect the ideas, images and allegories of vernacular Catholicism at the end of millennium. In comparing them I can throw light upon the most important experiences of those participating in religious tourism. This cognition is, however, restricted; these reports are written in each case as a counterpoint to the realised or unrealised normative idea of travelling. As a result, in the letters the familiar dilemma emerges in many cases: how tourists and pilgrims, the goals of tourist and pilgrim are mingling, how tourist and pilgrim behaviour is in conflict during these journeys. The travellers' emic concept concerning the segmentation of the travellers is very well articulated in these letters.

Naturally, it is obvious that these letters are not private. As such, some details of the journeys are not described in them at all, and most are not helpful in revealing deeper spiritual experiences. However, since they were often written in praise of, or to complain about the service supplied, these letters are eminently suitable to partly reveal the normative idea of the travellers. On rare occasions they are also useful for analysing the responses of the tour-organizers themselves.

Diaries - Personal Accounts about Personal (Inner) Trips

During the journeys I asked the travellers to write personal diaries, for which I provided notebooks prepared beforehand. In the introductory section I asked the travellers to write "an informal diary about their personal experience, feelings and impressions while travelling". Writing a diary was voluntary and anonymous; their handing in was not compulsory. The diary books were handed out by the guides and collected at the end of the journeys. Having copied the diaries I sent them back to their writers by post.

Some researchers consider personal diaries as an extremely useful resource. Selänniemi made comprehensive use of diaries written by Finnish tourists in different Mediterranean holiday resorts and illustrated their representational capacity (Selänniemi 2003). The diaries provided me not only with information about numerous journeys in which I was not taking part, but to a certain extent they were able to overcome the basic problems of doing research with interviews and questionnaires, namely that the tourist is reluctant to participate in interviews or surveys, or his reactivity is minimal (Markwell – Basche 1998, 229). Although extraordinarily few travellers wrote a diary, these present their journeys intensively and as a process. While the interviews and questionnaires could record a moment (before, during and after) of travelling, the diaries (alongside participant observation) were able to follow the journeys as a process. I consider it especially important in the case of religiously-motivated travel to be able to record the reflections of certain inner transitions and changes. Additionally, the diaries presented travelling from the perspective of the traveller, concentrating on the experiences of great importance for them. Epistemologically this research method fitted into my investigations perfectly, since in the diaries the *voice of the traveller* could be heard solo. As they could write in their diaries at any moment of the journey, it did not disrupt the experience of travelling, unlike a questionnaire or an interview (Markwell – Basche 1998, 229).

As a matter of course these diaries do not present the entire journey, nor is a certain diary the only possible interpretation of a certain journey. It was exceptionally interesting, however, when I had the possibility to compare the reactions, feelings and experiences of several travellers with my own, quite different perspectives when diaries were kept during a journey I participated in, and where I myself recorded the journey in process. In this way I became aware of numerous hidden experiences revealed in the diaries, as well as the significant role of certain experiences which seemed at the time to be only of marginal significance.

We must bear in mind, however, that the interpretation and usability of the diaries as a source is limited, since most of my fellow travellers were elderly and the percentage of lower-educated individuals was relatively high. In their cases, expressing feelings and thoughts in written form may have been unusual to them, while their capacity for self-reflexivity may also have been limited.

Questionnaires – the Imagined Self

Although it has been evident to me since I started my research that my investigations would be defined by humanistic approach, I considered it worthwhile to complete the qualitative methods with a survey research as well. From today's humanistic perspective it is not necessarily frowned upon to use certain positivistic methods complementarily. The use of questionnaires as a

part of research into certain topics by no means indicates the acceptance of a positivistic approach (Schweizer 1998, 52-53). When I was planning my survey research I intended to regard this as one voice in presenting reality polyphonically. I accepted and assumed that the information gained through survey research is partial; aside from its faults in sampling, its representation is restricted due to its method and cognitive orientation.

In order to create my questionnaire the first step was *item generation*: that is to say the questions were to be defined. Item generation is carried out in two basic different ways: either deep and extensive knowledge is needed of the particular cultural phenomenon or initial interviews are to be made to discover the topic and its terminology (Weller 1998, 367). In preparing the first version of my questionnaire I relied on my previous fieldwork, which partly studied the phenomenon of pilgrimage. Besides my research connected to religious phenomena (religion and national identity, sacred space and system of objects, Catholic cults) I took part in an international research project in the Banat region of Romania partly centred around the role of the region's multi-denominational pilgrimage centre, Máriaradna (*Rom. Radna*) (Hannonen - Lönnqvist - Barna 2000). Additionally, I was among the organizers of an international research project focusing on the present form of a regional pilgrimage place and feast in Szeged-Lowertown, Hungary (Pusztai 1999). My personal interest turned towards religious tourism in 1995-96 when I analysed the activity of a religious tourist agency (Pusztai 1998). On this basis I feel I have been able to obtain sufficient knowledge of the phenomenon of Central-European Catholic pilgrimage to be ready to compile a questionnaire on the topic. Besides this I studied the methodology of existing ethnological and anthropological questionnaires investigating pilgrimages (Giuriati et al. 1990, 177-192, Jackson et al. 1990, 58-61) as well as other tourism-anthropological questionnaires (Selänniemi 1996a). Having designed the first version of the questionnaire I carried out a test examination and, after considering its conclusions, I created the final form.

Due to the distinctive character of the research topic it was evident that my questionnaire would not be representative. Since I was to study an originally well-defined societal group the convenience samples or non-random type of questionnaire - acknowledging certain restrictions in representation - could serve as an adequate complementary research method (Weller 1998, 374). Since within the given group I could not influence sampling, I can regard the questionnaires as representative while acknowledging the following points. It was the tourist guides who asked the travellers to fill in the self-completing, anonymous questionnaires; in most cases 70-80% of the travellers completed the form. Besides those who did not answer owing to personal reasons, many of my elderly and lower-educated fellow travellers avoided completing the form, according to my fieldwork experience. Therefore in this respect the results of the questionnaires can distort to a certain extent.

A decisive part of the questionnaire was completed on so called 'collected tours', that is to say on journeys where the travellers apply for a journey to several places, with differing religiosity and of different age, not knowing each

other beforehand.⁵ Travellers of this kind make up the determinant part of the customers at the agency. I think the distribution of destinations and age characterising the participants of this sort of journey reflects the tendencies of the studied group as a whole.

In my research I used a questionnaire of 25 questions to be completed at the beginning, and a questionnaire of 21 questions to be completed at the end of the journey. Both questionnaires began with some general information items, which made it possible to match (not to identify!) the anonymous items at a later phase. The second part of the questionnaire distributed at the beginning of the journey was intended to reveal the possible sources of knowledge concerning the actual journey alongside with the experiences of travelling in general. For this I used close-ended multiple choice questions with space for additional information. The following group used open-ended questions to reveal the motivations behind taking part in the journey. In a later section this was verified with close-ended multiple-choice questions. The questionnaire also featured some questions concerning the aspirations of the traveller and ended with offering space and possibility for remarks.

After the general introductory questions the questionnaire used at the end of the journey asked about the objectified memories of travelling (such as taking photographs, buying souvenirs, sending postcards). The subsequent group of questions was intended to throw light upon the experiences of the journey with open-ended questions, which later was verified with close-ended multiple choice questions. Both questionnaires included a group of questions referring to religiosity and identity. The former used the variables identified by research into the sociology of religion in Hungary while studying religiosity in post-communist society.

An investigation carried out with questionnaires clearly has numerous representational restrictions. The questionnaires completed are certainly not representative of Hungarian society as a whole. This was never their intention, since they were originally formulated to investigate a particular, specialised section of society; the participants of religious tourism. I feel that within the studied group the database formulated with the help of questionnaires is sufficient in order to create and complete the basis for the results of qualitative research. It will be appropriate to analyse the differences between the different techniques of representation. In a later section I will return to this question, as well as to the distinctive qualities of the cognition of this research topic.

⁵ I am not taking into consideration the cases, when ('organic') closed spiritual communities accomplish their journey solely by buying the service and organizational work at the agency.

3 TOURISM IN PILGRIMAGE

As I have already pointed out, literature concerning travelling, pilgrimage and tourism is rather divided regarding the relation between these phenomena. In this chapter I do not intend to join this debate, neither to summarize the history of pilgrimage or tourism. In the first part of this chapter I would like to reveal briefly, that certain phenomena connected to tourism, especially *professional travel organization* as well as *non-necessary motivation* were already present in travelling before the time of Grand Tours or before the age considered as the beginning of organized travel (Thomas Cook's in 1841). I consider it important to note, that the medieval pilgrim, regarded as the archetype of the pilgrim, also used the advantages provided by gradually improving infrastructure while travelling. To a certain extent this certainly affected his way of travelling. In the second part of the chapter, referring to Hungarian sources I briefly summarize how foot pilgrimage gradually became the practice of lower social strata in the 19th century. I attempt to present how a particular type of tourism, namely religious tourism, developed. In my opinion, tourism, appearing and expanding parallel to the social narrowing of late Baroque pilgrimages, offered a clear alternative for several groups of society having the desire to religiously-motivated travel. At the end of this chapter I will briefly refer to the development of religiously-motivated journeys after the 1950s, emphasizing the situation in Central Europe afflicted by the Communist regime. I consider it significant to underline, that although in this chapter I discuss the development of religious tourism and 'religious tourist sights', together with the profane forces at times affecting them, I feel this may provide only very little and accidental information on the religious experience of contemporary travellers. This will be presented later.

Business and Organization in Religiously Motivated Travel

Christianity has paid accentuated attention to certain places since its appearance.⁶ Visiting these places has been a practice almost since the death of Jesus, but especially since 313. Pilgrimage had its first heyday in this age of early Christianity. A *servicing infrastructure* had already developed around the most frequently visited places during this period, as Adler has recently noted:

“... we do know from another text, that one entrepreneurial deacon of a desert town developed a long-distance transportation and guide service, hiring out ‘dromedaries ... on account of the scarcity of water in the desert, to carry travellers who wished to visit Anthony.’ There is ample evidence from other chronicles that rudimentary hostel services sprouted up near crowd-attracting solitaries; the revenues generated by these human resources supported the disciples who managed the attraction. (John of Lycopolis had a “guest cell” and employed three translators; some of the stylites were flanked by hostels and distributed such *eulogia* as clay medallions and flasks of oil; and well-known anchorites kept gardens for the express purpose of feeding guests, etc.)” (Adler 2002, 32).

However, this early infrastructure, in strict sense of the term, did not serve the traveller today referred as pilgrim, but rather the pious traveller, who visited the locations of the life and death of Christ, early Christian saints and hermits (Balint – Barna 1994, 17, Runciman 1999, 43-45). According to Sigal, during the early Middle Ages *ascetic practice* and *withdrawal from the world* motivated primarily religious travelling. In addition, voluntary *exile*, *mission* and related to this the *idea of martyrdom* - detectable mainly among Irish believers - also motivated travelling (Sigal 1989, 7-8). As Sumption clearly points out: “The early Church knew *neither judicial nor penitential pilgrimage*” (Sumption 1975, 98).

Nevertheless, by the turn of the first millennium a fundamentally new motivation appeared for the already existing religiously-motivated travel. In the early Middle Ages besides the already *common forms of penance* (prayer, fast, alms), the practice of making ascetic journeys to places with special Christian importance, i.e. *pilgrimage*, appeared. Travelling as a form of penance has changed the *idea, meaning and importance of religiously-motivated travel* and created a new and significant motivation in taking masses of pilgrims on the roads of Europe. According to Runciman it was a Franc nobleman called Fromondus who was mentioned as the first to visit Palestine with his brother in the 9th century, in order to get exempted from the consequences of his sins (Runciman 1999, 47-48). The increase in the number of pilgrims was also due to the growing population of the age (Bálint -Barna 1994, 17-18). The previously founded monasteries as well as specialized orders provided the serving infrastructure.

⁶ Here I do not deal with the history of pilgrimages in detail. For the general religious historical significance of pilgrimages I recommend Turner (1987) and Bhardwaj – Rischede (1988), both providing further abundant bibliography in the topic. For the history of the western Christian pilgrimages beside the mentioned works I also recommend Turner-Turner (1978), Sigal (1987), Davidson – Dunn-Wood (1993) also providing abundant literature.

Along overland roads, for example to Santiago de Compostella, specialized orders, such as the Military Order of Saint James of the Sword and the Order of Saint James of Compostella founded monasteries, where pilgrims could stay at no expense. In the Holy Land it was the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem ('Hospitallers') who helped pilgrims. The pilgrimage houses and common lodging houses (*xenodochium, hospicium, hospitale*) established by kings and bishops and run by Orders, soon became unable to serve the growing masses of pilgrims. *Caritative hosting* of this sort began to decline markedly in the 14-15th centuries (Smith 1992, 8). Separate infrastructure developed gradually in order to serve the growing number of pilgrims (and other travellers) and to organize travelling.

Additionally, *travelling* as such became more and more complex. From the 12-13th centuries seaway replaced the overland route leading to the Holy Land through Hungary. At Mediterranean ports, such as Bari, Marseilles and Venice, those travelling to the Holy Land meant a significant income for ship owners. Specialized middlemen connected pilgrims and ship owners (Sigal 1989, 65-66). As a matter of course, ship owners attempted to cram on board as many people as possible, so official inspectors emerged to ensure fair treatment (Sigal 1989, 65-66). There are data referring to professional guides in the Holy Land from as early as the 4th century. Alongside civilians, monks guided the travellers of greater significance. Licensed and organized guides operated in a few cities during the Middle Ages: "Venice, with its bureaucratic tradition, was naturally one of these. The republic provided guides whose duties included showing visitors the sights, finding them lodgings, helping them with their shopping, and introducing them to ship owners" (Sumption 1975, 260-1). One could say that the further the pilgrim travelled and the more unknown the route, the more dependent he was of the infrastructure established to serve travellers. According to Sumption, the first "agencies" informing travellers in Rome and consulates in Egypt and Jerusalem were established and opened in the 14th century (cited by Smith 1992, 8).

By the 14-15th centuries, inns run by civilians were already playing a significant role in accommodating travellers, among them pilgrims. Sigal cites a chronicler from the 15th century according to which 1022 inns were functioning in Rome at that time (Sigal 1989, 72-78). Smaller inns alongside the roads would often have saved lives, offering shelter against cold and darkness. However, at times the traveller had to face danger exactly in places like these, sometimes in the person of the innkeeper himself. One story of the kind is preserved in the legend of Saint Nicholas. As the story goes, an innkeeper suspects that three students staying in his house have a great deal of money, so he kills them during the night. In order to hide his act he cuts the bodies and pickles the pieces. Saint Nicholas, however, reveals the outrage and the three students come out of the barrel safely. (It is due to this that Saint Nicholas has become the patron of students, later that of children.) On the road to Compostella several similar murders must have happened since the legends related to Saint James describe in several different versions the outrages of wicked innkeepers

who kill and rob their guests or with false accusations cheat them out of their possessions (Petneki 1993, 8).

The pilgrim staying at a shrine for a shorter or longer period certainly wanted to take home a kind of *souvenir* also as a proof. Pilgrim-signs, becoming widespread in the 13-14th century, are regarded as the first souvenirs. One of the most famous is the shell of Santiago found and collected in nature, later also made from metal. Crosses or small flags could serve as signs as well. The mass production of these signs from tin and lead made them cheap enough for poorer pilgrims, too. This brought about remarkable profit: in Compostella during the 12th century more than 100 shops sold signs for pilgrims. Moreover, production was regulated, so those possessing the privilege were made to pay tax (Sigal 1989, 89-92). Sumption regards the behaviour of the souvenir purchasing medieval pilgrim as the archetype of the modern tourist:

“In several respects these early tourists behaved exactly like their modern counterparts. They carved graffiti on walls, for example. Noblemen were in the habit of inscribing their coats of arms inside the Holy Sepulcher itself while pretending to be praying. ... They also bought gaudy souvenirs, like the coral paternosters and shaped semi-precious stones, which were on sale outside the sanctuaries of Le Puy. ... Nompar de Caumont bought several pieces of fine coloured silk at Jerusalem, together with four pieces of rope the length of the Holy Sepulcher, three silk purses, thirty-three silver rings and twelve silver crucifixes which had touched the Holy Sepulcher, a number of relics of doubtful worth, a bag of Jerusalem soil, a black embroidered purse, two pairs of golden spurs, four roses and a phial of Jordan water. These he distributed among his relatives and tenants when he returned. Primitive postcards were sold at the more popular sanctuaries. In Rome pictures of the sudarium of Veronica ... were mass-produced and sold to pilgrims in the streets” (Sumption 1975, 259-260).

Nonetheless, it is not the change of organization and service that is most remarkable, but rather the *diversification of motivations*. During the Middle Ages owing to the growing number of pilgrims and gradually improving safety in travelling, travellers with not exclusively religious motivations appeared. Numerous ordinances against vagabonds, adventurers or false-pilgrims taking advantage of pilgrim status, even against heretics disguised as pilgrims, were introduced in the Middle Ages (Sigal 1989, 45-46). In the context of this study it is significant, that some people made pilgrimage journeys for the sake of curiosity, fashion or prestige. In course of the 14-15th centuries pilgrimage of this sort (called “tourist” by Sigal) became more and more widespread (Sigal 1989, 44). Jacobus de Vitriaco’s report on 13th century pilgrimages throws light upon this: “Some light-minded and inquisitive persons go on pilgrimages not out of devotion, but out of mere curiosity and love of novelty. All they want to do is travel through unknown lands to investigate the absurd, exaggerated stories they have heard about the east” (Sumption 1975, 257). Religious motivation had not disappeared; however, as a result of travelling becoming more popular and less expensive, other motivations developed. Guidebooks of the age reflect this new interest; previous guidebooks were brief and factual works. According to Sumption these guides based on early mediaeval sources had become useless and outdated by the 12-13th century owing to changes and

building work on the sites. New guidebooks were written, although most of them did not become widely known. One of the most popular was Jacobus de Vitriaco's work entitled *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Among later works presenting unknown nations and customs a compilation entitled *Mandeville's Travels* published in 1357 by an unknown author, came to be exceptionally popular. It was translated into many languages during half a century and after the invention of printing it was published in countless editions. Sumption sees this work as standing "at the beginning of the first chapter in the history of mass travel" and considers it as a sign of growing enthusiasm through which man took a glance at faraway lands. A new motivation can be traced also in the case of those German pilgrims, whom he cites: they go on pilgrimage "to fulfil their pilgrimage and observe the Spanish way of life" (Sumption 1975, 257-8).

Thus it does not come as a surprise that 'business' accompanying pilgrimages disturbs not only the alienated pilgrim of our age, but those of previous centuries. As a poem by the 15th century Hungarian humanist poet, Janus Pannonius reveals:

"Slavs, Hispanics, Gallics, Huns, Teutons
How you pursue at Peter's golden threshold!
Why do you strive for enriching the Italian
Why cannot you find salvation in your own land of birth?"
(*Janus Pannonius: Laughing at the pilgrims in Rome*)

Pilgrimages were most heavily criticized in the age of Reformation. This was not due to the business accompanying pilgrimage, but rather to the *abuse of the base of pilgrimage, i.e. indulgence*. The growing number of occasions for indulgence, as well as the abuse of its privileges demanded the clarification and confirmation of the doctrine. John Wycliff and Jan Hus had already protested against the doctrine; later on Luther included the question of indulgence in his issues, criticizing the misuse of indulgent letters sold in connection with the building of Saint Peter's Cathedral. The reformation movement launched by him, however, went much further; and as a consequence each protestant movement rejected the doctrine of indulgence, together with one of its forms, i.e. pilgrimage (Bálint - Barna 1994, 21).

The Decline of Pilgrimage

Reformation divided Europe on the basis of religion and hindered the practice of pilgrimage for a long time. An upswing took place only as late as in the 17th century, when making pilgrimage journeys started flourishing again in the spirit of the cult of Mary, symbolizing the fight against both Protestants and Turks in Central Europe. During the 17th century shrines of regional importance gained popularity again. After Hungary was occupied by the Turks in the middle of the 16th century, Protestantism rapidly spread throughout the country. More than a century later, when the Habsburg-led forces freed and

unified the country, certain Catholic noble families, in the first place the Esterházy family, encouraged the revival of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage became a symbol of counter-Reformation movements, supported by the Church. Pilgrimage proved to be an important cohesive factor in the unionist movement on Hungarian and Polish territories aiming at converting orthodox believers to Catholicism during the 16-17th century as well (Bálint - Barna 1994, 105).

The growing significance of local shrines characterized pilgrimages of the Baroque age. However, distant pilgrimages did not come to an end either. Among those visiting Rome from Hungary in the late 17th - early 18th century mainly representatives of Catholic nobility one finds, who at this time visited the sacred places of Italy as a part of their *Grand Tour* - i.e. the final phase in their education - returning home with reproductions of devotional sculptures, cults and forms of devotion (Barna 2001, 94-96). Miklós Zrínyi, Ferenc Nádasdy and Zsigmond Széchenyi all organized their journeys to Italy based on the Church calendar: carnival time was to be spent in Rome, Venice or Naples, the week of Easter in Rome, Whitsunday in Venice. Usually the journey started in Florence, from where they travelled to Rome with several stops, then further to Naples. Having climbed up Vesuvius the traveller returned to Venice (Kovács 1988, 186). In Rome besides looking at the memorials of antique and modern times as well as joining in social life, the program could be coloured by church ceremonies, papal masses, blessings, processions, even by a ceremony of a canonization (Vissi 1993, 11). In 1693-94 Ferenc Rákóczi II (incognito as Baron of Borsheim) also visited Italy. Besides learning fencing and dancing, he studied history and geography, as well as visiting sights, and the churches of Rome as a Catholic believer. He met Pope Innocent XII (Kovács 1988, 155-156).

Pilgrimage had its heyday in Hungary and in Catholic Central Europe during the Baroque age. By this time Hungarian pilgrims had not only visited significant European shrines; a network of local and regional pilgrimage places covered the country as well. In this age all social strata participated in pilgrimages, whilst its forms and cults were influenced both by the Church and Catholic aristocrats and noble families. Not only was there a diversity of social layers integrated in pilgrimage during this period, but also certain shrines became shared spiritual centres for believers of diverse nationality (for example Máriaradna (*Rom. Radna*), Romania). Moreover, owing to the converting of Orthodox believers to Catholicism, a shrine could become a special meeting place of eastern and western spirituality (for example Máriapócs, Hungary). Pilgrimage practice of the Baroque age was exceedingly rich in specific rituals and devotions (Barna 2001, 71-81).

In leading and maintaining pilgrimages, lay men started to play a more and more important role. Lay *licentiates* (pilgrimage leaders) gained legitimation in the era of the Turkish occupation, maintaining a proper form of practice through the spread of printing and literacy. All this strongly affected the forms of piety connected to pilgrimages. Lukatis (1989, 203) claims that the diversification of piety was also due to the growing importance of laymen:

“The popular pilgrimage of the baroque era saw the mingling of ecclesiastical and popular-pious elements... Also, the idea of pilgrimage as a “lay activity” was developed further - laic pilgrimage leaders organized the way to the shrines, and church associations of laymen took over certain tasks connected with church services. ... The result was that to some extent there was a considerable differentiation in the possible ways of expressing piety.”

Among others due to political reasons, it was the Habsburgs uniting the country who encouraged pilgrimages in Hungary during the 18th century. However, this started to change during the rule of Maria Theresa. In a spirit of enlightened absolutism state power began to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. The culmination of the process was the prohibiting of pilgrimage practice. In 1772 all pilgrimages longer than a day were prohibited within and outside the Habsburg Monarchy. The absolutist rule placing ecclesiastical life under state control, the dissolution of contemplative orders, as well as leaving Episcopal chairs empty hindered the practice of pilgrimage significantly. Centuries-long connections and customs were broken; the pilgrimages to Rome in the Holy Year were also unannounced in the Austrian Empire. Numerous shrines established in the 16-17th centuries lost their significance at this period. The Enlightenment hindered the practice of mass pilgrimage of the Baroque age. By the end of the 18th century educated people had withdrawn from the practice of pilgrimage considering it as a custom of the lower social classes (Bálint - Barna 1994, 143). The situation had slightly improved by the beginning of the 19th century, nevertheless by this time a part of the clergy had also turned away from pilgrimages. The enlightened priesthood considered pilgrimage as a relic from the past. They often even prohibited pilgrimages, especially due to religious practices and rituals associated with them. As Barna (2001, 279) states: “Both ecclesiastical and secular authors condemned pilgrimage as a medieval, old fashioned, paraliturgical and superstitious manifestation of religion burdened with uncontrollable movements.” By the second half of the 19th century this process led to the clergy staying away from pilgrimages, except on a few representative occasions. After the control of the priesthood disappeared, local-regional pilgrimages of small communities in closed rural-peasant areas kept several elements of customs and beliefs of medieval origin (Bálint - Barna 1994, 143-147).

With the social tightening of pilgrimage practice and the stiffening of its forms *tourism appeared*. After the Grand Tours of the 17-18th century, travelling to bathing resorts (Kósa 1999) as well as to the mountains (first of all to the Tatra mountains) became popular in Hungary during the 19th century (Polgárdy 1941, 204-206). Travelling to baths in the first half of the 19th century was exclusively the habit of nobility. Often members of the Habsburg family played a significant role in a certain health-resorts becoming popular. In the late 19th century, baths and alpine resorts became *scenes of social relations* rather than places of curing. By the end of the 19th century holiday resorts had developed both for curing and entertainment all over the Carpathian-basin. Mountainous areas other than the Tatra Mountains began to attract Alpine tourism in the last

two decades of the 19th century. At the same time mountainous resorts started to serve other tourist purposes as well (Polgárdy 1941, 207-213). All this was accompanied by the rapid development of infrastructure in travelling and the change among the travellers. Due to the economic prosperity provided by a dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the *bourgeoisie* took part in tourism to an increasing extent in the last third of the 19th century. As a result of an economic upswing, leisure time and extra income appeared also in the life of those living not from estates but on their own productive or financial activity. Consequently by the end of the 19th century the desire and positive perception indispensable for tourism had been formulated (Gyömrei 1934).

The Development of Organized Religious Tourism

Although late Baroque pilgrimages had lost their significance, and tourism was in the early phase of development, the appearance of religious tourism cannot be connected only to these two phenomena. The conflict between the Church and the secularised state characteristic of the 19th century also contributed to instilling pilgrimage with a new meaning and the involvement of a new social strata. In order to understand the phenomenon, I must throw light upon the relation between the Roman Catholic Church and the emerging nation states – especially the relation between the Vatican and the uniting Italy, as well as the conflict between the French Church and state.

According to Dahlberg (1991, 33), the previously rather liberal Pius IX changed his Church policy as a consequence of Italian union:

“Between the years 1860 and 1870 he (Pius IX.) lost all the Papal States, and was left only with the city of Rome; this, too, was taken from him in 1870 by Victor Emmanuel’s troops. The following year the Law of Guarantees was instituted, which declared the pope’s territories forfeit to the Italian state and which robbed him of virtually all temporal power. Refusing to acknowledge himself as a subject of the new kingdom, he (Pius IX.) chose to remain isolated within the Vatican, to never cross its borders again; he became a self-imposed prisoner in his last remaining territory.”

The first most spectacular consequence of the Italian union was that the 1st Vatican Council (started in 1869) was interrupted due to the occupation of Rome.⁷ However, the Council during its rather short period of work brought about several decisions, which influenced remarkably the relation between the Church and the state and to a certain extent my topic, religious tourism, as well.

⁷ The Jesuit Ferenc Szabó (2002) lists numerous consequences of the interruption of the 1st Vatican Council: “The first Vatican Council was interrupted due to political reasons; almost a century passed until the next council: the modernist crisis of the turning of the century, then the rigidity of teaching during the era of XII. Pius blocked the Catholic Church from opening up for the several (positive) results of modernism: for natural sciences, Biblical studies, and the aspects of new theology. Church reforms (certain decentralization, democratisation, liturgical reforms etc.) were also retarded by rigid conservatism.”

The Church aimed at strengthening its declining secular power referring to otherworldly signs. Even according to progressive Catholic interpretations it has been accepted in the present day, that certain dogmatic changes were made as mere reactions to the given age. As the Capuchin friar, Walbert Buhlmann (2001) sees it:

“The 1st Vatican Council which took place in 1870 provided the Church with strong central power: declaring the infallibility of the Pope and his omnipotent power over all Churches. However, the fact cannot be neglected, that no sooner had the dogma been accepted, than Garibaldi’s troops occupied Rome. Consequently the Council was interrupted. Therefore only one pillar of Church teaching could be erected. Then, however, the ecclesiastical power of the pope was strengthened unilaterally, as a compensation of the secular power he lost.”

The Vatican reacted to the new conditions not only by *accepting the antinomic dogma*, but also by *popularising apparitions of the Virgin Mary*, in the first place the shrine of Lourdes. Dahlberg (1991, 33-34) describes Rome’s opinion as follows:

“Pius IX. reacted to the loss of his temporal power by a vigorous repudiation of liberalism, socialism, rationalism, and pantheism ... On the other hand, he asserted the supernatural basis of the Church and of his own power through two dogmas - the dogma of Immaculate Conception of Mary (1854) and the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope (1870). Both these dogmas were justified with reference to the Marian apparitions at Lourdes. ... Subsequent Popes have similarly invoked the apparitions at Lourdes as means of legitimating their power, and have thereby helped to promote the cult within the universal Church.”⁸

Two rather distant processes, namely the radical shift in relation between Church and state and the development of modern travel organization resulted in the fact that religiously motivated travelling gained a new meaning. Pilgrimage, an ancient element of Christian history, was reborn demonstrating Church power and its ability for integration by turning believers’ attention to new apparitions (mainly Lourdes, La Salette) and to Catholic unity and hierarchy (Rome). It is not by chance that the first journeys of the kind concentrated exactly on these places. The believers were not orientated towards the forgotten local and regional shrines regularly visited by their ancestors, neither were they led to locations of new apparitions not canonized by the Church. Instead masses of people were orientated during the holy years (1875, 1900) and on Papal jubilees (1893) towards Rome, where the Catholic believer

⁸ The changes brought about in course of the 2nd Vatican Council outline clearly the tense relation between church and state characteristic of the previous era, as Mártonffy (2001, 67) points it out: “Three and a half decades after the II Vatican Council it is widely accepted, that in course of the council the Catholic Church - although with much delay - but finally reconciled its previous hostile relation with its intellectual environment and the inheritor of its hegemony, i.e. “modern world”. Instead of the previous tension disabling communication, now the possibility of mutuality based on exchange of values characterized this relation. ... The church was made to accept secularisation not only due to its awareness of delay, neither due to its considering pastoral strategy and neither due to the desire to settle the aversion against “post-Christian” world, but was motivated also by the possibility of reaching harmony between the acceptance of external impulses and deepening self-understanding.”

'suppressed in secularised society' could collect strength and receive legitimation for his further 'struggle'. Ruth Harris showed convincingly that the first national pilgrimage to Lourdes in 1873, coming after a war defeat and the period of Commune in France, occurred "in the midst of [a] climate of awe, fear and repentance" (Harris 1999, 251).



Grandiose appearance: the 4th state national pilgrimage in 1925. (after Paulovits 1926, 258)

Harris reveals very exactly how the Assumptionist Order organized the first journeys to La Salette in 1872, and then to Lourdes in 1873 in the above-described conditions (Harris 1999, 251). According to my research these journeys, together with the numerous national pilgrimages led to Rome in the holy year of 1875 may be considered as the start of religious tourism, i. e. the connection of modern travel organization and the desire of religiously motivated travelling. *Bayerische Karawanen* (founded also on Church initiation) started its work exactly at this time: between 1875-1902 it led 25 organized journeys to the Holy Land (Black 1984, 168). Also from the holy year of 1875 there are data on larger pilgrim groups setting out from Hungary to Rome organized centrally by the Church. These journeys are no longer foot-pilgrimages made by peasant pilgrims, who, practising particular rituals were motivated by the wish to visit a certain miraculous picture or sculpture in order to gain indulgence. These journeys are rather representative, well-organized multitudinous journeys demonstrating the significance of the Church, respectively the given national Catholic Church in the age of secularisation. At the same time they already show peculiarities that characterise religious tourism still today.

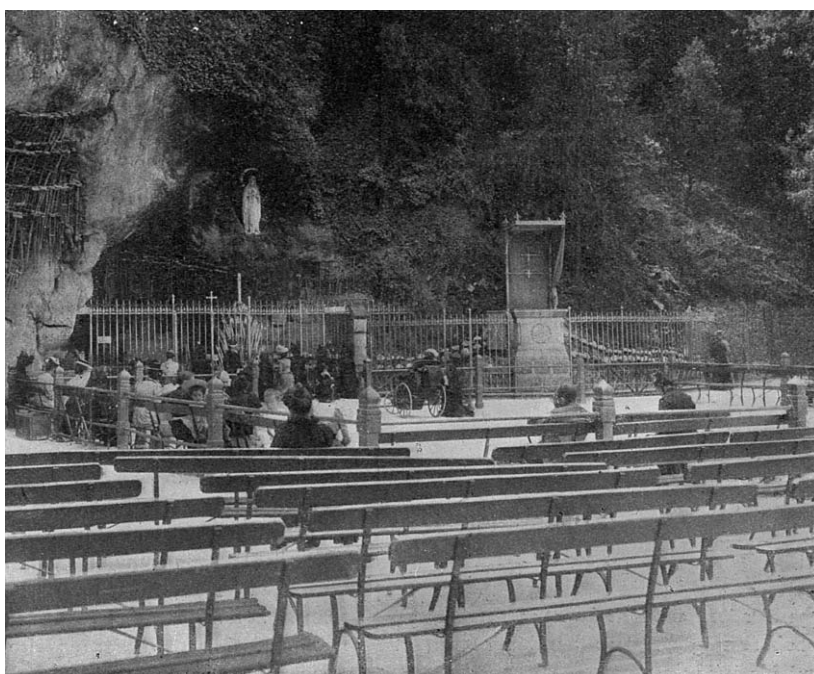
Owing to the success of the first organised journeys, journeys to significant Church events instead of places providing indulgence became more and more popular. It became clear, that in the modern age a bigger group of pilgrims could cover a remarkable distance only on a thoroughly organized and scheduled journey providing fixed accommodation. It became obvious that the



How and what to represent: the 2nd state national pilgrimage enters St Peter's Cathedral. (after Paulovits 1926, 253)

“worthy”, i.e. representative, journey could be no longer done in the way of mendicant pilgrims. The end of the 19th century saw not only the professionalisation of tourism, but also the development of organized religious tourism, as the pilgrimage to Lourdes organized by the Hungarian cleric, Iván Purt exemplifies. In his report entitled *Lourdes* describing this journey he relates, that he did not organize the journey for a particular community, but on the call of the Pope. This organization indeed required a new kind of knowledge as is reflected in his writings (Purt 1897, 7): “... for the writer of the present lines it was a real effort to book specials at railway companies of different countries, and to plan the program of this long journey.” Besides using newspaper advertisements, he considered also Church organization significant: “...the leader of the pilgrimage ... honoured ... the principal of Hungary, and since the principal approved both the plan of the pilgrimage and the started movement, and gave his blessing on it, the call inviting Catholic believers in Hungary to join the pilgrimage to Lourdes appeared on whit Monday” (Purt 1897, 7). This is not only a Hungarian phenomenon; this period saw a growing number of pilgrimages organized by the Church all over Europe. The First Scottish National Pilgrimage was led to Lourdes in 1899 (Cavanaugh 2000, 28). Newer and newer anniversaries and feasts fostered the development of religious tourism. In 1900 several larger pilgrim groups set out by train to the eternal city

on the initiative of an Episcopate. In several cases these trips *expressively* served both pious demands in a strict sense, and demonstrated and celebrated the unity of the Church. In 1900 a particular group of Hungarian Catholic believers, the *Hungarian Greek Catholics* also organized a pilgrimage to Rome. The pilgrimage also launched on a central, although laic initiative travelled to Rome for other reasons than piety practice. The stated main aim of the pilgrimage was to gain permission to establish an independent diocese of Hungarian Greek Catholics, who wished to be separated from dioceses with Romanian and Ruthenian majorities. In this case again it was not a particular community that took part in travelling, but believers from different settlements who joined the pilgrimage on the call which had appeared in the press. The most significant aim of the journey was to hand the Pope a memorandum, which presented the situation of Hungarian Greek Catholics as well as supporting their appeal (Szabó 1901).



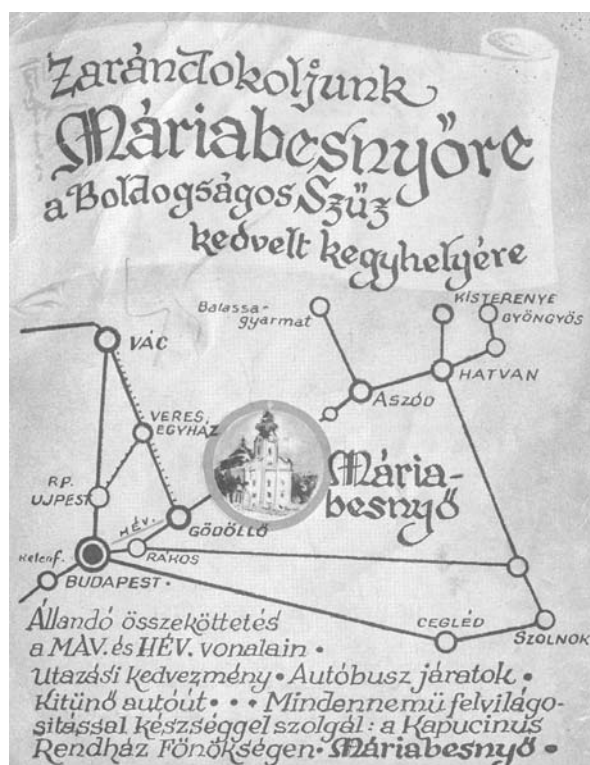
An omnipotent centre of religious tourism: praying pilgrims in front of the Lourdes Grotta. (Paulovits 1926, 169)

The travelling of a growing number of believers required more and more thorough organizational work. Earlier successes led to the foundation of *Bayerischen Pilgerverein* in 1903, which in a short time organized regular journeys for hundreds of people to the Holy Land. The pilgrims travelled with special trains from München to Trieste, then with a rented ship to Haifa (Black 1984, 168). By the gradual spreading and development of this kind of pilgrimage, trips organized by significant institutions appeared, and national and diocesan pilgrimages became widespread. The most noted destinations of the age were Rome, the Holy Land and Lourdes. The latter became an annually fixed destination of pilgrimages at several Western-European dioceses. The archdiocese of Liverpool launched the practice of annual pilgrimages to

Lourdes in 1923, while the Diocesan Pilgrimage from Nottingham dates back to 1929 (Dahlberg 1991, 36).

In the improvement of religious tourism the holy year of 1925 played a remarkable role. During this year altogether 12.000 people travelled from Hungary to the different shrines of Catholic world on organized trips, among them on seven countrywide national pilgrimages. In the same year the future suffragan bishop of München, *Johannes Neuhausler* founded *Bayerische Pilgerkomitee* (from 1955 under the name *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro*) in order to improve the service of the growing number of travellers (Black 1984, 168). According to reports from the time, during the holy year, 261 special trains arrived in Rome, six of which came from Hungary. Also based on contemporary evaluations the number of visitors exceeded one million (Paulovits 1926, 201-202). The fact that before the Second World War all the significant organizers of religious tourism belonged to the Church, clearly demonstrates the approach of the Church, the 'usage' of religious tourism. *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro*, whose origin could be traced back as far as 1875, is owned by the German dioceses.⁹ Similarly, the Church founded the most noted Italian agency, *Opera Romana Pellegrinaggi* in 1933 (ORP website 2004, activity).

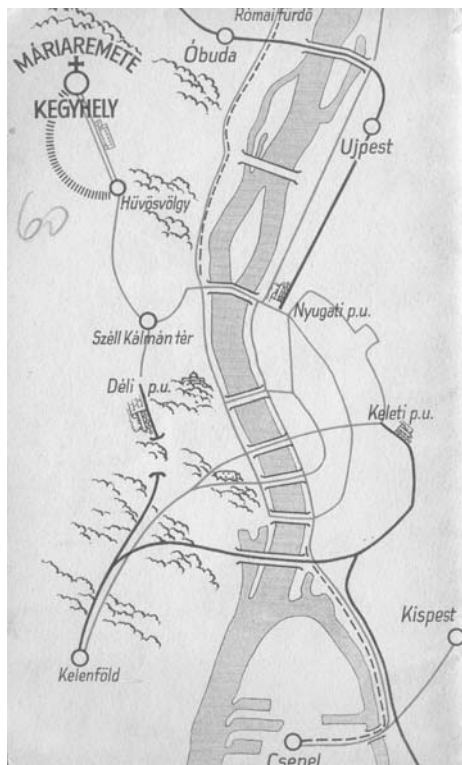
Church events, having only a rather distant relation to the classical conception of pilgrimage, attracted masses of travellers and are an important phenomenon of the age. As for Hungary, so-called Catholic general assemblies ('*katolikus nagygyűlés*') organized annually in Budapest from 1894 can be considered in the same terms. The memorial year of Saint Imre in 1930 also saw a significant Catholic representation (Barna 2001, 280-281). The most obvious example of interlocking Church representation, modern travelling and pilgrimage was the *Eucharistic Congress* originating from the end of the 19th century. It was first organized in France in 1881. Hungary hosted the Congress in 1938 on the 900th anniversary of the death of King Saint Stephen, founder of the Hungarian state. A large organizational and popularising campaign started preparing for a vast numbers



Where are the old-new pilgrimage places?
Route plan to Mária-besnyő (1939).

⁹ Archdioceses of München-Freising, as well as dioceses of Augsburg, Eichstätt, Passau, Regensburg, Würzburg (Bayerisches Pilgerbüro 2002).

of visitors in 1936, when Hungary gained the right to host the Congress. As research on the event concluded, the Eucharistic Congress, while presenting Budapest as a modern metropolitan tourist destination (Vass 2003, 97-107), also intended to strengthen the place of Catholicism and with its spectacular events integrate 20th century man into Catholicism.¹⁰



Where are the old-new pilgrimage places? route plan to Máriaremete (1942).

During the years between the two world wars religious tourism appeared and started to become widespread to an extent that the shrines themselves realized this new mode of organizing visitors. Although religious tourism became widespread only very slowly in organizing shorter and longer trips, the administrators of shrines began to pay attention to the stratum of travellers, who collected information and were organized in a different way. Booklets presenting a shrine produced from the time between the two world wars were colourful and interesting. These included the history of the shrine and sometimes prayers, and at the same time provided a large amount of practical travel information; these information booklets were not written for the village communities who traditionally went there. Consequently, besides giving the dates of feasts, they also described the structure and timetable of the Church feast.

These booklets in a way re-taught the 'holidayer' coming from the city alone or with his family and friends. Thus it is not by chance, that examples are mainly from the places close to the capital city (Máriabesnyő, Máriaremete). In this period travellers were already informed through advertisements of the international and more significant national pilgrimages.

¹⁰ Events not considered strictly as pilgrimages still play a significant role. Among the remarkable events and destinations of OPR in 2004 there are two; the 25th anniversary of the Pope and the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of Immaculate Conception (OPR website 2004, editorial).

The Modern Religious Tourist Travelling

The early forms of religious tourism, its organisation and peculiarities can be grasped by analysing a number of printed reports, personal accounts describing the trips. These reports present a *pilgrim behaviour, organization work and community formation* remarkably different from medieval, long-distance or Baroque local-regional peasant pilgrimages, which very strongly influence our normative image on pilgrimage. In the following I intend to reveal certain peculiarities of religious tourism based on some Hungarian reports from the end of the 19th century and from the first half of the 20th century (Dósa 1893, Purt 1897, Böle 1925, Bilkei 1925, Paulovits 1926, Csikós Nagy 1933, Raffalli 1935).¹¹

These trips show *new forms of community formulation* in two respects. On the one hand in modern religious tourism, elements of community formulation can be detected, which reflect basic social changes. For my travellers it is not local territorial attachment that counts the most: travellers are not united on their being from the same settlement. In the process of collecting



The new world of travel: Cistercian students en route to Rome on the Martha Washington cruiser. (Paulovits 1926, 269)

travellers, certain professional groups (such as railway employees, soldiers, teachers, university lecturers etc.), interest groups (women's societies, choirs) and religious communities play significant role. On the other hand the rate of the so-called 'collected trips' are increasing: when travellers join a journey after a nationwide call or advertisement and find themselves in a newly formulated community. Reflecting this, there are repeated references in the reports describing deep emotion and uncertainty raised in an unknown company. However, becoming interdependent in an unfamiliar environment, to a certain extent quickly reduces this feeling of uncertainty. Both forms of organization join those social and cultural groups into religiously-motivated tourism who are unable to identify with peasant pilgrimages. To put it in another way, in the 18-

¹¹ This part of the chapter, the analyses of the printed reports, uses the results, source revealing work as well as seminar papers of the seminar entitled *The beginnings of religious tourism* (Department of Ethnology, University of Szeged, spring semester 2002.), for which I thank the participants.

19th century the desire for religiously-motivated travel survived among social groups other than peasantry, finding its new form in the system of tourism.



New communities travelling: the Budapest University Choir in Rome. (Paulovits 1926, 275)

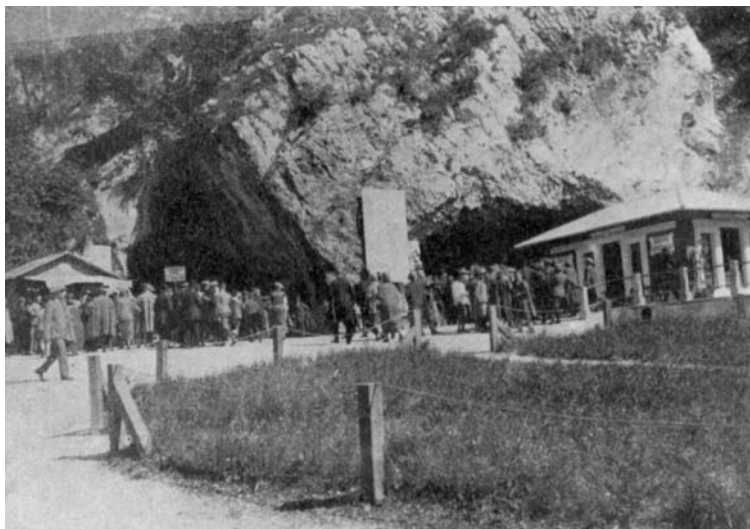
Analysing reports on these journeys it becomes clear that travellers of the age considered it important to visit also *other sights* than pilgrimage destinations. This can be observed on both implicit and explicit levels. Certain journeys set themselves a dual aim already in the process of organization: travel is connected to study journeys, concert tours or international meetings based on acquired and individual elements of identity characteristic of modernity. Individuals travelling in this way no longer follow the rites of their ancestors or villages. The individual goes on this journey, as a result of turning points in his own life, his job or his free time activity. His community, besides his fellows with similar interests, jobs and age, was constituted of strangers. Between those travelling in this way there is no fixed, already formulated division of roles: they do not know beforehand who is more devotional, who will lead the common prayers or the singing. Many things are revealed about the others only during the journey, since people gathered in this way do not even know how the others celebrate.

Reading the reports the *normative image of the pilgrim* can be traced very clearly. However, most of the descriptions tell either regretfully or without reflection that the actual journey is different. Although the Papal call for pilgrimage in the Holy Year of 1925 makes an attempt to strengthen the classical image of the pilgrim by marking behavioural norms for the traveller. "In Rome you *should not behave as common travellers or guests usually do*. Moreover, with humble attitude, respectful behaviour and especially in modest clothing look for nothing else than your soul's enrichment, avoiding all profaneness in the spirit of true penitence, which only materialism of present day is afraid of" (Paulovits 1926, 9, emphasis mine). Despite all Papal notices, for those so far away from home not only religious events were important, as a traveller from the

II. NAGY
ZARÁNDOKLAT
1936. június 27-én, szombaton este 11 órakor indul a
budapesti (pesti) görögkatolikus
magyar plébánia-templomból
(VII. Rózsák tere)
a Boldogságos Szűz Mária, Magyarországi Nagy-
asszonyának csodavető kőgyéjére
Máriapócsra.
Hazánk sorának jobbrafordulásáért, a magyar
családi élet tisztaságának megőrzéséért
és a nyomorgó szegénység könyveinek letör-
léséért akarunk Öhozzá imádkozni. Minden
Mária-tisztelő magyar testvérünket szeretettel
várjuk.
A zarándok-vonat a Keleti pályaudvarról 1936. jú-
nius 27-én este 11 órakor indul. Részvételi jegy
a zarándokigazgatóságtól igényelhető, oda-vissza utazásra,
személyenként 6 pengő 50 fillér.
A zarándokok június 27-én este 10 órakor a
Rózsák tere 10. szám alatt levő plébánia-tem-
plomban gyülekeznek, ahonnan szentségi ál-
dás után hatos sorokban vonulnak a pályau-
dvarra. A zarándok-vonat Cegléden, Szolno-
kon, Debrecenben és Nyíregyházán megáll.
Menetdíj ára: Ceglédtől 5 pengő 40 fillér,
Szolnoktól 5 pengő, Debrecenből és Nyíregy-
házáról 2 pengő 50 fillér. Az állomásról a
kegytemplomba hatos sorokban történik a be-
vonulás. Gyónást mindenki a kegyhelyen is
elvégezheti. Latin szertartású szentmise 8 óra-
kor lesz. Ünnepeles nagy mise, szentbeszé-
del 9 órakor kezdődik, utána hazánk sorá-
nak jobbrafordulásáért könyörgő körmenet lesz.
Ebéd után kulturdélután, majd ájtatosság szent-
ségi áldással és vonulás vissza az állomásra.
Egész napi életméréséről mindenki maga gondoskodik.
Máriapócsról a zarándok-vonat június 28-án
délután 6 órakor indul vissza. Érkezés a Ke-
leti pályaudvarra 11 óra körül. Jelentkezéseket
már most el fogadják a budapesti görögkatolikus ma-
gyar plébániahivatal (VII., Rózsák tere 9–10.
Telefonszám: 33-4-81.)
**A budapesti görögkatolikus
magyar plébánia.**

'Collecting' pilgrims:
new forms of com-
munity formation by
a pilgrimage adverti-
sement to Máriapócs.
(Görögkatolikus
Szemle 1936/11, 3)

end of the 19th century reports: “After eating we started to besiege the neighbouring shops indeed” (Dósa 1893, 125). It can happen that a group is ‘torn apart’ by differing motivations. And although being on the same national pilgrimage, one part fulfils a ‘more profane’, the other a ‘more sacred’ program. Or the community simply breaks up into a group of comfortable travellers and fanatic tourists. “... and in a few minutes the pilgrim train stopped at the station in Trieste. At this point the *mass of pilgrims* split up into two parts. One group gathered those, *who wanted to see and get to know everything*, while those *who were more comfortable* joined the other group” (Csikós Nagy 1933, 8, emphasis



Touring pilgrims: the 3rd state national pilgrimage visiting the Adelsberg caves. (Paulovits 1926, 281)

mine). So, it can be concluded, that as a result of arriving at a new place the pilgrims split into sightoriented tourists and comfortable travellers. The explicit and obvious tourist behaviour and motivation, however, often disturbs religious tourists: “... there were some among us, who did not take part with all their soul... There were some, who covertly did not come for sake of pilgrimage, but rather for Rome... There were some, who wanted in the first place to see a lot of things, and just after that get renewed in their soul” (Csikós Nagy 1933, 7).

Studying the reports it seems obvious that on journeys organized with a pilgrimage aim the attraction of tourist sights and the carrying out of certain tourist rites are remarkable. The traveller feels he cannot go home without seeing the sights and completing the acts canonized by developing tourism: in Venice one must travel by gondola, the waterfall in Tivoli must be seen, just as the ancient ruins of Rome. Additionally, the profane rite of throwing coins into the fountain of Trevi could not be neglected. By fulfilling this superstitious act our pilgrim has already melted completely in the mass of tourists.

“I threw in a coin of as much as 1 lira! [...] But no sooner had it touched the surface of the water, than a little gamin jumped in the water and caught it. My second coin met the same fate. But I would like to come back! Quickly, a third one in the water, far-far away at the feet of Neptune, then I was running, running with watery eyes and sorrowful heart to the station... I got to like each sacred stone of this city so much! Oh, bring us back here, refreshing spring-water! Since part of our soul stays here anyway, among the ancient walls! We will remember the past beautiful days with sacred memory and will feel, that each of our hours was a Sunday there, each dear, sacred moment of ours. Rome is the eternal Sunday...” (Paulovits 1926, 139).



The well-dressed religious tourist in its circles: participants of the 7th state national pilgrimage with József Lukács Sch.P. (Paulovits 1926, 289)

Another remarkable feature of these journeys is, that it considers physical tiredness in a different way. Remoteness and asceticism are no longer part of travelling. Although it is connected to the normative image of the pilgrim, it often appears as a kind of nostalgic, unreachable counterpoint, as it is traced in the lines written by the Catholic bishop, Ottokár Prohászka, on the memory of the pilgrimages done in the holy year of 1925.

“I have no intention of belittling our pilgrims speeding along railway lines, for it is not the walking that counts, but the humility of heart, faith, trust, and heartbreak; but my soul keeps musing upon the pilgrimages by believers in mediaeval times as they approach the Holy City and the apostolic graves, and, most surely, the grace of God, too. It is in them that one sees the Tannhäuserian processions going through ridge and vale, through the Alps and the plains of Lombardy only to go up into the mountains again, all barefoot or in sandals, bundles on backs, guilt in heart, singing woeful songs, weeping, looking forward in hope. [...] When they turned back homewards solaced, they song joyful songs and hymns and recognized even the peaks and the whirls of the Alps: the road was not hard any longer, since their pack became lighter, and from the soul the burden came away!” (Paulovits 1926, 13).

Although Prohászka speaks about medieval pilgrims, he at the same time legitimates his contemporaries with his words.

Reading the descriptions it becomes clear that the role of the individuum as well as that of individual taste and expectation increases in general. At times a personal ritual becomes the most significant moment of a journey for a traveller. The modern tourist records his journey in a particular structure: he stresses marginal, personal details and skips experiences considered important in the normative image of the pilgrim. A peculiar feature of religious tourism already appears in these reports: one of the most important aims of travelling is - at least regarding the given possibilities of cognition - not gaining indulgence, but ‘seeing the Pope’. An essential central part of each memoir describes seeing the Pope. “As a piercing knife cut the stunning thought into our heart, that we



Italy, in the heart of tourism: college students on pilgrimage in Florence. (Paulovits 1926, 277)



Resembling the archaic pilgrim: boys came on foot to Rome - already a curiosity. (Paulovits 1926, 284)

could not see our beloved Father. First this. Then what would they say at home: "You have been to Rome and not seen the Pope" (Dósa 1893, 106). The Papal mass was no mere spiritual experience: "I was praying during the H. Mass, - a little. Most of my time had to be devoted to the protection of my weak body, following my life instinct..." (Dósa 1893, 44-45). Reports on travelling often describe relaxation, placing its most important details in the centre of the report is structured following times of relaxation. According to István Dósa's report, they were walking the whole day long in the streets of Rome, trying to see as much as possible. In his report the days are framed by the meals. At the beginning and at the end of the reports he describes the present moment, the main topic of which is eating and Italian cuisine.

Not only had the way of recording experiences changed, but also the travellers' expectations. One of the advertisements of the pilgrimages in 1926 refers to both the avoidance of physical tiredness, and to the altered self-image of the tourist, as it advertises an exclusive pilgrimage: "Being aware of the difficulties in moving and arranging we



Pilgrimage is fun: girls from Szeged on St Mark's Square, Venice. (Paulovits 1926, 286)



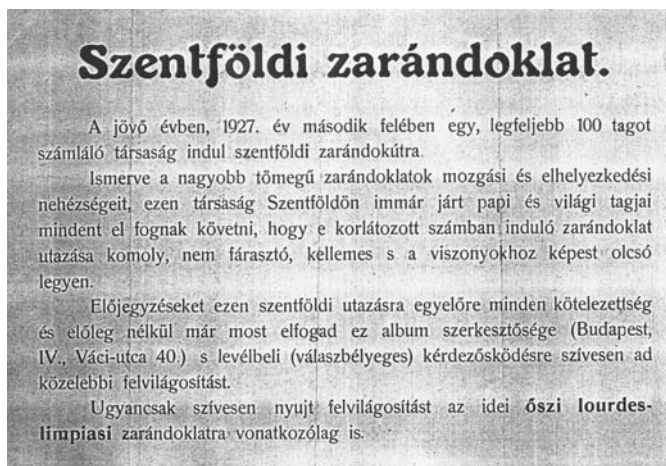
Diverse
Hungarian
pilgrims in
Rome.
(Paulovits
1926, 262)



The elegant religious tourist: pilgrims from Kecskemét. (Paulovits 1926, 282)

often experience in mass pilgrimages, the clerical and laic members of this society, who have already visited the Holy Land, will do their best to make this pilgrimage meaningful, not tiring, pleasant and compared to the conditions cheap *for a limited number of travellers*" (Paulovits 1926, my emphasis).

Due to the improvement of technical facilities, photographs became a wider part of travelling reports. However, in these photos the *modern tourist* can be found: besides the visited churches and monuments, different individual and group photos show the traveller, the individual also longing for relaxation: the shots taken on Venice's Saint Mark's square, in Florence or in the restaurants of Naples are



'Collecting' an exclusive pilgrimage: advertisement from 1926. (Paulovits 1926)

personal memorials of a journey with several motivations. Certain travel reports end with the portraits of the participants, i.e. with the collection of self-representations. For the travelling bourgeois his fellow travellers coming from a different social stratum belong to the experiences of the journey. "The nice, family like atmosphere is preserved by the many photos, besides group photos remind us also of the simple village women wearing scarves and of the old Hungarians smoking pipes, who we enjoyed being in the same community with in front of the altar of God, where we are all equal" (Paulovits 1926, 5).

The Importance of Religiously Motivated Travel after 1950

As noted earlier, the beginnings of religious tourism can clearly be detected at the end of the 19th century. The first half of the 20th century saw not only the specialization of the organization of travel, but also the coming into being of the religious tourist as such, with his or her discernible characteristic features. Moreover, the maintainers of target sites, i.e. shrine administrators, also discovered the changes, and reacted to them. In the following, I shall attempt to assess the development of Christian pilgrimage or religious tourism within the general growth of tourism, also briefly referring to Islam.¹²

The extraordinary development of tourism, including pilgrimage or religious tourism to be discussed below, did not characterize the whole of Europe, as I shall point out at the end of my survey. In the case of the data under review in the following, it is usually impossible to distinguish between

¹² Pilgrimage, or literally religious tourism, is present not only here, but in Hinduism, Buddhism, or in newer Christian denominations, like Mormons.

tourists, religious tourists and pilgrims, and I shall not attempt to do so. Most data I have access to is naturally about the changes in the numbers of tourists. Besides tourists in general, some of these surveys cover not only religious tourists but also walking pilgrims. They do so because some of the surveys sought to measure tourism by the criteria (for example international arrivals) that even walking pilgrims cannot evade. All this, of course, highlights how differently such identifications (tourist, religious tourist, pilgrim) are seen by the individual and the environment. This, however, is not the issue this chapter wishes to discuss.

From a historical perspective, tourism has also proved to be one of the most remarkable economic and social changes in the past two centuries. The range of tourist destinations has become wider exceptionally rapidly in the past 50 years. According to WTO data, the number of international tourist arrivals increased from 25 million to almost 700 million between 1950 and 2000 (figure 1).

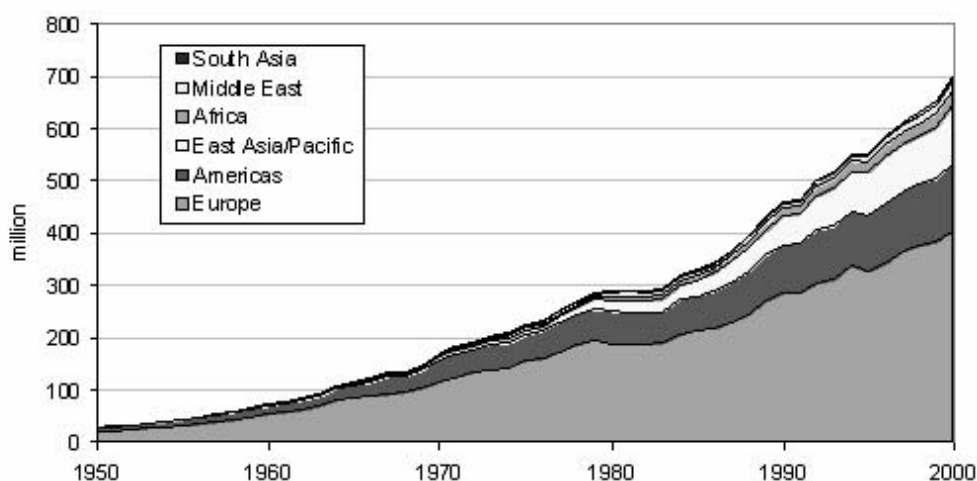


FIGURE 1 International tourist arrivals 1950-2000 (WTO website 2002, trends)

As mentioned already, the development of religiously-motivated travel began at the end of 19th century. In the first half of the 20th century, before the advent of mass tourism, a large-scale growth in the attraction of certain important shrines could be seen, fostered by the development of communication and professional travel organization. Naturally, the significance of this was far wider than religious piety, as Chris Park (2004, 22) has pointed out: "Few secular places can regularly attract as many visitors as Mecca and Lourdes, and the economic significance of pilgrims to such places must not be underestimated." The development of Lourdes, undoubtedly the most important European shrine, is a good example for organized travel according to Park. Lourdes had been a rural township before the appearance of the Virgin Mary in 1858. In the early period of organized pilgrimage, in 1872, 60,000 people visited. For the 50th anniversary of the visions in 1908, more than one million people came to the town. For the centenary in 1958, the number of visitors reached nearly five million. The average number of visitors in the 80s was around four million a year. According to estimates, there were about 200

million people who made a pilgrimage to Lourdes between the visions (1858) and 1980 (Park 2004, 26). Apart from pointing out the national composition of pilgrims, Park (2004, 26) also provides information on the mode of organized travel:

“Six out of ten organized visitors in 1979 were foreign (compared with less than one in ten in 1895), and in 1978 visitors came from 111 different countries. Nine countries in West Europe accounted for almost all (97 percent) of pilgrims in 1978; France providing just over a third (37 percent) of the total. On a per capita basis (the number of pilgrims per 1,000 Catholics) Ireland, Belgium and Britain provide more pilgrims to Lourdes than does France. Most pilgrims (71 per cent in 1978) travel to the shrine on their own. Others go with small groups organized by private travel agencies, youth organizations and various religious institutions (11 per cent), or in large groups – often more than 1,000 people – organized by national agencies (about 18 per cent)... This small town, with a population of around 18,000, attracts up to five million pilgrims each year.”

Though, in my opinion, Park underestimates the scale of organized pilgrimages, even accepting his findings, they account for almost 30%, meaning that we have to calculate currently with a million organized visitors in the case of Lourdes.¹³

The development of Mecca also attests to the astonishing extent the numbers of visitors to religiously important places increased in the 20th century. The economic significance of the Hajj is also extraordinary: in 1938, it was the most important source of revenue for Saudi Arabia; it is now the third most important. In spite of the substantial fluctuation in the number of participants as a result of economic and political changes, a steady increase can still be observed. The number of visitors grew from 152.000 in 1929 to 2.25 million in 1986 (Park 2004, 25), of which 1.64 million came from without Saudi Arabia (Park 1994, 269).¹⁴

The rapid growth of religious tourism after the Second World War can also be demonstrated in the development of tourist agencies specializing in this field. The most detailed data we have concerns *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro*, which began to recuperate slowly after the War. It was in 1950, a holy year, when it managed to organize tours for significant numbers of participants. At that time, they organized a tour for 2,511 believers to Rome; then in 1951, for 4,926 to the beatification ceremony of Pius X. Beside these, the travel agency arranged three tours to France and one to Austria. Reviewing the changes in the number of travellers using the agency, it is notable that, after the Second World War, the attraction and travel-inductive role of various programs and anniversaries increased. The Marian Year of 1954 brought about a prodigious increase of travellers (over 13 thousand), as did the 1958 centenary of the Lourdes visions (over 16 thousand), when the visitors to Lourdes far outnumbered those to Rome. Though not for masses, the agency organized journeys to the 1964 Bombay and 1968 Bogota Eucharistic Congresses. 1975, a holy year, proved to

¹³ On the basis of several decades of research and observation, John Eade has studied Lourdes in a number of fundamentally important studies (Eade 1991, 1992).

¹⁴ For further details see Park 1994, 270.

be a very successful year for the agency, redoubling the number of its clients in the year before to 26 thousand. Between 1950 and 1983, *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro* organized journeys for almost half a million travellers, the overwhelming majority of which, 200.000 each, went to Italy and France – demonstrating well the focal points of contemporary religious tourism (Black 1984, 173). Studying the relationship between destinations, timing and other programs, it seems that tours offering not only visits to a shrine but participation at some major trans-national Catholic event were more attractive – continuing and perfecting the pre-war tendencies already mentioned. Apart from clerical promotion, the need for the professional organization of travel, program and accommodation for such events (for example congresses) and major feasts (for example holy years) also contributed to these increases – as visiting a shrine at non-feast times never did. Though the dominance of major events does not betray anything about individual interpretations of these tours (whether they are conceived of as pilgrimages or tourism by the individual) it does shed light on the fact that the Church regarded religiously-motivated journeys as important means of integration in rapidly changing social circumstances.¹⁵

The post-war development of tourism increased the number not only of tourists but also specialized travel agencies. Beside Church-owned agencies of the inter-war years, such as *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro* and *Opera Romana Pellegrinaggi*, new lay-managed agencies began to appear on the market, such as: the family enterprise *Viator* founded in Dortmund in 1953 (*Viator* website, 2002); *Christian Tours - CR Touristik* founded in 1964 (*Christian Tours* website, 2002); the Irish tour operator *Pilgrimage Travel* established in 1983 specializing in journeys from Ireland to Lourdes (*GLA* website, 2002); the California family enterprise *American Christian Tours*, which organizes not only pilgrimages but also student journeys (*American Christian Tours* website, 2004). Certain agencies, such as *Greencastle Pilgrimage* (*Greencastle* website, 2004) and *Tours for Churches* (*Tours for Churches* website, 2004) are those branches of major travel agencies that specialize in religious tourism. These are, of course, only a few examples of numerous travel agencies specializing in pilgrimage, which have had an international fair called *Itinera* since 1990. The lay-managed, profit-oriented businesses appearing alongside clerically run agencies (founded earlier and assigning their profits to charitable purposes) brought about changes that are barely perceptible. According my observations, these lay-managed agencies seem to be more open to supporting new visions, which have not yet been authorized by the Holy See.¹⁶

¹⁵ This is in no way an exclusively Catholic phenomenon. Protestantism has also tried to integrate modern urban individuals through shaping new aims and communities. The first German Lutheran Church Conference of 1949 was meant to serve not only purposes of piety. Meetings discussing questions of public life (apart from issues of piety) from a Protestant perspective began to be referred to as *protestant pilgrimages* from the 1980s surely as a result of the changes in Catholic pilgrimages, first of all, the fading of indulgence seeking (Lukatis 1989).

¹⁶ News of new visions, “shrines” not authorized by the Holy See, primarily Medjugorje, quickly spreads in today’s vernacular Catholicism. It is difficult to withstand the great popular interest. The *Bayerisches Pilgerbüro* 2002 catalogue had

Considering the current situation of tourism, tour operators target sure markets. Tourism is one of the most dynamically developing economic and social phenomena in our age. In 2001, according to World Tourism Organisation data, the number of international tourist arrivals was 693 million. Worldwide, receipts from tourism amounted to 463 billion US dollars. All these facts are astonishing indeed, in spite of the fact that since 11 September 2001 the pace of tourism has slowed down (figure 2).

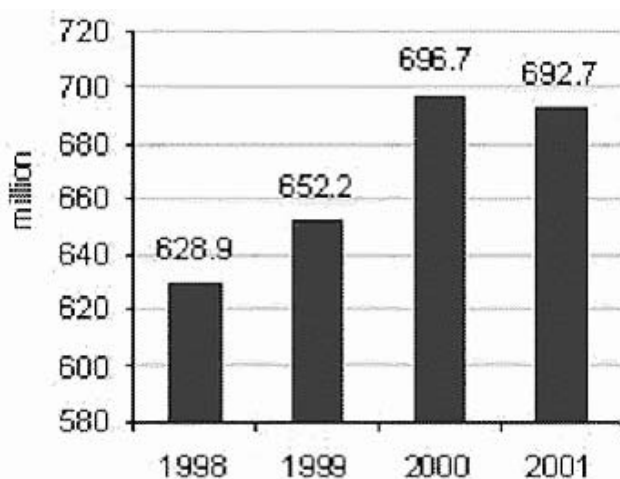


FIGURE 2 International tourist arrivals at the turn of the century (WTO website 2002, data 2001)

The most significant year in modern mass tourism was no doubt the year 2000. It was during that year that almost 697 million international tourist arrivals were recorded – the highest rate ever. Part of the field work for this paper was done in the same year as it was a Holy Year for Roman Catholics. Beside numerous secular events of great significance (Summer Olympics, European Football Championships, Expo 2000) the Vatican Jubilee undeniably attracted masses of people to different shrines and religious meetings. This was reflected also in the fact that, before renewed violence in Israel, there was a huge increase in tourism to the Holy Land. Most of the people intending to visit ancient Christian shrines finally travelled to Egypt, after journeys to Israel had been cancelled, where consequently the rate of tourism increased by 15% in 2000 comparing to the previous year (table 2).

a new destination, Croatia and Slovenia; this *studienreise* spent one afternoon in Medjugorje. The tour was offered twice in 2002. The Pilgerbüro, however, did not offer pilgrimages (*pilgerreise*) to Medjugorje (Bayerisches Pilgerbüro 2002, 140). On the contrary, privately owned Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency offered no other program for its travelers to that country other than journeys to Medjugorje. With short stopovers, its buses went directly to Medjugorje, where participants had intensive 3-4 days long "pilgrim programmes", and then returned overnight back to Hungary. In 2002, the agency offered this tour 16 times (Léleképítés 2002, 4).

TABLE 2 Tourist arrivals in Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon in 2000 (WTO web 2002, R0102001)

Top Destinations	arrivals in 2000	% change compared to 1999
1. Egypt	5,150,000	+14.7
2. Israel	2,400,000	+3.8
3. Jordan	1,256,000	-7.5
4. Lebanon	751,000	+11.6*

In Europe one of the most popular tourist destinations was Italy, host to the Vatican Jubilee, which showed an increase rate far higher than that of France (European Football Championships) or Germany (Expo 2000) (table 3).

TABLE 3 Top destinations in 2000 (WTO web 2002, R0102001)

Top Destinations	arrivals in 2000	% change compared to 1999
1. France	74,500,000	+2.0
2. Spain	48,500,000	+3.7
3. Italy	41,182,000	+12.8
4. United Kingdom	24,900,000	-1.9
5. Russian Federation	22,783,000	+23.2
6. Germany	18,916,000	+10.5
7. Poland	18,183,000	+1.3
8. Austria	17,818,000	+2.0
9. Hungary	15,571,000	+8.1
10. Greece	12,500,000	+2.8
11. Portugal	12,000,000	+3.2
12. Switzerland	11,400,000	+6.5
13. Netherlands	10,200,000	+3.2
14. Turkey	9,623,000	+39.6
15. Ireland	6,720,000	+5.0

Religious tourism has by now evidently become a significant part of the tourism sector. It is almost impossible to estimate the dimension of religiously motivated travel. Bhardwaj and Rinschede cite the World Christian Encyclopedia, which estimates that about 130 million people take part in pilgrimages annually, of which 90 million are Christians and the rest Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and Moslems (Bhardwaj-Rinschede 1988). According to other estimates, it was only in the Western Europe of the late 1980s that such numbers traveled. Nolan and Nolan (1989, 1-2) note: "At present, Western Europe's more than 6,000 pilgrimage centres generate a conservatively estimated 60 to 70 million religiously motivated visits per year. Total annual visitations at these shrines – including casual tourists, curiosity seekers, and persons referred to as 'art history pilgrims' by West German shrine administrators – almost certainly exceed 100 million."¹⁷

It is quite difficult to assess the popularity of certain shrines when they are simultaneously significant monuments of European culture (for example Rome, Assisi, Padua), but popularity of destinations with an exclusively religious

¹⁷ For further data concerning primarily European pilgrimages, see Rinschede 1992, 59-60.

import (for example Lourdes, San Giovanni Rotondo) clearly demonstrates the massive proportions of religious tourism in our day. A study prepared by the *Pontifical Council for Migrants and Itinerants* in the Vatican, which also gives an overview of world tourism, in 1996 tried to project the number of visitors for the 2000 Jubilee. According to this study, the estimated number of pilgrims at the greatest shrines in Italy in 1996 were the following: Rome – 7 million; Assisi, Loretto, San Giovanni Rotondo – 5 million; Padua – 4.5 million; Pompeii¹⁸ – 2 million. Outside Italy: Aparecida (Brazil) – 5.8 million; Lourdes – 5.5 million; Czestochowa – 4 million; Lujan (Argentina) – 1 million (Catholic World News web 1998/7504).

Not surprisingly, the Vatican report took pains to omit mentioning unauthorized Medjugorje. Boris Vukonic has reported of the astonishing development of the little village since the first visions in 1981 in several of his writings (Vukonic 1992, 1996). Vukonic (1999) points out the influence the shrine exerted outside the Balkans:

“According to the Italian press, the value of Medjugorje tourism to Italian operators exceeded \$10 billion (U.S.) by 1989. Because of the Madonna of Medjugorje, the Italians bought new coaches, leased aircraft and ferryboats, formed specialized tourist agencies, set up special radio stations, and published brochures and books. Some of the newly founded tourist agencies have advertised journeys to Medjugorje as their specialty. A magazine entitled Medugorje is published in Milan; in 15 towns throughout Italy there is a telephone service that gives information about Medugorje; in Arcinasho d’Erbe, there is a radio station with a special program promoting Medjugorje; as many as 36 societies or groups have been formed that promote Medjugorje in Italy; on 20 September 1989 more than 10,000 people gathered in Verona in support of Medugorje. One result of all these activities or developments is that more than 400,000 Italians visited Medjugorje in 1987.”

According to the *Press Bulletin, the Official Newsletter of the Information Centre Mir* in Medjugorje, the number of pilgrims (in this case, communicants) in recent years shows a dynamic increase: 579,420 (1994); 588,500 (1995); 869,000 (1996); 1,021,000 (1997); and 1,066,000 (1998) (Vukonic 1999).

Pilgrimage, or, broadly, the *seeking of religious experience*, or, even more broadly, the *desire for spirituality*, is an important element of contemporary motivation for travel, which is serviced by agencies specialized in this kind of activity. Meanwhile, *individual* or *small-group* pilgrimages have preserved their importance, though it is difficult assess their proportions as such travellers make a rather varied use of professional services. Important institutional, primarily diocesan, pilgrimages in Western Europe, especially to Lourdes, should also be borne in mind, though these too resort to the services of professional travel agencies – though to a different degree. A good example of the popularity of Lourdes in Britain is the pilgrimage organized by the Diocese of Paisley in Scotland. This pilgrimage has been organized since the first year after the establishment of the diocese in 1948. It has by now acquired such proportions that it is annually arranged by a *Pilgrim Committee* headed by the *Pilgrim Director*, a minister. As a consequence of the 1975 Holy Year, the number

¹⁸ Shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary.

of youths interested has increased to the extent that now a *Youth to Lourdes* group has been set up, the work of which is co-ordinated by a *Lourdes Youth Director*. Furthermore, other sections of the pilgrimage include: Doctors, Nurses, Brancardiers, Lady Helpers, Liturgy and Music committees (Cavanaugh 2000, 28-29). Lourdes is particularly popular as a destination for diocesan and other group pilgrimages in Western Europe.

Hibernation and Rebirth of Religious Travel in Hungary

Naturally, such developments could only take place in the free parts of Europe. From the end of the 1940s, all means were employed to suppress the public manifestation of religious practice, especially forms that would involve masses or take place outside church buildings in Communism-afflicted Catholic Central Europe. The Marian Year of 1948 announced by Cardinal Mindszenty was the last spectacular Catholic mass event in Hungary.¹⁹ Pilgrimage as such was not fully eradicated, however. After the 1950s, the regime understood what its prime enemy was. Demonstrative, officially organized Catholic manifestations, including religious tourism, were prohibited or thwarted. Local-regional, country pilgrimages that mobilized only the elderly were tolerated, though their more demonstrative forms (like processions in streets) were banned (Barna 1991, 346), or, in certain cases, countered by other mundane programs. The prohibition on the clerical organization of pilgrimages contributed to the survival of late baroque, archaic-looking forms of pilgrimage, sometimes colored by apocryphal rites (Barna 2001, 283-285), whether they be baptisms at pilgrimage shrines, the absence of the clergy, the organizational roles of more pious believers, or the popularity of visions without authorization. Naturally, even lay persons could undertake to organize pilgrimages to a small measure, as is witnessed by people in small local communities recollecting how they masked the real reason behind their bus rental by visiting a spa near the shrine they actually intended to see (Barna 1991, 347). In the meanwhile, there were no representative or festive manifestations allowed: national pilgrimages, major and spectacular feasts, Church congresses all ceased to exist. The sociologist of religion, Imre András, (2002) described the situation as follows:

“By an arbitrary interpretation of religious freedom in contradiction to international standards, the state employed the tactic of piecemeal wrecking (the so-called ‘salami tactics’) in its campaign against religion. It never gave up its strategy of achieving the ‘elimination’ of religion. By imposing rules of operation on to the Churches, the basic principle of which was that ‘religious services’ were not to expand beyond the levels defined in the concordat, all activities not included in the concordat were deemed illegal, subversive and inimical to the state. The state, however, kept demanding consultations on reviewing these activities; and these ‘negotiations’ were usually

¹⁹ The Year of the Blessed Virgin (15 August, 1947 – 8 December, 1948) took place in a particularly tense political situation, directly before the Communist takeover.

prepared by waves of incarcerations, whereby the state could eliminate more active elements from Church life, and maintain a dominant position at the negotiations extorted. It also administratively 'identified' hostile elements."

As a result, the visible presence of the Church beyond its churches and committed members ceased to exist – efforts to the contrary being responsible for creating religious tourism half a century earlier.



A journey in the late 1980s with the future head of Macrowold: Hungarian pilgrims in Aachen. (Macroworld photo)

Apart from the prohibition of religious tourism, there were other factors that contributed to the survival of peasant and small-community forms of pilgrimage. New means of transport not only eliminated processions and fractured into individuals of pilgrims going to shrines under banners (Barna 2001, 284), but also protected believers in going to shrines. In the course of my fieldwork, my informants often recollected the difficulties and uncertainties of travelling to a shrine on a more important Mary feast by public transport. As a result of the joint effect of inconspicuous organization and faster means of transport, the journey to and from, the *via purgativa* (Barna 1987, 233), lost much of its significance, and the mass celebrated at the shrine gained import, which was allowed to be followed by limited or individual forms of extra-church piety (processions, Ways of the Cross, etc.). In the decades between the 1950 and 1990, all this made visiting shrines a custom of rural, Catholic, elderly people, sustaining its more archaic forms. The development and re-establishment of religious tourism could only begin parallel to the political changes at the very end of the 1980s.

The first travel agencies to specialize in religious tourism were established as the dictatorship began to loosen up at the end of the 1980s. Macroworld Pilgrimage Travel Agency, a privately owned venture, was founded in 1987, under the conditions of business at the time. It was in 1989, when the changes became obvious, that the second specialized travel agency in the country, Catholica 2000, a dominantly Church-owned enterprise, was started. It is now owned by leading Western European pilgrimage agencies, primarily Bayerisches Pilgerbüro, the Primate's Office of Esztergom and private individuals. Bibliai Utak Iroda (Bible Journeys Agency) came into existence as a subsidiary of Christian Tours S.A., while Pax Tourist, which deals not only in religious tourism, is a business venture of Pannonhalma Abbey – part of the World Heritage. Other agencies regularly offer “pilgrimages” in preparation for more important Church feasts (Hungarian beatifications and canonizations, the year 2000 jubilee).

4 DRAFTING RELIGIOUS TOURISTS

Although the present study mostly aims at discovering the imaginations and meanings connected to contemporary religious travel in a certain group of travellers using qualitative data, additionally quantitative surveys were used to sketch out the main features of the travellers as a group. As already noted, I created a preliminary version of my survey on the basis of earlier research experiences and prior study. After creating the preliminary version, I applied my surveys on a couple of routes. Only after I analysed the conclusions and reformulated the questionnaire did I start the survey research.²⁰ As the agency I was working with provided not only the possibility of collecting this material, but also managed the sharing of the questionnaires, I had to accept some uncertainties in data-collection. The result, namely the number of questionnaires shared and collected, depended to a great extent on the courier and the participants of the given trips. In spite of this uncertainty I consider the collected material as a reliable source in providing some basic information. In this way, the results, although I should emphasize the limits of their representational capacity, can help me to form a general picture of those taking part in religious tourism. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that as far as I know, there are very few quantitative studies carried out on visitors of certain pilgrimage places, nor have any studies been made of religious tourists. Studies by Giuriati et al. (1990), Rinschede (1985, 1990) attempt to grasp the social composition of visitors (pilgrims, religious tourists, tourists) *in certain locations*. In this chapter I will present the conclusions of the research done *at one agency*. This chapter cannot compensate for the lack of knowledge regarding the external features of religious tourists, but it aims at gaining some general information about them.

The surveys which serve as a basis for this chapter were shared and collected twice on trips to the *Holy Land*, on a trip to *Venice and Padua* (Italy), on two to *Rome* (Italy), on two to *Czestochowa* (Poland), on two to *Lourdes* (France), on one to *Mariazell* (Austria), on one to *Lisieux* (France), on two roundtrips to *Lourdes – Grandabal – Santiago de Compostella – Fatima* (France-Spain-Portugal),

²⁰ The English translation of the final version of the questionnaire is in Appendix.

on one trip to *Fatima* (Portugal), on one to *Banneux – Beauring* (Belgium) and on one trip to *Fatima – Santiago de Compostella* (Portugal-Spain). In all, data collection took place on 16 trips during the period 1999-2000. The questionnaires requested basic data on social and educational background, and at the same time tried to reveal religious self-identification, expectations and ideas about religious travel, the role of community and the importance of cultural attractions on these trips. Although rather far ranging, my intention here is to reveal only some major features of the travellers. The completion of questionnaires was not compulsory on the trips; consequently the percentage of those filled varies. The database developed on the basis of this research contains altogether 365 questionnaires with some 13,500 data. However, in many cases only one part of the questionnaire was filled, either before or after the trip. Owing to the shortage of closely-related comparative material, in the following I try to link my results not only to quantitative studies of the pilgrims, but also to the findings of the study of religiosity in contemporary Hungarian society.

The Journey of Retired Ladies

In analysing the questionnaires I first present the gender and age composition of the participants, at the same time signifying their marital status. Historical-ethnographical field research studying the surviving forms of peasant pilgrimages indicated the domination of the middle-aged and elderly, and that of women (Barna 2001, 285). Studying contemporary Hungarian religious tourism I arrived at the same conclusion, i.e. these trips *predominantly* attract *females* (figure 3).

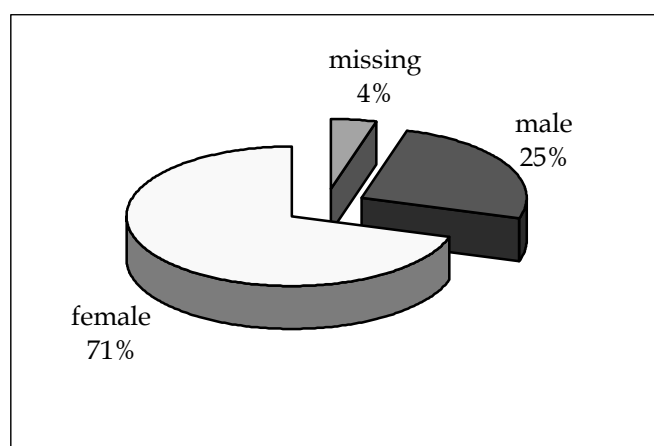


FIGURE 3 Gender composition in religious tourism (n=365)

The percentage of women on these trips does not only exceed their percentage in Hungarian society (which was 55% in 1998), but also the proportion of 64,2% of those considering themselves believers (Hegedűs 2000, 91). Therefore, on the one hand pilgrimages are markedly female activities, on the other hand they are

complementary elements of Christian life characterizing mostly women. The female dominance I revealed in my research surprisingly resembles the percentage of women among believers going weekly to church in Hungarian society, which was 71,2% in 1998 (Hegedűs 2000, 91). Although this does not come as a surprise if I consider, that from the categories applied in measuring religiosity, church going – similar to the question of participation in pilgrimage – reflects not merely the individual's image of himself based on self-acknowledgement, but also *requires activity*. Consequently I may conclude, that in the “active realization” of religiosity the proportion of women is far more significant than among those ‘passive’ believers who consider themselves religious.

Comparative data in connection with most of the shrines indicates strong female dominance. Giuriati et al. in the shrine of Belleville, Illinois noted that among the visitors 56,7% were women, while 77,5% of those visiting the same place for retreat were female (Giuriati et al. 1990, 167). Rinschede, studying Lourdes, estimated that 60-70% of Western European visitors were women (Rinschede 1985, 214). However, according to Rinschede dominant female presence in pilgrimages is mainly a characteristic of Catholicism. He thinks gender composition presented in shrines varies to a great extent in each world religion. In a study of the Morinis he concludes: “The distribution of the sexes in the three West Bengalese Hindu pilgrimage sites (Tarakeswar, Navadvip, and Tarapith) showed in comparison a slight predominance, 53%, of men.” Using the data of Long he illustrates an even greater difference: “In Mecca, the predominance of men is even more pronounced (65%), which is certainly the result of the social position of women in the Islamic world and religion” (Rinschede 1992, 62).

The age composition of those participating in religious tourism affects fundamentally the destinations, the character of the travel organization, the role of asceticism and the relation between customers and suppliers. Research results show that it is mainly the older generation that takes part in these trips. Analysing the age composition of the participants I can conclude that the *average age is 58* (figure 4).

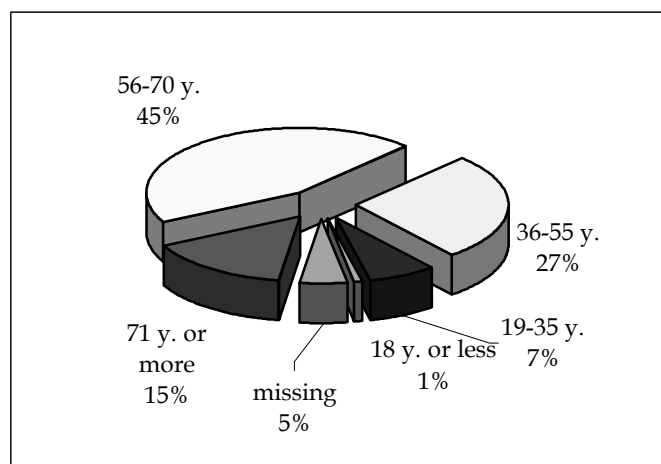


FIGURE 4 Age composition of participants in religious tourism (n=365)

It is a group of predominantly elderly people, in which significantly more than half the participants are 56 or above. Since most of the travellers are female, it means that a significant part of them is already retired. This obviously affects their schedule and free time, which is a fundamental condition influencing the seasonality of tourism. This percentage resembles to a great extent the results of research aiming at grasping the features of religiosity in Hungarian society. According to this in Hungary 39,6% of those defining themselves as religious, and 55,1% of those going to church are over 60 years old (Hegedűs 2000, 91). Thus my data regarding composition of age also results in the same conclusion that I made in connection with gender composition; namely the active practice of religion is more characteristic of women and elderly people. Taking into account that roughly every fourth traveller is younger than 55, this kind of travel can be considered more *a kind of 'age-group' travel*. This form of pilgrimage therefore creates a demographically fairly homogenous community. A significant number of the travellers were born during or right after the Second World War, and were religiously socialized exactly at the time of forceful persecution. Consequently this stratum does not embody the knowledge of any form of organized pilgrimage with regard to these present-day journeys. Religious feasts of late Socialist times were obliged to be held within church walls, just as spontaneously-organised pilgrimages to peripheral shrines were held in secret; these conditions likely influenced this group's image of pilgrimage.

In accepting this, it seems that overall the great over-representation of elderly people in pilgrimages is a characteristic of Christianity. Giuriati et al. found that 70% of those arriving at Belleville for a retreat are above 60 (Giuriati et al. 1990, 167). However, according to Rinschede, in Lourdes 39% of the visitors are over 60, while the percentage of young people visiting the shrine is also remarkably high (34% under 25) (Rinschede 1992, 62).

The Journey of Elderly Wives and Singles

Analysing the marital status of the participants we see that almost half of the participants are married, while almost another half is single or divorced (table 4).

TABLE 4 Marital status of the participants (n=365)

	single	married	divorced	widow(er)	missing
Cases	78	165	32	81	9
proportion in %	21	46	9	22	2

The age composition of married participants reveals that these trips are *attracting middle-aged and elderly wives* (figure 5).

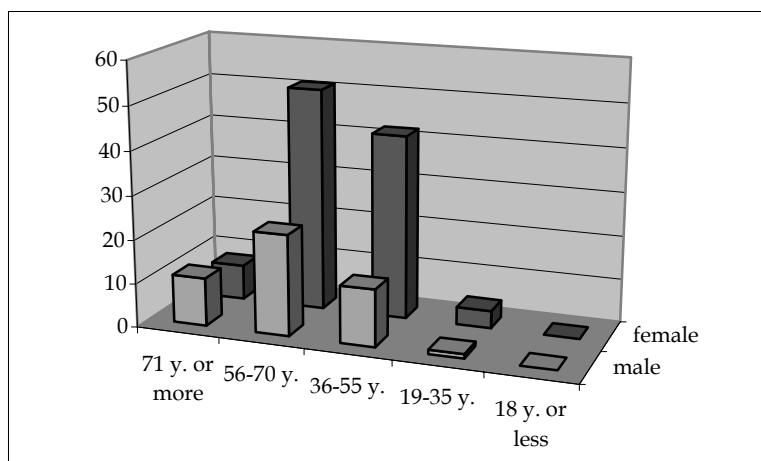


FIGURE 5 Age composition of the married (n=165)

Only within the oldest age group can we note more male participants. The strong proportion of married women is partly due to the general female over-representation among believers, as already discussed. At the same time, in considering the significant difference noticeable in the case of middle-aged participants I may conclude that these trips cannot speak to, attract and move men, even in cases where their wife is travelling. It is not going too far to assert that this particular form of pilgrimage is part of female spirituality (or part of spirituality considered to be female). According to my observations the few men who do take part usually do so as ‘appendages’ to their wives among the crowd of married ladies and widows travelling alone. As I observed, these men stay out of communal activities or religious public performances (e.g. leading prayers) and they are connected to the community first of all through their partners. In my fieldwork I managed to record several interviews with travellers who were married, mostly with married women travelling alone although sometimes with couples. A good example is *Prayer*, a retired lady who lives in the centre of Budapest and takes care of the religious activities of the family. Having a Catholic husband, *Prayer* takes part by herself in a number of trips, consciously planning for whom to pray on her trips. In spite of the large percentage of married women, on one of my trips to Lourdes, staying in the same room at the cheap pilgrim-hotel with *Mr. Zalai*, I was able to have a conversation with a rare example of a married man travelling to a pilgrimage place, having left his wife at home. As earlier mentioned, *Mr. Zalai* took part in various communal activities only to a very limited extent. The overwhelming majority of women basically turn pilgrimages into a kind of *female devotional space*. Therefore as I observed on these trips most men, except “professionals” (priests, cantors) are generally retired, quiet and passive. In the course of fieldwork, of course, people hiding behind the figures come to life and appear in their complexity. *Eschatologist* may be an example of such a male-profile, who heavily criticised contemporary religious tourism during our long conversations. He had attempted to go along these ways alone, retired and keeping his opinions to himself, but he finally decided not to travel any longer.

Spirited is also such a personality hiding behind the charts. A married man, who always travels with his wife, in fact influences a part of the journey through his spiritual leading, something which is much appreciated by the community.

Travelling Together: the Solitary Individual *en route*

Even at this stage the proportion of widows, singles and divorced are considerable. If I 'clear' the missing data from the chart (9 cases) and also the participants, who were presumably single because of their age (younger than 25 years - 13 cases), the *percentage of non-married increases* (figure 6).

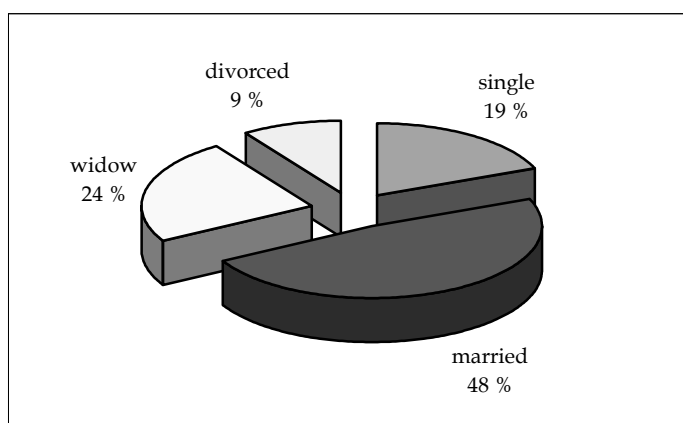


FIGURE 6 Marital status of those older than 25 years, excluding the missing data (n=343)

Most striking is the percentage of the divorced, since according to official Catholic teaching they have broken one of the basic teachings of the Church. In contemporary official Catholicism divorced people - regardless their faith and commitment - cannot re-marry in churches, cannot take confession and so on. They are literally excluded from the life and sacraments of the Church. I should note however, that disguise the official, doctrinal stance, there are alternative, but not mainstream approaches to the pastoral care of the divorced, especially in the spirit of the Vatican Council II. Considering the rather high percentage of the divorced among the younger generation, certain parishes provide special care for the divorced, which may be seen as a response to contemporary social reality. Their relatively high proportion in this avowedly Catholic activity, however, must be explored. Further analysis of the composition of the divorced produces the following conclusions:

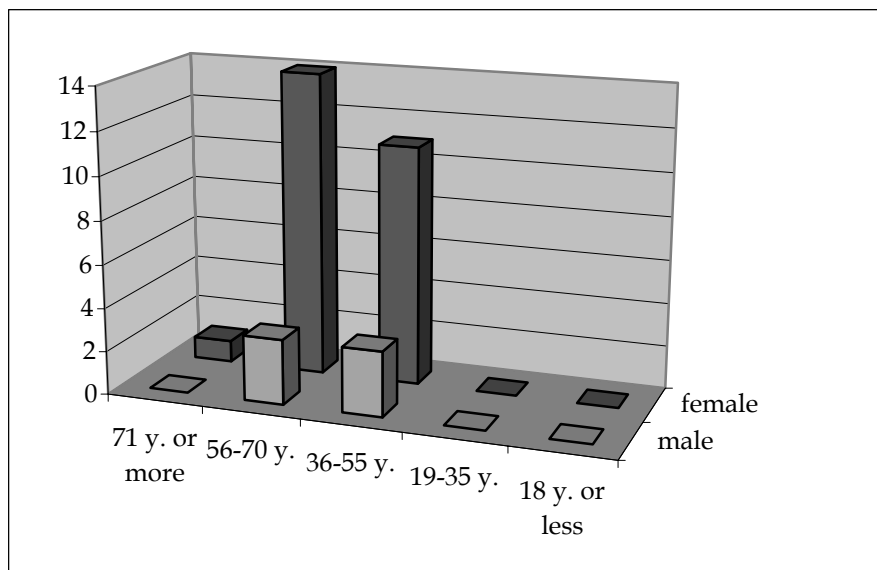


FIGURE 7 Gender and age composition of the divorced (n=32)

Analysing the composition of divorced travellers I can conclude, that besides married women these trips mostly attract middle-aged or elderly divorced women (figure 7). Surprisingly enough it is these middle aged and elderly women, who – *regardless of the exclusion* they experience from the official Church for being divorced – are still attracted by Catholic spirituality, still try to keep a connection with religious communities and still feel that they can find salvation and relief on pilgrimages. Their presence here may open up exciting interpretations on the role of contemporary religious travel and its relation to pilgrimages and mainstream Catholic teaching. On the basis of my database certain related analyses can be made, first and foremost on their religious self-identification, to be presented later. During my fieldwork I had the chance to talk to several divorced individuals who took part in these trips. For these predominantly female travellers, pilgrimage serves as a way of achieving spiritual relief, a chance for deeper involvement in a religious community than they may experience in their permanent place of residence. Most surprising is the case of 82-year-old *Aunt Margit*, who lived with a divorced man for several decades. After her husband died, she went on a long trip seeking spiritual reconciliation. Nonetheless, *Uncle Mihály*, representing the opposite sex, should also be mentioned. From the time that he dissolved an unsuccessful marriage he has lived almost like a hermit. For him, pilgrimages represent the only variation in this lonely way of living.

Besides the percentage of the divorced, the number of travellers, I term ‘elderly singles’, is surprisingly high (figure 8).

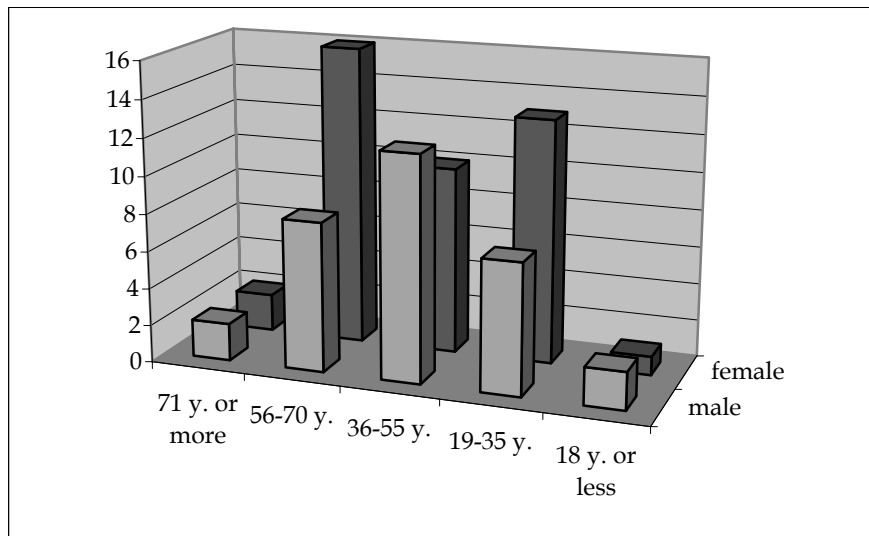


FIGURE 8 Age composition of singles (n=78)

We should not forget, of course, that among this group we find the priests leading the pilgrimages, who naturally live in celibacy. This explains why there are slightly more men than women in the group of middle-aged singles. However, on the basis of my fieldwork a quest for community for the non-married may also be detected. As a fellow traveller of mine, *Enthusiast*, told me, living alone she had a strong attraction to take part in different Catholic activities and circles. For *Occasional*, a lady in her 30's, this travelling community serves as alternative to her home community, where she feels herself to be on the periphery. On the other hand, the 32-year-old *Seeker* is happy with the appreciation she receives in this predominantly elderly group, but would like to have her own 'own small community', that is to say a family, and she prays for this on all of her trips. Besides the high percentage of singles, those left alone, mainly widows, are also highly represented on these trips (figure 9).

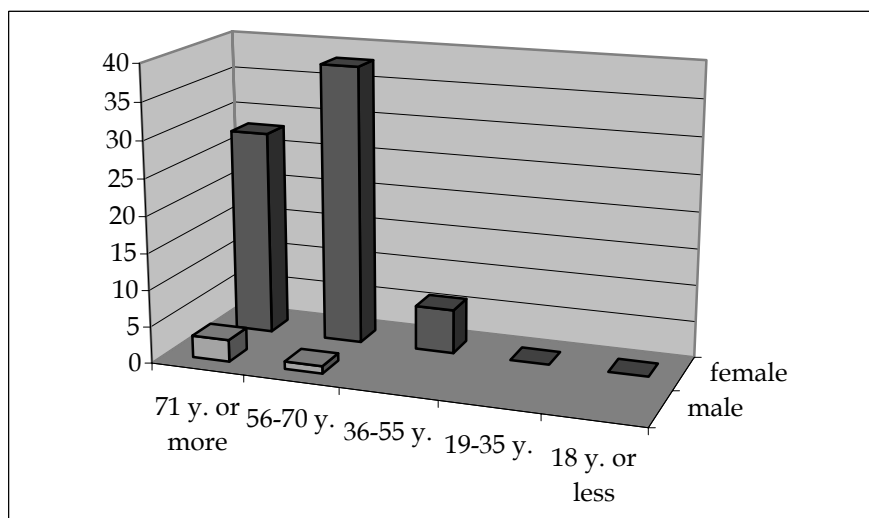


FIGURE 9 Gender and age composition of widow(er)s (n=78)

As we can see the result is roughly the same as in the case of the divorced. It is mainly the women who consider pilgrimage as a way to find relief and community after having lost their partners. *Diarist* may serve as an example here. She has lived alone for 12 years. Although her children and grandchildren visit her regularly, it is taking part in pilgrimages that provides her with a real community. At the end of each year she compiles her diary detailing the trips, consisting of postcards, prayers and newspaper articles, which her family enjoys. In addition, her fellow travellers can revive their experiences by looking through it.

In concluding the analysis it is worth examining how men 'disappeared' from pilgrimage practice (figure 10).

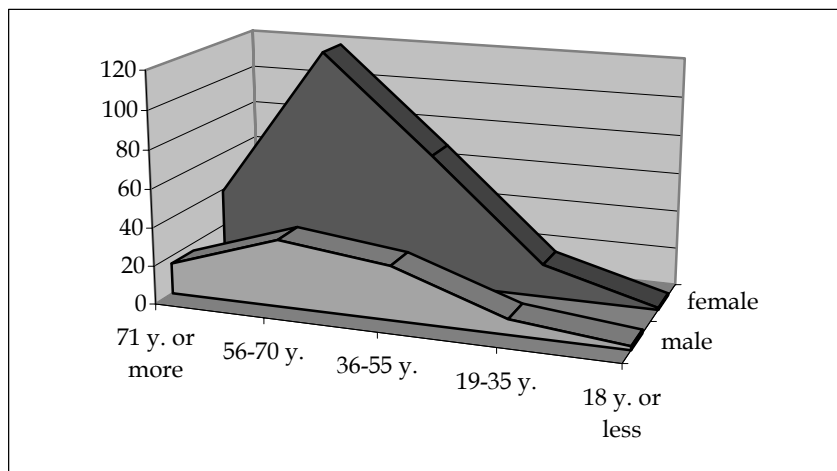


FIGURE 10 Age and gender composition (n=334)

As the chart shows, in the group of middle-aged travellers *men in fact disappeared*. They appear again only in the group of elderly travellers. Consequently while pilgrimage plays a dominant role in adult female spirituality, it is not part of adult male spirituality. This does not come as a surprise if we consider that a remarkable number of pilgrimages lead to Marian shrines. It seems that in case of shrines, identification with the Virgin Mary as the archetype of faithful woman still plays a significant role. Rinschede regards the fact that most shrines are dedicated to Blessed Mary as influencing fundamentally the gender composition of Catholic pilgrimages. "In Lourdes, there is a strong representation of women (69% in 1978) – partly because of the special characteristic of Lourdes as the pilgrimage site of Maria. However, such a similar predominance of women can be found not only in all sites of Maria in West Europe and North America, but also in all Catholic pilgrimage sites" (Rinschede 1992, 62).

The Trip of the Educated Christians

The Image of Christians in Contemporary Hungary

Analysing the education of those participating in pilgrimages and its relation to religiosity and age makes my research extremely interesting, since this question connects to the debates about the so-called secularisation theory in present day Hungary.²¹ When researchers notice changes in religiosity (mainly the decreasing proportion of active believers, who practice their religiosity regularly and are considered as religious according to the Church referred to hereinafter as 'committed religious') they often interpret these processes as the simple ebbing away of Christian faith. This interpretation fits well into a particular secularisation conception, which, as Hegedűs summarizes it, also conveys the memory of certain ideological debates characteristic of late-Socialism:

"Its most radical and most simplifying – leftist, vulgar Marxist - version claims, that social modernization and religion exclude each other in the long run, namely parallel to the advancement of modernization the role of religion in society decreases and finally disappears. According to the popular phrasing of the theory, modernization - which is mostly interpreted as a process characterized by industrialization, economic progress, urbanization and the expansion of education and mobility - on a macro level decreases the social significance and influence of religion, while on the micro level it drives back the importance of religious acts and religious self-identification" (Hegedűs 1998, 116).

The sociologist of religion, Miklós Tomka, considers that the naive linking of modernization and the loss of Christian faith has lost its significance on the contemporary scientific interpretation of religion. In his opinion, this has occurred because religious change cannot be regarded as a linear and irreversible process, and here it is enough to refer to the religious upswing experienced all over the world at the end of the 20th century. Although he underlines that the "theory" of secularisation is supported by the fact that social changes strongly affected the role of Christianity and that of the Churches in the past centuries, irreligiousness has also appeared and has been experienced. Finally, an outstandingly important change which apparently supports the theory of secularisation is that the strength of religious commitment has become extremely pluralized, and the spiritual control of religious institutions has decreased, while the proportion of religious people has not changed dramatically (Tomka 2001). All this, however, could be worrying not only for critics of religion, more concretely for the Communist leadership, but also for the religious institutions themselves. As Miklós Tomka has pointed out:

"In fact in Europe in the past few decades Church commitment has declined rapidly. But not religiosity in a general sense, only the religiosity guided by organized frames

²¹ Although Miklós Tomka draws our attention to the fact that secularisation has never been theoretically analysed, we can utilise modernization theories that also discuss the questions of religion (Tomka 2001).

and regulations. Provided *per definitionem* that only one official religion exists, the proposition stating “the general process of losing of religiosity” has been proved. This – false – belief seems to be true from two social aspects, at the same time calling forth a grotesque coalition. On the one hand Churches losing their believers and influence speak about irreligiosity. On the other hand critics of religion preferring the theory of secularisation claim, that “true religion” is just about to be driven back. The argumentation is, in fact, indefensible. The statement according to which Church commitment would be considered as “true religion” is arbitrary” (Tomka 1996, 165).

All this can be traced by comparing the different ‘measuring’ methods of religiosity. Owing to the decreasing significance of Church institutions it has become clear that religiosity cannot be measured from the perspective of denominational belonging. Therefore since the 1970s the possible forms of religious self-identification in Hungary have been understood with the help of a 5-grade scale, where denominational commitment played a less significant role. This scale includes the following possibilities of self-identification: ‘I am religious according to the teaching of the Church’, ‘I am religious in my own way’, ‘I cannot decide whether I am religious or not’, ‘I am not religious’, ‘I am definitely non-religious’. Surveys using this scale registered basically three significant social groups: people religious according to the teaching of the Church, religious in their own way, and irreligious people. Ferenc Gereben, following large-scale qualitative research, has divided the most significant group of those *religious in their own way* into the following sub-groups: believer with a loose relation to the Churches; the selective and individual believer creating his own religion; the critical believer disappointed in the Churches (Gereben 1998, 39-44).

Both the fact that committed religiosity started to lose its importance more and more in characterizing the religiosity of older generations, and the anticlerical policy presented in Hungary between 1950 and 1990, affected to a great extent the situation of religiosity in the country.²² As a result, today compared to the whole society we trace a *lower level of education* as well as *general socio-professional backwardness* in the groups defining themselves as religious. Miklós Tomka has proved in several of his studies that since the 1970s the religious part of the society has been perceptibly “in a more disadvantageous economic, social and cultural situation than those not religious” (Tomka 1999, 554). As a consequence, as Hegedűs also observes, long after the change of regime, religious people in Hungary have often been considered as backward, living in sub-standard conditions. Another side of this argument states that religious people have a disadvantageous social status (Hegedűs 2001, 51). Both the *process of secularisation* generally characteristic of Europe interpreted with the above reservations and the *anticlericalism of the Socialist state* had their effects on Hungarian society, something Miklós Tomka terms “socialist secularisation”. As a result, Hungary occupies the middle ground among former Socialist countries with regard to religiosity. It does not belong to the most irreligious countries, such as the Czech Republic and the

²² Here I do not intend to deal with the Hungarian Church-history. For that see Török 2003.

East German territories, neither does it resembles the most religious ones, such as Croatia and Poland. In Hungary 44-65% of adults declare themselves as religious, a similar proportion to Slovenia. In Hungary those who regularly pray, in this way practising their religiosity on a personal level, make up one-third of the population, while one-seventh of the population goes to church weekly, and another one-seventh goes to church more rarely than this (Pusztai 2004, 131).

The Educated Pilgrims

Considering all this it is most interesting to analyse what part of Hungarian religious society is represented by this specially-organized group I have studied. An analysis of the educational background of the travellers can help me to position socially the practice of organized religious travel. The previously-described process of Socialist secularisation affected also the education of those acknowledging themselves as religious. In 1998 the percentage of those with at most primary qualification was 55,4% among those acknowledging themselves as believers, and 60,1% among regular churchgoers, as compared to 45,4% for society as a whole (Hegedűs 2000, 91). Contrary to this, I have observed a wholly different tendency among participants of religious tourism. As we can see, a large proportion of this group has a university or college degree and the number of secondary school graduates is also high (figure 11). Considering the age composition of the group, for whom higher education was not available in the case of most individuals, this is at least surprising. How can we explain this?

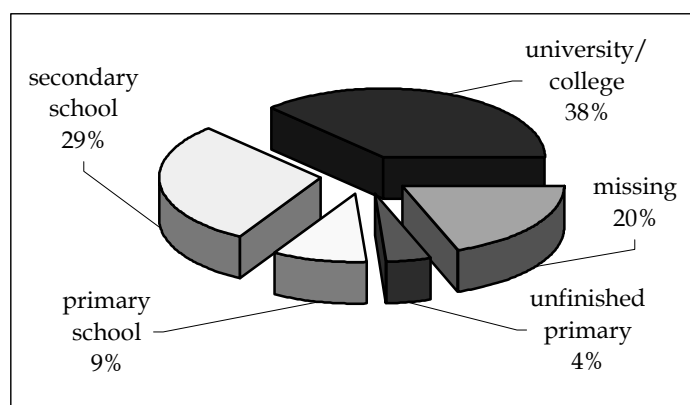


FIGURE 11 Educational background (n=363)

One fieldwork experience can partly inform my reasoning. According to my observations the whole idea of answering a detailed questionnaire while travelling was strange for lower educated travellers, partly because this was an unknown experience for them and partly due to their not having the habit of self-reflection. Higher-educated travellers are markedly over-represented in this result, especially when one considers the high proportion of missing data. Despite the factual distortion this signifies - so greatly differing from the

characteristics of Hungarian Catholic society – one can state that religious tourism attracts a rather small circle of better-to-do Catholics. We may also observe that organized religious tourism provides, especially for this more highly-educated group, a kind of journey experience which combines religious practice and visiting significant sights - namely a kind of cultural tourism.

Another aspect of analysis may also complete this picture. In analysing the residence of travellers, I can trace another reason for this high proportion of intellectuals among the travellers and this also supports my observations. The residence analysis revealed that more than one-third of participants live in Budapest (38,3%) and this proportion added to those living in the agglomeration of the capital reaches almost a half (44,2%). The proportion of those living in other cities is a further 30%. Consequently we may state that religious tourism attracts mostly higher-qualified Catholics living in cities, mainly in the capital, who can not only afford these trips, but are also interested in them. At the same time it is obvious that after the long-term prohibition, the developing sector of religious tourism only manages to reach and entice the rural population to a restricted extent. This points to the fact that these trips provide a form of community-formation that is new and more attractive for urban Catholics.

The Journey of the Committed Religious

It is worth studying the religious self-identification of the travellers. According to my analysis most of those taking part consider themselves as religious according to the teaching of the Church (figure 12).

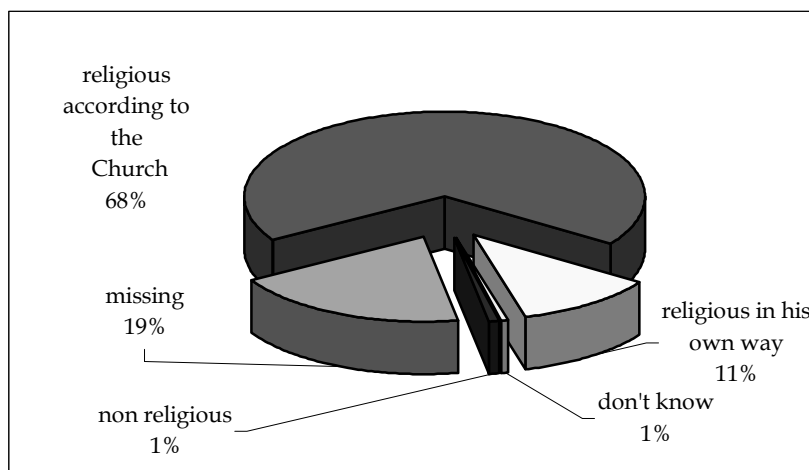


FIGURE 12 Religiosity (n=361)

The percentage of 68% in the group is certainly higher than in Hungarian society as a whole. Despite the refining of methods of measuring it is in fact difficult to gauge how big a part of Hungarian society is religious and what it

exactly means for them to be religious. Miklós Tomka, basing his analysis on national representative surveys, estimates the percentage of those religious according to the Church 15-18%, while that of those religious in their own way 50-52% in Hungarian society as a whole (Tomka 1999, 550). By combining different data Ferenc Gereben concludes that one-sixth or one-seventh of Hungarian adult society is *strongly committed* not only to religion but also to the Churches. Elsewhere on the scale stand the *atheists*, representing approximately one-eighth of the society. Atheists form a sub-group of those defining themselves as *explicitly non-religious*, representing a quarter of society. Besides the 'don't knows', those who expressed themselves controversially and the above two strata, a percentage of 40-55% remains. This proportion define themselves as more or less religious (Gereben 1998, 33). Thus it does not come as a surprise that contemporary religious tourism attracts those who are religious according to the Church. Their percentage on these trips compared to their minority proportion of 10-20% in the whole society may be regarded as a considerable majority. Thus in the course of religious tourism members of this group get into a *particular counter-world*. Here what is for them an important element of identity, in consideration of which they represent a clear minority in society (namely committed and active religiosity) suddenly becomes the fundamental feature of the majority. These trips thus create the type of homogenous, almost undisturbed ideological community that in Hungary one may experience only in activities within churches/parishes in the strictest sense. During these trips this kind of community can also be experienced in other places and in other activities. Moreover - as we will see later - it is exactly this essential experience of religious community in distinctive conditions that indicates certain changes in the self-identification of the individuals.

As it has been noted, the strong representation of committed religious in these trips is not surprising. By contrast, the appearance of those *religious in their own way* is remarkably significant and worthy of further analysis. 'Clearing' the data of the missing answers, the percentage in the second category - 'religious in his own way' - rose to 14%. Their group is probably the most interesting and still measurable.²³ The question arises: why do these people go on a pilgrimage which is considered to be in connection with some of the basic teachings of the Church, namely with gaining indulgence or at least considered a rather special devotional activity of Catholicism? Do they expect a trip that does not solely deal with pilgrimage? Or are they attracted to a religiously-motivated trip in spite of their unresolved relationship with the official Church? If yes, why? How does their presence influence the whole community? Do they take part in all the activities of the group?

Comparing the average levels of education characterizing the groups of 'religious according to the teaching of the Church' and 'religious in his own way' may open up some insights into how religious self-identification is connected to education (figure 13).

²³ The presence of two other categories, such as 'I cannot decide whether I am religious or not' (2 cases) and 'I am not religious' (3 cases) is interesting, but we cannot make any further conclusions based on their proportions.

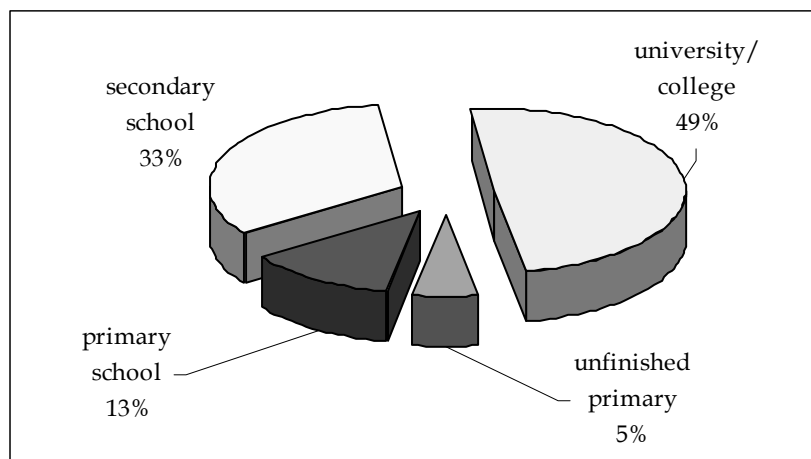


FIGURE 13 Education among religious according to the teaching of the Church (n=238)

According to a 1998 survey among those acknowledging themselves as religious, the percentage of those with at most primary education was 55,4%, while the same group as a proportion of society as a whole was only 45,4% (Hegedűs 2000, 91). That is, within the group of believers there is a higher proportion of those with lower education. In religious tourism, however, the participation of this stratum is totally different. The low proportion of 18% of those with lower education among the participants defining themselves as committed religious shows that these trips do not attract believers with lower education, even if they represent more than a half of 'committed religious' Hungarian society. That is to say religious tourism cannot address the most significant stratum of committed religious believers; at the same time it wins over very successfully the highly educated who represent a considerably lower proportion in society.

Travelling Together: the Pilgrimage of those with non-Orthodox Beliefs

Analysing more thoroughly the group of believers *religious in their own way* and comparing it to the proportion of the *committed religious* I may conclude, that within the group of those religious in their own way the percentage of those with secondary qualification is extremely high (figure 14).

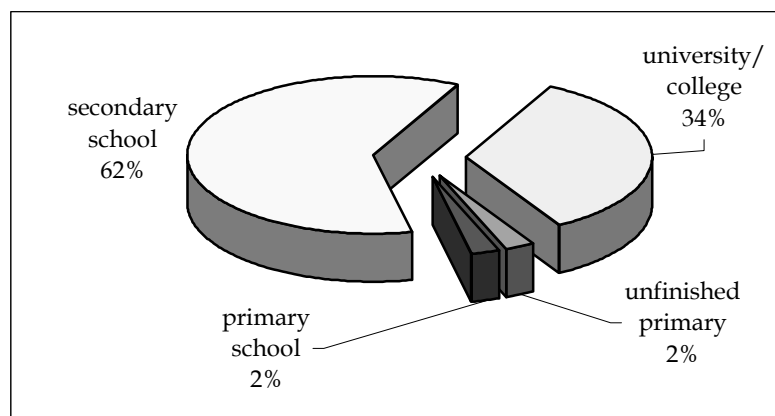


FIGURE 14 Education among the religious in their own way (n=41)

Although the numbers are relatively small, I can probably say that the typically more self-reflective analysis of a highly-educated individual's relationship with the Church results in the fact that in spite of their acknowledged differences, they tend to connect themselves to the Church. The *content* of committed religiosity is certainly different for this group. Ferenc Gereben, studying the peculiarities of religious self-identification noted that the group defining itself as committed religious can be itself divided into two subgroups: a group of "traditional, practice-orientated" believers and a group with "spiritual, intimate, experienced religiosity". He also notes that in asking about religious commitment "doubts are often expressed – mainly among intellectuals – certain elements of Church teaching and practice are also questioned silently, not aggressively, even constructively" (Gereben 1998, 38-39). This to a certain extent explains why in these trips the percentage of those religious in their own way is so much lower among those with higher qualifications than that of the committed religious. It seems that criticism of the Church as an institution, and crises dealt with in restraint and detachment – requiring definite self-reflection – is found mainly among those with secondary education. However, scrutiny of one's stance in relation to official Church teaching is almost exclusively a characteristic of higher-educated travellers. In the case of lower-educated travellers I detect a near-complete identification with the Church.

Naturally it is not only education that influences religious self-identification, but age as well (figure 15).

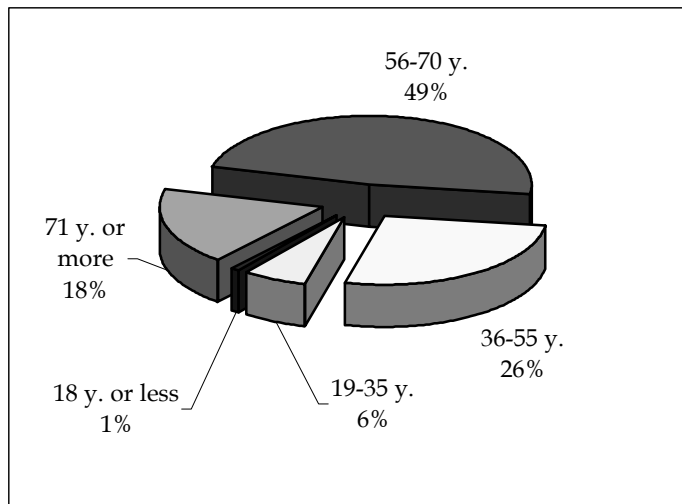


FIGURE 15 Age composition of the religious according to the teaching of the Church (n=231)

As we can see, among my travellers the committed religious represent a rather elderly group, more than two-thirds of whom are older than 55. This matches the results produced by sociologists of religion, which registered strong differences between the religiosity of different generations. As Miklós Tomka notes, this generational difference at the same time means a deeper change:

“The ideological change of the society was realized as a generational break.... those born in or before 1941-42 were socialized in a more religious world to be religious. Those younger than them became less religious. Meanwhile I should not exclusively consider who goes to church, or says that he believes in God. The change is more comprehensive. According to the so-far unpublished results of the survey called European Value-system Survey carried out in 1991 and that of the international comparative study called “Aufbruch/New Departures” accomplished in 1997-98 the scale of value and religiosity of those Hungarians born in or before 1941-42 does not differ considerably from the scale of value of Austrians, Belgians or Germans of the same age. The scale of values and world view of younger generations, however, did not resemble that of our Western neighbours, but rather that of Bulgarians, Czechs and East Germans, or beyond previous Socialist countries that of the Scandinavians. Parallel to the generation shift relations in world-view has also changed” (Tomka 1999, 554).

As it is shown in my analysis, almost two-thirds of those religious in their own way are younger than 55 (figure 16).

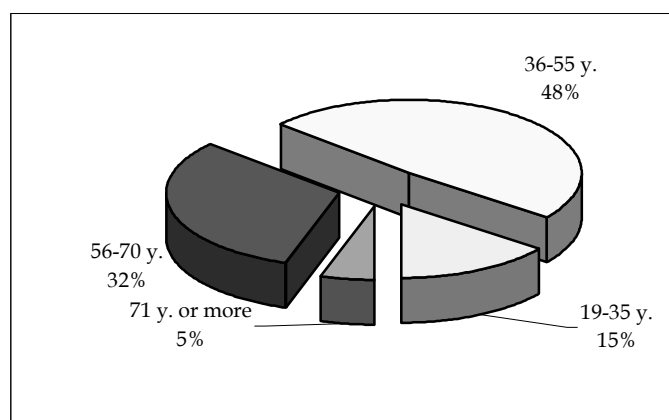


FIGURE 16 Age composition of the religious in their own way (n=41)

Furthermore, analysing the relation of age and religiosity I may conclude that the younger a traveller is, the more he tends to be religious in his own way: the percentage rises considerably with a decrease in age. While the proportion is 0.5% among the most elderly travellers, it is 10% among those between 56-70. Among those younger than 55 every fourth is religious in his own way. Consequently among the older generation those religious according to the Church turn towards religious tourism as a form of travelling which requires an obviously more active individual participation. Among the younger generation religious tourism is not connected so closely to committed religious practice.

Examining the educational patterns of different sexes, I can observe that among male travellers the higher-educated are over-represented as compared to female travellers (table 5).

TABLE 5 Education among the travellers by sex (n=347)

	unfinished primary %	primary %	secondary %	higher %	missing %
male (n=92)	3	7	16	52	22
female (n=255)	4	9	36	33	18

I should note that priests serving as spiritual leaders on these trips are counted in this category as well. 'Clearing' the category of single travellers from the chart to avoid overestimation of educational background among male travellers due to the presence of priests, we still note a strong over-representation of higher-educated males. Although only a quarter of the travellers are men, half of them have a university or college degree. It seems only higher educated men are ready to take part in this predominantly female mode of travelling (figure 17 and 18).

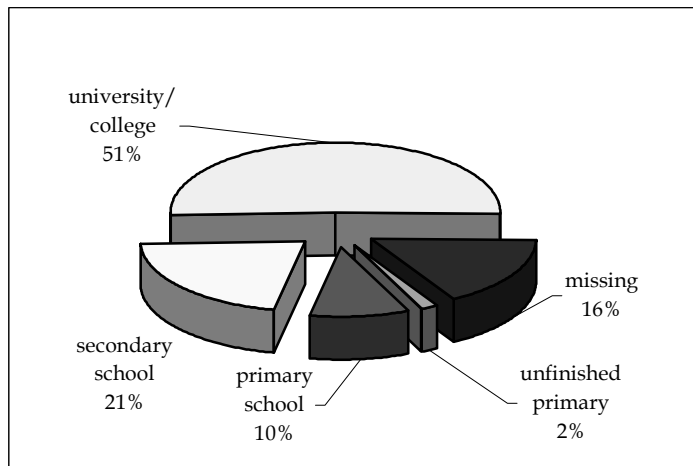


FIGURE 17 Education among men excluding the singles (n=61)

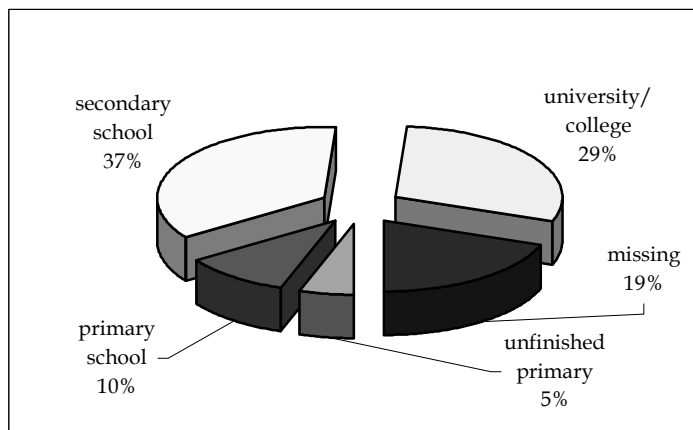


FIGURE 18 Education among women leaving out the singles (n=207)

The Religious Tourist of Contemporary Hungarian Catholic Society

On the basis of survey material I cannot reveal the most intimate and important conclusions of the present research, although I may arrive at an estimation of the group of organized religious travellers as a whole. In summary I can conclude that this group mostly consists of late-middle aged or elderly women. They are mostly married, although widows and the divorced represent a significant proportion within the group. They are far better educated than Hungarian Catholics as a whole, although there is an observable percentage of lower educated women as well.

Men are 'rare specie' among the travellers. Among them we can find the priests who act as spiritual leaders on these trips. Most of the other male participants are married, most travelling with their wives. Participating males

are more educated than the women, with most having a university or secondary qualification. Religious tourism does not attract lower-educated men, divorced men or widowers.

Participants tend to be highly religious and consider themselves as religious according to the teaching of the Church. However, there is a recognizable proportion of those religious in their own way. According to the group of religious tourists, religiosity strongly depends on education in contemporary Hungarian society. The lowest-educated travellers almost exclusively identify with the teaching of the Church, while in the higher educated group we can find a real division. Religiosity also depends on age: the younger the traveller is, the more he tends to be religious in his own way.

I may conclude that since its re-commencement at the change of regime, religious tourism has managed to address mainly more educated and more committed Catholic believers. Contemporary religious tourism attracts in the first place Catholics living in the capital and in cities. However, in this form of Catholic devotion so full of meanings, i.e. pilgrimage, the religious in their own way are also presented. Within the participating younger generation they represent a considerable percentage. All this indicates that in a post-Communist society, in which the practice of pilgrimage, regardless of the local peasant tradition, has practically disappeared, contemporary religious tourism has managed to address not only the more elderly and committed stratum of Catholic society, but also the younger generation with a more diverse religious commitment. As we will see in the following chapter, this meeting of strata with different age, religious conceptions and education has a considerable effect on the individual's religious experience.

5 THE TWO TEXTS

Being a pilgrim – experiences and imaginations

“Pilgrims”, “Group of pilgrims”, “Lonely pilgrims on the roads of Europe”, “Processions”.

Being a pilgrim has always been an *eligible* and *transitional* role.²⁴ Essentially it has always referred to an *inner* and *individual* journey, a rather *interim* change of state in the life process of the individual being not eligible or permutable. It is a structured break in human life, which only a smaller part of society has experienced. However, in scientific representations this, in its meaning a really individual series of acts, appears as collective, as a group activity. The above list of frequently used phrases also underlines this statement. Historical and history-ethnographical summaries presenting pilgrims describe mostly groups and communities. Why?

Pilgrimage in its essence means not only travelling in space, but also inner transformation.²⁵ In order to achieve this inner conversion of the human we may solely rely on *self-representation* in case of historical dimensions – there is no “ethnographic eye” following Eteria in the 4th century, neither is it going with the medieval Mandeville or joining the singing groups of pilgrims processing under church flags in the Baroque age. Historical self-representations then in most cases lack the aspect of modern man searching for reason, goal and meaning as well as the uncertainty of late modern man. This uncertainty at the same time means openness to the partly contradictory patterns of life styles and forms of acting. The historical “pilgrim voices” lack the conflict of reason and emotion, incredulity and certainty, hesitation and blind faith which compels consideration over acts, as well as deliberation and alienation to a certain

²⁴ Here I do not consider medieval forced-pilgrims – as a *not voluntary*, but *temporary* form. Neither do I discuss medieval false Pilgrims – as a *voluntary*, but *not temporary* form of pilgrimage. These forms make the groups of pilgrims more colourful, but they definitely were not part of the mainstream.

²⁵ Moreover, as tourism anthropology has already pointed out, tourism has also similar “side effects”, notwithstanding that its motivation is not this intentionally.

extent.²⁶ Joyous and naive, simple and intense, confident and determined “voices” tell us the outer features of pilgrimage. As for the soul, we can get to know mainly the mainstream motivations and experiences. Why? Why is doubting and hesitating man not present in the pilgrimages of the past?

In the course of history the Catholic Church has never preferred the initiatives emerging from beneath, which touch the contents of faith very closely.²⁷ According to tradition Christ’s annunciation making Peter the rock marks the foundation of the Church, the Church, which is continuing the mission of Christ, the executer of the will of God on earth.²⁸ It is the mysterious body of Christ.²⁹ Catholicism has not tolerated theological thinking independent from Rome since the early Middle Age. Certain phenomena, which have not been accepted officially, are defined as heretical movements. In fact these mark the nugatory emergence of theological thinking independent from Rome.³⁰ Their conflict with the Church’s Magisterium in turn signals how Catholicism reacted against the thoughts emerging not from the centre. The Church’s Magisterium still keeps for itself certain canonizing and approving power, despite the fact that the 2nd Vatican Council accepted and validated the modern individual. Among the conflicts resulted by the élite interpretation of faith could be mentioned Hans Küng’s, Eugen Drewermann’s or the Hungarian György Bulányi’s debates and quarrels with Rome, which as a matter of course have far more moderate consequences today. According to the opinion of the Church’s Magisterium the constantly developing and differentiating interpretations of faith contents can be accepted only in consensus with Rome. For these progressive theologians self-critic Catholicism of late modernity, however, can mean a conflict with central authority.

This applies not only to questions regarding theology, but also piety. On a popular level the same conflict can be observed in the careful reactions of the Church, its restraining role regarding the cult of saints and different apparitions attracting masses of people as pilgrims. In the west it has always been Rome that canonized the saints. Numerous historical examples could be listed, where the Church tried to withhold the popularising of a miraculous event – for a while with the help of state power, later only – with the help of excommunication or pushing them into periphery. In most cases the acceptance of an apparition took decades, although usually it did not mean the propagation of the Church automatically, rather its toleration instead. One of the most popular pilgrimage places of present days, Medjugorje, is still “under

²⁶ The Renaissance might be an exception, which due to the Turkish invasion and the Habsburg-Baroque coming after was ended in Hungary in a rather short time.

²⁷ In order to avoid misunderstanding I do not mean here enculturation, i.e. melting in other faith contents, regarding which Catholicism is one of the most colourful among world religions. It has become so widespread exactly due to this.

²⁸ Mt 16, 15-19. - the power of binding and loosing.

²⁹ 1Cor 12, 12-27 - Corpus Christi Mysticum.

³⁰ Interpreting heresy partly as a sign calling attention to the defects of the Church is accepted in present day Catholicism.

inspection" two decades after the apparitions gaining world-fame began. The Catholic Church considers that the interpretation and correctness of a teaching can be judged only in accordance with Rome. This intention logically led to the fact, that in historical dimensions – when all the means of cultural remembrance (literacy, printing) were monopolized – we know only mainstream interpretations and voices about piety, for instance regarding pilgrimages, which were accepted officially and in accordance with Rome. I might state as well, that the wish for self-reflectivity was less due to the above-described reasons, however, whether we can get to know this is rather questionable. If any kind of self-reflection had appeared, only the interpretation in accordance with Rome could have been recorded and this way remained. That the phenomenon is characteristic peculiarly of the west is also signed by the fact that in the Eastern Church due to a decentralized Church organization certain questions regarding the faith and piety can be varied and many-coloured. For example there is no canonization process, but there are individuals who are called saints and respected by the believers. Turning towards the saints is influenced by experience, faith and tradition; the Church's Magisterium does not regulate these questions.

The communication of opinions and experiences considering faith has been gradually coming out of Church control. Opinions on Catholicism could be printed and published still at the beginning of the 20th century in each case with the approval of the Church.³¹ During that period the approval of the bishop in charge proved, that the thoughts published were according to official Catholic teaching. This control – except the reservations mentioned above in connection with theology and piety³² – broke down relatively quickly and the free expression of opinions and "experiences" appeared in Catholicism. The list of books prohibited for the believers by the Church, Index, ceased to exist as well in the time of the council (1966) declaring believers adults. It is not by chance that the pilgrim reports of the late 20th century speak in a more and more individual tone, ignoring more and more the details of the practical pilgrim guides, talking more and more about an inner journey, instead of a physical one. The alteration of the pilgrim reports to such an extent can be understood considering the answers given to the concentrated and structured human habitation: it is late modern alienation, the desire for an earlier, simpler, truer form of life, a certain kind of *scepticism*, which obsesses late modern man. In this environment the Camino, the foot pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella became a favourite destination for both faithful and faithless, assured and seekers. This foot pilgrim has become so popular, that the "pilgrim" searching for authentic experience boggles at it.³³ It can be interpreted under these circumstances, that this journey, Camino, considered organic,

³¹ Marks such as *nihil obstat* (not criticisable) and *imprimatur* (printable).

³² Publishing books considering faith and moral still requires a preliminary permission by the Church, however, the mark *imprimatur* has a recommendatory role today, as the Church does not monopolize the means of communication. For example, a book can be written about Medjugorje, however, it may not get the mark *imprimatur*.

³³ Most recently analysed by Nancy Louis Frey (1998).

authentic and stable, lacking assistance and help, thus being individual and specific attracts not only Catholics but also irreligious people.

In these representations naturally it is no longer the voice of mainstream Catholicism that can be heard, if I can still speak about mainstream Catholicism at all. The pilgrims of this age already provide the representation of an inner journey, for which the very Catholic form, i.e. pilgrimage (in the strict sense, a journey to the relics of Saint Jacob aiming at indulgency) is nothing more than a framework. Cultural sciences in their fight for apprehending culture considered authentic - many a time sliding into essentialism -, after having tried to achieve collectivism now not by chance turn their attention towards these forms of pilgrimage without community.³⁴ Nonetheless, besides these very individual forms of pilgrimage the same late modern man strives to gain religious experience also in other ways.

That is why I consider it significant to listen to the “voice” of pilgrims travelling in an organized way, that is in community, but also in a modern way, that is not in an organic way. In this chapter we can listen to the costumers of the pilgrim travel agency, pilgrims, tourists, travellers. As it turned out to be impossible to speak about their experiences and motivations during the journeys, I visited them in their homes and asked my questions.³⁵ In the following I aim to present the different individual interpretations of communal travelling by presenting separately existing and individual profiles.³⁶

The following chapter is a kind of ‘doubled communication’. It is based on a dialogue, on a conversation between traveller and researcher about the motivations and experiences of travelling. This is the text of field-research. All this is, however, surrounded by another conversation: the conversation between the original text of field-research as an entity and the researcher. Cut out from the two dimensional world of field-work in the silence of his room, alienated from the interpersonal act at the same time focusing on the dialogue between two people, the researcher starts a conversation with the organic and common text of his and his interviewee. All this is carried out in a way that it does not strive at comparison - for the time being. This is similar to the one-time sense of the fieldwork situation allowing only a reactive and restricted comparison. The given order of the interviews is, of course, the result of the secondary dialogue and intends to draw a peculiar tendency with the help of the interviewees. Thus *exegesis* is coming: interpretation and explanation of key texts. Exegesis in the first meaning of the word: interpreting text regarding *the saint*. Exegesis in anthropological sense - interpreting and explaining my most important sources of knowledge (Marcus 1992, 319).

³⁴ An excellent analysis is made by Paul Post (1994).

³⁵ For reasons see Methodology chapter.

³⁶ As a matter of course, I have altered each detail that could make identification possible.

Convert - Quest for Community with the Other World

CONVERT is a late-middle aged, short, brown haired, slightly overweight lady. She has a kind of face that never shows whether she is happy or sad. Sometimes she speaks a little bit confusingly – when something touches her even from the distance of time – but sooner or later she is understandable. She is not really using meta-communication, sitting continuously in a closed position in the same place where she sat down. She moves only when she presents her diaries or statues, pictures of different saints during the discussion.

She lives in a small flat very close to one of Budapest's bridges above a fairly noisy crossroads. Everything is in order in the flat. The windows are covered against the heat – it is almost dark inside. When I arrive, there are flowers, a candle, a small picture of an older man and a large picture of a young woman on the dining table standing in one corner of the main room. Visibly my interviewee has just stood up from here because of my arrival. She recognizes that I noticed the composition and blows out the candle. Later she says that she lit the candle for the memory of her daughter who died unexpectedly more than ten years ago. Her birthday would be today. Her father is on the other picture – he is also dead. Additionally, she says, her husband died on the same day, on the birthday of his stepdaughter, a year before her death. This sorrowful remembrance day provides the framework to our conversation.

There are statues, printed and painted pictures of different saints, as well as rosaries in different colours everywhere in the small sitting room, above and below the TV-set, hanging from the wallpaper, in front of the books on the wardrobe. It turned out later that she made the watercolours herself. All the other objects are souvenirs from her journeys; some were received as presents from other travellers.



Religious paraphernalia collected en route. (B. Pusztai)

Convert was grown up in harsh circumstances: her parents divorced, the grandparents looked after her, and then when she had just finished secondary school, they died. She was brought up as a believer, but later she left the faith. First she started to work as an administrator in the health system. Later because of her first husband's Communist party membership (- she recalls him quite bitterly as a drunk -) she joined the Party and her career started to rise. In a

number of serious cases the Party even sent her out as an investigator. Although she had left the Church, she considered it important to have her son baptized - following the widespread pattern of Socialism, which stuck to the rite without considering the meaning. Because of this the Party warned her. Her conflict is characteristic of late socialism: seldom-practised weak commitment, however, regarded valuable, provides the only party a right cause to interfere and present the adequate socialist moral. Although this religious practice would have hardly had any effect on her life, the Party moralists punished her overreacting. She divorced from her first husband with three children. Later she married again to a beloved man of her age. No sooner had she found late happiness in her life, than she lost it. Her second husband died on the birthday anniversary of her eldest daughter, who had the loosest, strained relation with this new husband. Less than a year later her eldest daughter died in pregnancy venenation, while her freshly born baby son stayed alive. Thus her daughter's birthday became *Convert's* most sorrowful mourning day. Her grandson lives now with his father who has remarried. *Convert's* other two children live with stable partners together in her one time cottage, luxuriously modernized and enlarged just outside Budapest.

Convert has not only lost her loved ones, as we all will do, but life has also tried and tormented her. In her narration the death of her grown up, pregnant daughter is a central topic. Connecting this death to her present life also sheds light on the motivation of her conversion:

She [daughter] had been suffering for a long time before she died, she really wanted to live, and the way I have finally accepted her death is connected to these journeys. [~pilgrimages] ... She would be exactly 36 years old today. And my husband died a year before my daughter, exactly on her birthday anniversary. So, this is why I am lighting the candles: one has a death anniversary today and the other has the birth anniversary today.

As I will understand, peregrinating and the pilgrimage community are among the few things she still has in this life. *Convert* has not only lost her second husband and her daughter in a tragic ways, but has also been humiliated by living people quite a lot of times. It would not be a surprise if she had lost her faith in living creatures. She recalls her first husband with very bitter words, especially that he was a party official and through this he connected her to the lifestyle which finally led her away from God. Even the most important community beside her family can strengthen this alienation.

It sometimes hurts me that people come to pilgrimage... [and not behaving righteously]. Here is this journey to Mariazell³⁷ for example, there was a lady unable to put aside her bag a little, to let me sit down on the other chair. ... Or, it happened to me, and I think I wrote down this in my diary. I always give alms. I am not a Grail knight, since you cannot give if you have nothing, but I try. And as we were in Lanciano,³⁸ where there is the miracle of the Eucharist, and I put some money into

³⁷ Pilgrimage place in Austria.

³⁸ Lanciano, Italy - site of the 8th century Eucharist miracle: as a divine response to a Basilian monk's doubt about Jesus' Real Presence in the Eucharist during Holy Mass, after the two-fold consecration, the host was changed into live Flesh and the wine

the first money-collecting box. And then I went close to the altar, there were the pictures of the Eucharist put out and I had only some coins left. [She took one picture.] And one lady humiliated me in such a manner there in the church, that I could not take that. The manner, the loudness and that everybody was looking at me, that - I wrote that down - why is she travelling? To watch others? If I see somebody doing something wrong, I do not turn to him to humiliate him. So, it was so unpleasant for me, that I left 50.000 liras there.³⁹

The way she recalls her humiliation shows that she takes 'outer judgments' very seriously and keeps them painfully in herself. Nonetheless, the description of the very same case in her diary is characteristically more complete: it is completed by the confidence of the adult believer, who has to account for his acts solely to God. The state of being an adult believer had not been given to her for a long time in her life. The group of travellers, however, have brought her not only humiliation during the journeys, but in her most uncertain period she also found security among them, meeting a lady in one of her first journeys. Her 'travel-mate', as she calls her, became her regular partner for the first journeys.

It is interesting how consciously and in a constructed way *Convert* recalls and remembers her life before she had turned back to God. She had definitely been deliberating on this for quite a while, as the story is so 'ready'.

I turned away from God and then my husband died. And something pushed me in. Something on 11th December 1990 pushed me into the church. ... and all the things collected for 30 years came out of me, and then I had to struggle with everything, sexuality, everything, and so it was terrible. And then I had an operation on the backbone, I became temporarily handicapped, then I was robbed twice, so I went through an awful lot of things. ... I am just thinking, those people who already died, how they consider my route turning back to God with this great curve.

It is certainly very important for her to analyse the quest she has for God. She is consciously analysing herself, pointing out what led her to the wrong way, how she was attracted by the successes provided by the former regime, and what a life-course she made. She even points out that she does not understand what brought her into a church after the death of her husband. The interpretation of her life-changes in the interpretative frame of 'Christian development', namely the line of turning away from God, losing beloved relatives, having an inner crisis, as well as continuous crises in health and other areas, is built up in the Catholic convention of conversion. She as a convert now finds some relief, a community and an aim through and during these journeys. This community in faith, however, is not passed on to her children.

[speaking for a long time about her career in the party and then the conflict with it] now I see I could not give them double education, and I said to God, now I put this

was changed into live Blood. The relic is on display today in the shrine run by Franciscan monks.

³⁹ Extract from her diary: "The devil stepped in. I behaved in a wrong way. I was ashamed. - My Dear Pilgrim-mate! Once you were occupied so much with watching others, and it was not a prayer or devotion that brought you to a shrine, you should know, that I am to account for my acts only to God and my own conscience, and not to you. All in all, I thank you for behaving so loudly and ignominiously towards me."

on Your shoulder, since I could not do anything without You. You can lead them; it will be better if they recognize You by themselves.

In her narration it is perfectly built up how she feels about not passing on religiosity to her children, although she had kept some core elements of religion during her whole life. In her narration she connects this to a principle inculcated in her at an early stage, recalling again a life-historical moment: "My grandmother taught me to be good."⁴⁰ It is quite common in narratives of our age, how people with grown up and non-religious children try to explain why they were not teaching them religion or how that could happen.

So I made that mistake not raising them religiously. My eldest daughter was the closest to God. They - my younger daughter, and her family - travel a lot. And this [recalling a particular journey together with her children] was the first time that they had come into a church with me for two-three minutes and now they already pray in the graveyard. This is the only place where they pray. On great feasts I can ask her to come with me. "All right, Mother, I promise to go with you to Máriabesnyő."⁴¹ And being there, finally she turns inside and prays. So, God is in her a little bit, finally. You cannot look into the wishes of God. ... I wrote these diaries... [for them⁴²], there are prayers, poems and I. I always say that I cannot leave for them anything else [but this]. ... It is such a good thing, they [my children] look through my diary, and her [daughter] tears are flowing. There is something that touches her.

These people seem to have a kind of guilty feeling in themselves as if it had been solely their mistake that their children are non-religious. What is more interesting, however, is how they recognize some positive signs of progress (i.e. how their children are getting closer to God) in any uneven words or gestures, projecting their hopes. She is making a very self-reflective and open diary due to this reason: to send a message and give a non-material heritage to her children.⁴³

Convert has a very special connection to the saints. Probably it is connected to her conversion: veneration of the saints helps her to understand Catholicism, to make it concrete. She is not the late-modern Christian praying with her own words. She is the one who follows saints' life histories and prayers, copies and collects them. There is a group of people taking part in these pilgrimages - or with other words - there is a special activity appearing in pilgrimages: I call that 'spiritual trading', 'spiritual brokerage'. These people are 'spiritual traders'; on

⁴⁰ This early and appropriate, later lost, attitude is stressed in the text she cites on the first page of her diary composed during the last years. She puts this message written on a yellowish piece of paper she got for her confirmation form from the vicar, as a "foreword", guiding line: "Love is the language that all men understand. If you love God and your fellow-men throughout your whole life - as you do now - you accomplish the main commandment and you will be happy. 1958"

⁴¹ A pilgrimage place close to Budapest.

⁴² The dedication at the beginning of the diary is: "To my children."

⁴³ Converter sends word to her children at the end of her diary: "My diary may become full. If God lets me, I will start a new one, if not, it will be enough for you to read this one, as a prayer. I hope God forgives me for my deepest sin, that I didn't bring you up to believe in Him, to love God and to keep His commandments. But I received grace through the death of my beloved, and I hope it won't be late for you, either. Behave very well. Love Our Lord and each other, and Your fellowmen. I know it is not easy at all, I myself have been unable to love everyone in a way I should have."

these journeys some participants are eagerly hunting for new prayers, hymns, description of appearances of the Virgin and saints' stories, and are sharing their own prayers as well as photocopying them in advance.⁴⁴ According to fieldwork experiences there are journeys which start with sharing these photocopied materials – some having rather strange, Church-officially not accepted, sometimes not recognized or marginal content.

Turning back to the saints, it is surely a distinct profile in contemporary urban spirituality how *Convert* keeps in touch with them. This could be the effect of her illness. At least her recollection of one of the earliest experiences shows that she was searching for everything that could help her to recover from her illness.

Well, I did not start my travelling with a pilgrimage. In 1994 I was escorting a handicapped man to Rome and we went to Ré.⁴⁵ ... There is a very nice statue of the Virgin of Fatima.⁴⁶ And I walked there quite a few times and prayed there. And this is interesting since this happened in 1994 after the death of my husband and daughter, when I was already able to 'digest' all that. ... and there was a movie about Lourdes, and I got to know Lourdes at that time. And Sister Gabi went to Lourdes and said – I was quite ill at that time – that one can be cured in Lourdes and I thought I would like to go to Lourdes. So it all started like that. And next year, in 1995 we went to the Benelux states and I was caring for that ill man again. And we went again to churches and places, but it was a kind of tourism more or less,⁴⁷ and then I got seriously ill. And when I recovered a little bit I told my daughter that I would like to go to Lourdes. ... And I came across an ad by the pilgrim agency telling that they planned to go to Lourdes. And I went to the office, and they were selling books on Bernadette,⁴⁸ and I read that immediately. I wrote that into my diary, that I was doing nothing else but reading and reading. And I was reading and reading, and I had already wished to go to Nevers⁴⁹ as well. And then I was praying to Bernadette asking her to let me go to Nevers. And I went to the agency and they said, they had only one seat left. ... It is important only to point out how God was leading me on my way. So Bernadette listened my prayer, Lourdes was wonderful and I had the chance to bathe there.⁵⁰ But at that time I did not have this really, really serious illness. It was so, that I would recover and then in Ars I got to know St. John of Vianney.⁵¹ ... So, then I met in Ars with St. John. ... And it was then that I got to know Philomena.⁵² She is the most beloved saint of the vicar of Ars, St. John. And then I asked her "Who are you?" Since it is important to know, that my favourite saint is Saint Rita.⁵³ And when we were in Ré, we visited Assisi, and St. Francis touched me there. Since, since I was able to understand his exiguous life. ... so his spirit, and the atmosphere, that [touched me], and then we visited St. Claire ... So they touched me. ...

44 As it is pointed out by research, pilgrimage feasts have always had the function of helping the spread of certain cults.

45 Pilgrimage place in Italy.

46 Major European pilgrimage place in Portugal.

47 With a peculiar self-reflexivity she places her own photo from this time in her diary with the comment: "Converter, the pilgrim still as a tourist".

48 Bernadette Soubirous, who had miraculous apparitions at the age of 14 in Lourdes.

49 The place where Bernadette lived as a nun – formed into a secondary pilgrimage place connected to Lourdes.

50 Bathing in the water of the spring of Lourdes is offered for the ill. Dahlberg (1991) writes in detail about the role and understanding of body in Lourdes.

51 St. Jean-Baptiste-Marie Vianney, popular saint lived in the 19th century, called also in the name as vicar of Ars.

52 Early Christian martyr, whose relics were discovered at the beginning of the 19th century.

53 St. Rita of Cascia, Italian saint lived in the 14th-15th century, became quite popular and canonized in the 20th century as helper of hopeless cases.



Italy at home: Our Lady Rosa Mystica of Montichiari-Fontanelle. (B. Pusztai)

According to her recollection, the life of saints 'encharms' *Convert* to almost an ecstatic extent encouraging her to get to know more about them and to hold these certain saints for herself. For a fresh convert, this quest can be interpreted as a study period of the faith. Different values of Catholicism are attached to certain saints, as she describes how St. Francis's life affected her. This 'exiguous life' definitely means understandable, simple and governed by some quite basic principles. She has an attraction to saints either with a simple and emotionally touching life (John of Vianney, St Francis, St Claire) or saints living in her century (László Batthyány Strattmann, Padre Pio) or mystics – in whose case all the explanation is more felt than understood (Padre Pio, Nun Faustina, Theresa of Lisieux). It is important to mention, that even in her recollection the importance of some spatial feature, namely, *atmosphere* appears as an attraction.

And then when next time I got to know Philomena, then again I had ...(*hesitating*) [an aim], to discover a book, to get to know her life, and then it continued like that. Continued like that. (*happily, strongly, as she would like to interpret something unknown for others*) So, so I was able to find the book. And then it happened, that I really wanted to go to Padre Pio,⁵⁴ as when I was describing my pilgrimages at the parish, somebody asked me "Have you been to Padre Pio? Since it is a must to go there." I had not been. So, then I wanted to go to Padre Pio, and Rita, and Philomena. ... and there weren't enough applicants to launch this journey, and I was praying a lot, and you know these are such things... [~something above the will of man?] (*interrupting and describing it with a new story:*) my grandson lives in a nearby village and we went to visit him. This is already another case. So, we went there and there was a market where I found a book entitled Rosa Mystica,⁵⁵ I could not put that down. We always say this in the litany, Rosa Mystica, but I hadn't known it, absolutely. And there was this failure with the journey to Padre Pio, but there was a journey to the Rosa Mystica, so I could go to Fontanelle, to Montichiari,⁵⁶ and this was a wonderful journey. The Rosa Mystica then presented Herself to me. And then I was really sad not being able to visit Padre Pio, and then somebody suggested me Nun Faustina,⁵⁷ and then I was first to go to visit Nun Faustina. ... It was wonderful. So, it was always so, and then finally the awaited Padre Pio came. So we did that, and we were additionally in Naples at the bishop ..., please, help me with his name, I have forgotten – the one whose blood dried...

- Yes, Bishop Januarius.⁵⁸

- Yes, so I wanted to go to Rita in May, since the Rita feast is held at that time, but

⁵⁴ Italian stigmatised mystic, canonized recently.

⁵⁵ A rather archaic symbolic expression for the Virgin Mary, as the Mystic Rose.

⁵⁶ Montichiari-Fontanelle - small pilgrimage place to the Virgin Mary, the Rosa Mystica, in northern Italy.

⁵⁷ Recently canonized Polish nun.

⁵⁸ I.e. St. Genaro, 4th century bishop of Benevento, whose dried blood becomes liquid twice every year – the feast attracts pilgrims to Naples.

this journey was not fulfilled, so I went in September. And then there was that [the Januarius-feast], which I could miraculously see.

Listening to *Convert*, the 'hunt' for different saints and through that for different experiences can be experienced. The presentation of these experiences in such a compact form creates the feeling as if this activity was mostly a collection, an addiction or hobby. Listening to *Convert's* endeavour to fulfil her desires it is not surprising that human wishes and the belief in Godly ordinance come into collision. She is speaking about the saints in a very concrete and direct manner: 'I met this and that, I visited this and that' or even: "And it was then that I got to know Philomena. ... And then I asked her, 'Who are you?'" This directness can signal her alienation from this world: there are more saints than living people mentioned in her recollection.

In her case some interesting effects of reading religious literature can be seen. The most obvious example is as she describes her experience in Montichiari-Fontanella, where the Rosa Mystica '*kinyílvánította magát nekem*', i.e. "showed herself". This is an expression directly originating from the texts of mystics who have seen God in complexity being in mystical status. Her usage shows the effect of her continuous reading into the subject.

Convert's direct connection with saints is well reflected in her interest in souvenirs.



Statues of the visited saints. (B. Pusztai)

So, now if you look there, there are those I visited. (*pointing to the saints' statues on the shelves*) So, it started like that. ... OK, I have not been to Brazil, my children took that [statue], but most pieces of the collection belong to me. ... So, they mean a kind of experience, that something, something man would like to bring with himself.

It should be noted here, that the Hungarian expression for experience, '*élmény*', she is using here has a far-ranging connotation. The word originates from the word '*él*', meaning to live, and stresses that experience is something 'lived through' in this way opening up a far deeper engagement with the experienced. However, this expression is the very same as tourists usually use in ordinary tourist recollections. Thus its appearance here gives a rather profane connotation to the text. She can even understand the attraction and hunt for souvenirs as a tourist behaviour in certain situations.

When we were on the journey to St. Philomena, the nun - you know when you travel two thousand kilometres and would like to see everything - and the nun was behaving so..., so..., I cannot describe. So, these are bad things. Yes, there were rather too many of us, behaving a little bit too noisily, there was somebody who

could understand the language, then we asked him to ask more, and we recognized the statue of Philomena in the hand of one, then we went back to buy or we recognized the rope of Philomena or the oil of Philomena, so we went back to buy. So, the nun just couldn't understand it.

She wants to fill her environment with souvenirs, some of them, like the oil and rope of Philomena, being much unknown and rarely mentioned even in popular Catholicism. These souvenirs provide a pleasant and present company in the flat where *Convert* lives alone. This Catholic paraphernalia can be interpreted as sacramentalia (Primiano 1999), although in case of *Convert* I cannot trace devotional acts connected to these objects, rather their function as decorations (Barna 1994) or souvenirs.

While making a narrative about her religious development she organizes her life into a line of patterns considered and known as a conventional line of religious development. If we look at its surface in this case, the 'true Catholic development' in her life is the following: health and family troubles, accidentally going to Ré and Rome, coming across a statue of the Lourdes Virgin and having relief, rising interest in the Virgin, searching for a book on Lourdes, then praying to the saint of Lourdes, then visiting the place, then repeating the last three steps from place to place, from person to person. Pilgrimage is like a *quest* for to get to know everybody in the 'religious universe'. Sometimes I can conclude, it is not the particular saint she is interested in, but more to have a *quest for somebody*. If she cannot go to somebody (St. Rita), then she goes to *somebody* (and never *somewhere*) else - keeping the quest alive.

There is a point in this recollection that sheds light on the cognitive conventions she developed as a pilgrim.

So, then I met in Ars with St John. I just absolutely accidentally went into a shop of religious goods, which turned out to be a museum. And I got to know his life better. And it was then, that I got to know Philomena.

This indicates the analytical frame of the religious tourist: what something with a certain outlook can be, how her cognition works, what her first thought is, and how she is surprised finding something different (and recognizing the hand of God even in that mistake).

That is a miraculous thing ... that now there is the Cross of Mogila⁵⁹ in the Catholic Calendar.⁶⁰ And I asked the leader of the pilgrim agency to add that to the journeys, since it is in Cracow as well, and now everybody is visiting Mogila. I have been there this year with the parish. ... So there is always something. As for example St Joseph, I have just got to know him - and I have already managed to bring his statue from Rome this year - when we went to László Batthyány Strattmann.⁶¹ I usually travel in a way that already at home I read the life of the saint we are heading for. ... And I was really devoted to St Joseph, and I bought a book entitled "St Joseph, the

⁵⁹ Krakowie-Mogile - pilgrimage place in the outskirts of Cracow, where according to the believers Christ's beard and hair started to grow.

⁶⁰ Catholic Calendar published yearly.

⁶¹ Recently beatified Hungarian doctor who lived in the first half of the 20th century.

carpenter” and since Batthyány Stratman turned to him in economical crisis, I turned to him as well.

Convert is attracted to the newest pilgrim targets, whether they are official saint proclamations or almost unknown, unofficial shrines not acknowledged by the Church. She has also developed a mental and spiritual state of readiness for any ‘signs’ from above. Although she herself considers this ‘dedication’ and ‘openness’ as strange nowadays.

When I was really ill, I had a complete loss of my consciousness, I wasn’t able to speak, I wasn’t able to do anything, not even to have a bath. Then, I was let out from the hospital for one or two days at the weekend, and I asked my children to let me go down to the church. And earlier I got a picture of the Czestochowa⁶² Virgin, but at that time I did not know anything about it, and at the moment of transfiguration [during the mass] I took it out to the altar. There was some small hole in the picture and my ill brain thought that the picture was crying. And I took it out directly to the altar and showed that to Father Vilmos. You can imagine how ill I was with my sick brain, but they knew that and Father Vilmos blessed the picture – and now I am coming to the conclusion, I have recently bought that picture in Czestochowa.⁶³



Rosaries with meaning: rosaries from different pilgrimage places. (B. Pusztai)

Despite her attraction towards mysticism, her collection of almost unknown souvenirs or visiting strange places, *believing* does not mean *openness to everything*. Belief seems to be the result of previous knowledge, positive and actively constructed personal experience and a certain atmosphere, as this is pointed out in a ‘narrative of nonbelieving’.

That is the rosary of the village of Sükösd. You know there is a lady called Marika and she gets the sufferings of Christ on Fridays. I think it is at Easter when she has the suffering completely. I have been twice in Sükösd. They managed to build a

⁶² Major pilgrimage place of the continent in southern Poland.

⁶³ In her diary she wonders about her own story from outside: “In my prayerbook there is an altar picture from Jasna Gora and my ill mind saw that the picture was crying. I remember clearly, I was forced to take it out to the altar, to Father Vilmos and show to him, that Blessed Mary was crying. He blessed the picture, he knew me, he knew, that I was ill. I still don’t understand the whole story, I was confused. If I hadn’t been ill, I would have not done this. ... Everybody can imagine, how I felt when I saw the picture in its reality.”

church there and a lot of people gather there, but God should forgive me, but I cannot turn to be a believer completely. So, I was not able to accept the things happened there. As I would never hesitate to accept the sufferings of Padre Pio, I considered those things as a circus.

The non-accepted, but very popular 'pilgrimage place' lacks some of the previously mentioned features and can be for her an inauthentic place. Where does this authenticity originate? In *Convert's* case – as a fresh convert – it originates partly from Church-approval, but as somebody being eager to listen to the 'message' from above, not always, as it is shown in her attraction to another place.

The other that is really interesting is Medjugorje.⁶⁴ For example, the Medjugorje rosary (*shows it on the wall*), which I got. On 24-25th June 1981 the Blessed Virgin appeared in Medjugorje. I got that rosary on 25th June 1991, when I had just buried my daughter, and my grandson was in the hospital between life and death. I did not know, I had no idea about the Virgin of Medjugorje. After the death of my husband in the previous year I turned back to God. I had no idea. God was just sending the sorrows to me and then I got this rosary. ... So they [a parish pilgrimage] were there on 25th June 1991 visiting the Virgin there and praying for my daughter. And I buried my daughter on that day. And there were two priests with my daughter when she could not speak and was dying, so she is for sure in the Skies [~Heaven]. And this is interesting now, that exactly ten years later on 25th July 2001 I went to Medjugorje, and then I got to know, got to know the rosary, the Virgin, the seers and everything.

Not only certain places, but also certain other 'realities' of Catholicism can be attractive for her. The picture of John Paul II can be found among images of saints and rosaries in *Convert's* home. A certain 'magical' power is attached to the Pope himself – being popular, widely known and through his journeys, personal – as a 'Marian-believer'.

I feel that the Holy Father is waiting for me. I feel, since I regularly watch Him on RaiUno. I go to mass 9 a.m. and at 10 I am at home, and it is from 11 a.m. I love the Italians and the landscape is marvellous, so I am with them. And then comes the Holy Father. ... The bishop of Székesfehérvár said that the whole Polish nation prays to the Virgin of Czestochowa at 9 p.m. every day. And he went there now. And he told us to pray in front of the picture of the Virgin at 9 p.m., and his blessing will be with us wherever we will be. And I did so for some time, and came to the conclusion, how good it was to watch the Holy Father each time, since if the blessing [of the bishop] can reach me, then the blessing of the Holy Father as well. Despite the screen I am with Him.

With no doubt can I state, that popular Catholicism approaches the Pope as a star or hero. Having experienced Papal audiences – usually a short speech by the Pope in the given national language – I can say, that to 'See the Pope' is certainly an important motivation in contemporary Catholics travelling to Rome.

⁶⁴ World famous pilgrimage place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where since 1981 Mary has been said to appear. The Catholic Church has not approved the place; it is under examination. An anthropological study on the pilgrimages was made by Mart Bax (1995).

Convert belongs to the group of pilgrims who do not travel for indulgence. The Holy Year 2000 (the Grand Jubilee) turned her interest towards gaining indulgence, but at the same time fixed it to a concrete year and period.

Do you know when I thought about indulgence? In 2000. In 2000 I considered indulgence, it was then, Church proclaimed to pray for those who cannot pray anymore for themselves. I went to several places that year. It is possible, that I wasn't absolutely innocent, but my intention to pray for my grandmother, grandfather, or for this or that, that was there. There was always a goal for whom to pray while I was travelling. At that year indulgence was important for me.

Convert points out another main reason for travelling: searching for relief and keeping herself integrated to human society and fighting against depression.

I tried to paint as well, I was told to deal with something to avoid the illness coming back. And I tried to write down the history of my life, but I wasn't satisfied, so pilgrimage remained. ... This is the same in religion. The belief. If I go there to the pilgrimage place, where I believe I will be cured or believe I will come back with some grace, which will make me strong again and will lead me back to people or give strength to wake up next morning. When I was in depression, I couldn't wake up before 12 a.m., and when I was travelling I was out at the station at 5 a.m. And what gives me strength? The faith inside. If I go to sleep praying, my God, Blessed Virgin wake me up, then I will wake up. And I am not tired, I can go.

At the same time she claims that a normative practice of religiosity can be fulfilled better in these journeys.

As I earlier said, I don't pray enough. So, I go to these first Saturday journeys, because there finally I pray the rosary. So, finally there is an occasion, when I pray.

She even feels that the non-everyday circumstances on a journey make her practice spirituality in the right way. In quite a number of cases, those living in non-religious environment go to pilgrimages to practice religion in the appropriate and full way.

Convert has some very serious troubles and has never revealed these to the others who – in her view – were



Convert's paintings: St. Theresa of Lisieux and Padre Pio. (B. Pusztai)

sometimes happy, noisy or just selfish, even hurting her, who was carrying personal problems or tragedies. To express one's problem is definitely one step towards relief, as I myself have experienced, receiving a number of trouble-narratives as a professional attendee. These closed people suddenly open up and put their troubles on me. After a while this really made me tired, as I refer to this in Chapter 2, not being able to go over these things quickly. So, strangely enough, even as a member of an established group, but especially in the case of

occasional groups formed by tourist agencies, one can make a truly lonely pilgrimage! This can cause a certain alienation from or re-evaluation of the central identification category, i.e. pilgrims or Christians/Catholics, – surprising in the case of a fresh convert.

It is not always the true Christian who goes to pilgrimage. I have experienced this. Because the true Christian doesn't search for his personal interest in the case of a pilgrimage, such as to sit in the front, to see well, when there is hot, let us have cold, when there is cold, let us have warm air conditioning, stop now, I have to pee – they just stopped, but stopped again. So, he is just looking after his own interest, to have all the comfort and then there are the others who don't have anybody to speak to, they don't have company [and go on these journeys to have company]. I take the pen and write down, if I am alone again. I write out my thoughts from myself. And quite a number doesn't do that, but rather go on these first Saturday journeys and despite the priest is speaking, they start gossiping. In this way they are relieved, since they cannot speak about these things to anybody else.

She has some good memories from being in a group (how good it is to eat in company on these journeys after a tiring day) but the first example she gives about the advantages of travelling in a group is that she cannot miss the connection because of disorganization she experienced while travelling alone. I cannot say that community is not important – or that there would not be a strong longing for a true community, which is absolutely not given in modern cities. But in spite of all the longing, of all the building up of these communities and integration of the self into them, the participants – at least some of them – are keeping their bitter tragedies to themselves and not sharing them with the community.

Medium - Quest for the Right Side of the Otherworldly

MEDIUM lives in the centre of Budapest in a large old building with a number of flats. The building is in a poor condition, as these houses were usually built between the 1870s and the 1930s. She keeps the flat in almost complete darkness in the hot summer, all the windows are covered and only some weak lamps provide light. This is a smaller flat compared to the ones in such houses with rooms opening from one to the other. It has the entrance directly to the kitchen. The furniture is dark brown, old style, heavy pieces. The TV was switched on to RaiUno.

Medium is a woman of around 50 with blond hair. When I visited her, she had a bit of flu, but also otherwise her way of talking is special: smothered, suggesting as if she wanted to convince you all the time and was telling you almost secrets. And indeed, she has some very 'special' stories.

She grew up in a family where the parents were practising Calvinist and Catholic. As she recalls

So we went from Ráday street one day to here and other day to there [to the Calvinist or Catholic churches] to avoid my soul being lost somewhere.

Her father was a leader of the bicycle association and a sport diplomat. Because of that they went abroad frequently, so *Medium* studied French and Italian at an early stage. She describes her mother as a person with very strong wills, who, after a while, became selfish, uncontrollable. She calls her the “Comrade-Lady”. They had a serious conflict with each other when her mother excluded her from the family and she had to leave everything behind her. Besides the ‘injuries’ this event affected in her a deeper insight to some parts of Catholic spirituality, as she pointed out.

... in one of my confessions I confessed to the priest, that it was terrible for me that I didn't have a mother, who was always mentioned during the masses⁶⁵ and I really would have like to have one. And he asked me [about the conflict], and I told this terrible thing to him. ... And then everything started to get to be arranged. But it was not my intellect, not my will, I was a nothing. I was dissolved and said that this was the end. The main point here is that he gave me a picture, a copy of a picture in the Franciscan church, saying: “this is your mother. We are mortal beings, we make sins, and we regret them and ask for forgiveness. Do not expect absolute features from mortal beings.” And I cannot tell you how fantastic that was. And so, all this started to get cured. I made that up with my mother and forgave her. She died not long after that.

She immediately connects the solution of a seemingly terrible thing to supernatural powers foreshadowing the central topic in her narrative.

Before the changes of 1990 *Medium* had a quite good life. She worked in the Foreign Ministry taking care of incoming visitor groups. Some of these visitors came from western trade unions or were party officials from socialist countries – they were considered VIP guests. *Medium* was travelling with these guests in Hungary as a tour guide. Besides this she led regular incoming tourist groups and outgoing Hungarian tourists abroad with the sole, state-run travel agency of the age, IBUSZ. Interpreting her life from a contemporary perspective she recalls the positive experiences she had as a guide travelling with Italian religious groups in Hungary. At the time of the changes she had a serious conflict in her workplace – she was accused of being Communist, so she left the tour-agency. All the personal and professional troubles around 1990 caused really serious mental illness for *Medium*. She recovered with the help of Catholicism and nowadays she sometimes leads groups as a travel guide in the pilgrim agency and besides this teaches in schools. Some years ago she married her present husband, an ethnic Hungarian from the US, a retired Vietnam veteran, who came back to live in Hungary.

Medium presents her view and approach to religiously-motivated travel by continuously referring to her previous illness. Spiritual and mental life again serves as an interpretative frame: everything gains its meaning reflected in previous developments. For her, this pilgrim community is certainly a kind of *reference community* like in case of converts, a pillar for her new identity. She is keeping, checking and developing her faith through this community and the activity of peregrinating. Besides, she needs this community to *stay healthy*, to be with others and not alone, avoiding the attacks of the Devil, a rather personal

⁶⁵ The Virgin Mary is regularly mentioned in Catholicism as the archetype of mothers.

creature for *Medium*. She hangs on to each community in order to be in company, i.e. avoid the attack of the Devil. The complaints of the drunken husband arriving home during the interview gains meaning: he was angrily arguing that there was always *somebody else* in his flat. And indeed not only the friends, but the omnipresent other world – for *Medium* ‘They’ – are everywhere:

... I pray in the same way, I call Him [God] in the same way and ask His opinion. Sometimes it is successful, sometimes not. But in a number of cases I just tell myself to let Him guide me. Guide me in my words, in my actions – I repeat that daily for example. I wish to follow what He considers wise. When I followed my way, it went on the wrong track. So this impulse is quite important for me, and I immediately recognize when the evil calls me. Not only because He is outrageous and adulatory as it is written in the Bible, or because He blasphemes. The priest told me in the Örökimádó church to start listening to music immediately and then this inner voice will disappear. He [Devil] comes when one is alone. And I had a period in my life when I lived alone and He came in at that time. ... And it all happened as it is written down, that I wanted to make connection with a person far away. One has a very strong longing for something and prays to God for help in that and finally one desires it so deeply, that one wants to meet someone at all cost. If not with the help of God, then there are the daemons, and then they appear and speak on the voice of God. And I had that for five years. ... It was a very, very hard experience. I threw everything away that was mine, as it is written in the Bible. Everything, imagine everything. All my belongings. He ordered me to throw away my things, if not in daytime, then at night. And I didn't want to do so, and He scared me, really scared me several times. ... The most important is, that all this happened so that I was aware of that. So, I was conscious. But I remember I didn't want to throw away the books. And then He woke me up for weeks in the middle of the night to tell me it wasn't important to throw them away. "We will keep them, but" – the voice came so loudly – "we will put them in order. Take them from the shelf to here, and then to there." And then He said: "You see, it is unnecessary, really unnecessary. This age is not important." And I threw them out.

Dealing with the otherworldly *Medium* even classifies the Churches, as first she was searching for help in Calvinism.

There was a young priest at the Calvinist church, who travelled and was a bit more open and I discussed with him. For example, they visited a man, who emptied his house completely and roared and rampaged inside. And then the picture became a bit sharper for me. And I prayed to God, not to let the Devil win. And then I already knew the Calvinists could not help me, because they let that man die. ... I went to the tourist agency where I was working at that time to pick up my tourists and they heard as I replied loudly [to the Devil]. But the voice taught me not to reply loudly, just to think on the answer. ... "Medium, close your mouth, don't reply loudly. Just think on your reply." So I was under such a 100% control. To come out of that, people helped me, but God sent them.

She connects her illness to the turbulent times of 1990. She tells that humans caused her illness that ended up in the appearance of the Devil. After these experiences *Medium* will never feel free from the proximity of the Devil.

... And Péter Gál⁶⁶ helped me as well. He carried out two exorcisms⁶⁷ on me and one was at the Örökimádó church. So these things were really serious. ... So I have

⁶⁶ A Catholic priest dealing with new age movements.

⁶⁷ An old, unknown and mostly unused blessing in Catholic Church – driving the Devil out from a person.

received such miracles, that I can say I am cured. ... [after describing how she wasted all her savings on the request of the Devil] So He made me lose everything in a very tricky way. And when it was so, that I said I was cured in 99.99% and He couldn't take anything from me. ... [But] As God can control the minds, so can the Devil. He took my coat away from beside us in a confectionary shop in a way that neither of us recognized. And as I was going down the stairs to the Underground there was a devilish titter behind me "You think I cannot take anything from you? Do you think you have defeated me? You have killed me?"

In her narration, the conversion to Catholicism serves as a central and magnetic topic, which structures and orders the happenings of her life. Her early experiences and interpreted signs also help me to understand her conversion.

[travelling with the Italian groups] I told them openly that I was a Calvinist, but my soul practically was longing for Catholicism, and they felt it as well, they invited me to the hotel for their mass. I said I could not go. Because the truth is that they came to inspect me from IBUSZ. ... And there were groups, not one, for example they invited me for an open air mass and I took part. And then I converted to Catholicism. Converted to Catholicism. (*slowly, putting stress on this*) Here in the Örökimádó church in 1996. And I have had a very strong faith since then. So it didn't come just like that, but there were signs. Very concrete signs, I was at a very deep nadir and I went to the Örökimádó and I was alone. Completely alone. And as I was praying there for an hour, an hour and a half, I don't remember, I was praying there completely nullified. I was opening up; I started to understand that I wasn't guilty in the things I was said to be guilty. And as I was coming out of the church I was able to rise up. And then, it was then that I felt I had to stay here [in Catholicism]. ... And I was filled with some happiness. And I wondered who was watching me? Somebody was watching me. I was looking around but there was nobody in the church. It is quite rare that there is nobody, but that happened to me. And then as I was looking behind me, I felt somebody was watching me. I felt, behind a pillar, and as I looked upwards the light of the Eucharist⁶⁸ was thrown on me totally. With such a luminous power that I cannot describe. And it was then, because of that effect, I came to the conclusion, that I was searching for explanations [of the troubles happened to her] at the Calvinist priests in vain and vainly searching for help there, since this [spiritual health?] cannot be restored there. ... As there are positive voices and messages, similarly the Devil has messages as well – that is why we have prayers. [To fight against the negative messages?] Well, I was receiving masses of negative messages for years at that time. And I was under strict control for years (*stressing as something very concrete*), and, I can say, by demons, which I didn't recognize for 5 years. I started to realize this in the sixth year and started to get rid of that. But it is also interesting that after a year I went to a Jesuit retreat for a weekend. And as we were walking there in the forest I said to one of my companions, "Imagine I hear voices. I hear them so clearly, that if I don't accomplish what they ask me to do, I will be punished, so I am really under control." And it was then when that changed and I have received a lot of mercies since then.

As it later turned out she uses this conversion narrative (without mentioning the fight against the Devil) in testimonies while leading journeys at the pilgrimage agency. Both the 'Italians and my conversion' and the 'Eucharist miracle' point out how the Catholically educated believers, especially converts, use the structural forms as accepted and known panels, let me say conventions, in life-history building. This is the Catholic way of creating a life-history: the interpretation centralizes topics and trophies understandable for Catholic

⁶⁸ Altar lamp or tabernacle lamp - a small red lamp on in churches where Eucharist is kept.

audience, connecting the process of conversion and the hidden masses with the Italians closely, although they happened in time far from each other.

Medium uses 'the Italians' as a reference point, as a norm for true Catholicism in all her narration. They know how to pray properly, they all "bear a thousand-year old culture", even the Communists and atheists among them. Additionally RaiUno and the Pope are present here as well. How can I interpret this continuous reference? Is it longing? - out of a controversial society, where there is a disagreement even on how much to pray to an imagined ideal one?

First of all I can tell that there is a fantastic Christian community in the bus. It is absolutely not important which social strata or financial background one is coming from, and there is an absolute Christian community. So, this is so unique. For me it is so unique. ... What I disliked was that they were praying too much. So, without stopping and having a look at the landscape. When we were on the Stations of the Cross, and somebody started to admire the landscape, all right, that was of course very annoying. So, I didn't mean that. But to break the harmony God gave us, to enjoy the nature and the invisible world together and have pleasure in that, so you cannot oppress that with continuous prayer. Not mentioning that I'm not sure we need loud prayers all the time; quiet prayer is as good as well. So let us pray, but not so much. ... The Italians, they don't pray too much. They don't pray. They pray in the morning and that's all. They look at the landscape and so. Although they are Catholic, or even a whole congregation is coming. ... I think exactly because they [the Italian pilgrim agencies] as well have lower prices and so there are participants who are not this or that kind of believers or different. The main point is that in this way [reducing the religious activity on the journey] they solve that [clashes]. You yourself take care for that.

Medium analyses the travelling community in a way which results in slightly contradictory conclusions. Whereas she claims '[the pilgrim] community is the perfect Christian community despite any social difference', she is complaining because of the different religiosity. The pilgrim agency created a meeting ground for those who live in a metropolis or larger cities. These people due to this or for some other reasons cannot integrate to any community and are alone. This is an interesting playground where the 'late 19th century' and 'post II. Vatican' religiosity can meet and can create rather surprising patterns of personal religiosity, as it turns out from *Medium's* further classification.

- Do you make any kinds of spiritual preparations before you go on a pilgrimage?
 - I only ask God to lead me and to manifest Himself by me, by my words. There are always testimonies on my journeys. And the members asked it [~travellers] on the bus. To have testimonies. And this is so fantastic. ... This means that they are not coming to the front [of the bus] to repeat the Our Father a million times, which annoys me after a while. Although I myself repeat it in a million times daily, but I cannot stand when one repeats it, then another repeats it. And then they are coming to the microphone to tell how they met God, when they recognized that they had found God. These are concrete situations. Like my story, although I didn't tell it so detailed, only the Örökimádó church, but this is what they cannot forget. ... It is a kind of psychosomatic thing [telling and listening to testimonies].

Medium considers testimonies as manifestations of a more meaningful religiosity, as well as due to her illness and recovery regards them as useful and healing. Although these are not characteristic of mainstream Catholic piety,

through the example of her own life and testimony she ascertains their importance and at the same time is able to persuade others to spend the travelling time giving testimonies. She considers pilgrimage itself something similar. Getting to know her life it does not come as a surprise that she considers the value of recovery as fundamental.

[Pilgrimage] has a fantastic effect. Not only soul healing, not only exemplary, but also above all it is a special status, through which man meets the invisible world more closely.

Looking through her accounts it is notable that, in her opinion, pilgrimage has its significance both in the process of recovery and in its guiding role in communal religious practice. Nonetheless, as most important she regards pilgrimage a non-everyday situation providing better opportunities to meet the otherworldly.

... first of all I totally believe that the invisible world provides evidence. [~it presents itself to us] ... Near to my bed there is the image of the Virgin of Fatima. And I do believe that She is my mother and will help me. So the Piéta is about us.
 - So we are lying there?
 - Yes, yes. And She raises us and holds us.

Medium's case represents an interesting mixture of the religiosity of the freshly converted being practical, healing, even defensive and the intellectual's abstention of repeated prayers and impersonal forms. *Medium's* case represents a kind of 'Christian career'. She is in a sort of transitional state keeping off intellectualism, however, at the same time being disappointed by the non-intellectual. The pilgrim community as a reference community is present most obviously in terms of religious practice and piety. *Medium* does not learn religion any longer, neither does she look for newer and newer prayers, but at the same time she separates herself from intellectual Christianity.

I don't think they [~rural pilgrims] would have a different faith; on the contrary, they have something similar, that they see [God or the otherworldly] in a tree, in water, everywhere. They are the people who live here, in Budapest, that have a dead God. I live with a living God. I address Him, and I wait for Him to turn to me. I try to figure out, what would be good according to Him and try to act according to that. The old ladies are similar. If the Devil addresses them on the street, they shouted at the Devil. This was a positive experience for me at the LLMinistry curing course.⁶⁹ I was wondering "Why did you bring me here, God?" The instructors there were praying Our Father with their hands in their pockets. I became so angry. But He [God] told me to go there again. And then at one time the instructors suggested us shouting at the Devil and then He leaves. So it was this community, which brought me back to my earlier self. I didn't have strength. And they just simply shouted. "Leave me Satan!" I thought "Oh, my God, what a dirty lot." I didn't go there anymore, but this experience remained in me. And so the village ladies shouted at the Devil similarly. That is why I said their faith is similar. It is completely practical.

- And how is that other type of faith?

- This other type of faith is a so-called saloon faith (*critically*), which doesn't permit itself to be questioned by God. Neither a priest nor anybody else can question this

⁶⁹ Probably she refers to a Lay Liturgical Ministry course, originally aimed at training laymen and women to assist in the liturgy.

type of believer, why he didn't pay attention to God. But he proves the truth on his own decisions. So, he merely confirms his selfish decisions through God. He believes in God, although he doesn't go to church, or if he goes, he goes with the thought "it is good as I do it". And it was because of that type, that I have seen the violence and tyranny, similar to that which I witnessed in the case of party members.

Medium has a *practical approach* to faith, as she herself points it out, but at the same time she is very self-conscious, and brave enough to discuss her falling. And unlikely to fresh converts, she has a partly intellectual approach to faith (- 'quiet prayer' -), although criticizing the intellectual "saloon faith" at the same time. Although *Medium* herself *mixes elements of different approaches to faith*, she categorically *classifies different types of faith*.

Enthusiast - Quest for the True Vocation

ENTHUSIAST is newly retired, lives in the city of Szeged in a rather crowded flat in an older building. The fresh, quickly thinking, reactive lady was born in Szeged, studied there and then went to have teacher's training higher education in Budapest. There she was almost kicked out at the end of the college term because of her taking part in certain Catholic youth circles in the '60s. She lived in Budapest and later settled back in Szeged, teaching in numerous schools. Shortly after the political changes she went to study at the theological seminary and after graduation she taught divinity in a number of schools in and around Szeged.

Enthusiast, continuously searching for real Christian life, has remained single, although she has never been attracted to become a nun. In her argumentation the quest for the real task of her life and the fact that she has not got married are closely related:

I did not want to marry. I did not want to marry, and it was so, that I really wanted to get married⁷⁰ and have a large family, and then finally, I was asked by a boy I was dating with at that time, and I had no objection against him. But I was really astonished, how he dared asked this? I asked this somehow and said 'no' immediately, but I didn't even soften my words, like 'let's wait' or 'it is too early' - no, I don't remember. I must have said something like this. And then I moved to Budapest. And I was oriented to something different in Budapest, and I didn't know why I had said no so quickly, and I was really ambiguous about what my way was, what God wanted from me. I went to a retreat, and I really tried to think everything over very seriously, and I was facing a great change in my life, how I would live, what would my way of life be. And that was the time, I really had to decide, I was in my 20s and then I recognized that God invited me. And step-by-step I could discover, that I could live in the world⁷¹ - to be a nun is not my style - so that it is possible to live in the world and still serve the wishes of God. And then I chose that.

⁷⁰ The contradiction is used in her argumentation very consciously.

⁷¹ 'Living in the world' - '*A világban élni*' - a fixed term in Hungarian Catholicism, and indeed it has a certain meaning. Used in this context it could be roughly interpreted, that 'the world' (~everyday life) has a negative effect on the true Christian life, while not living in the world (~to be a nun or a monk) makes to achieve true Christian life easier.

I felt this was my way. And when I started, I didn't feel any hesitation for even a second. Never, never in my life. A very hard life started - you know, you should pay for the good things. And the nice thing is, that I have never been left alone - I was in co-educated teaching staff, I was studying a number of different things, and there was always somebody, who really wanted to look after me. I was just behaving normally and in spite of this, hopefuls always came to me. ... There were so many tests, but I didn't take them seriously, I just went on my way. This I considered good, my choices and I have never regretted.

Enthusiast is - considering her age - a very rare person with her 'living in the world and fulfilling the wishes of God' philosophy. Taking into consideration that not only was this kind of alternative lifestyle absent in Socialism, but also that the very possibility to act freely was considered as anti-state activity, it is a rather rare choice. With such a vocation the usual way was to join any of the very few existing and confined religious orders. The kind of lay activists like *Enthusiast* were the foremost targets during Socialism, since no authority could regulate them. Anyhow, according to *Enthusiast*, in her approach to be a full-time, free-of-home-duties teacher was the fulfilment of the vocation. From the period after the affair in 1967, when she was almost kicked out of college until the changes of 1990 she did not mention any organizational activity connected to Catholicism. She may herself feel the unusualness of her decision, and that is why she thinks over all its consequences while talking about her life.

My feeling now is that I was not confined by the four walls of a family, with all the possible problems, divorce, hard life, etc. Children - it turned out that I'm not absolutely healthy and there was a chance to inherit this, what I didn't want. So, I was not motivated by a narrow family life as I see it in case of my beloved sister, who cannot count any further than two: two children, two grandchildren. She cannot step any further. And I have friends everywhere ... and I can belong to many. They expect me, they love me, and there is no such a thing that I cannot go to a place, because I have a duty with my family. I can go, when I think I have to go. And then I just go. So, this way, that I remained alone, I have not turned lonely, my 'family' is large. I really love all my pupils and I'm happy if I can do something for them. I'm really happy, and I suppose it would be impossible in the other way [~married]. I wouldn't be able to do this. There should exist also such creatures like me.

In the case of *Enthusiast*, the fact that she has chosen a rather unusual course through life has a great influence on her consciousness. She approaches everything through her teaching, through her classes and former classes. This - as she calls it - is due to the state of not being enclosed by the walls of a family. This interpretation may be a recent one, but anyhow, the analyses and narrative of her own life is certainly created with this motivation in mind.

In the case of *Enthusiast* I can recognize certain 'flexibility' in her identification with different pilgrim-profiles.

[On a pilgrimage to Csíksomlyó⁷²] ... to use the capacities of the bus, the agency organized another group to our one. It turned out that this other group wasn't interested in our pilgrimage, our praying disturbed them and then they completely destroyed our journey. First with that 'training'.⁷³ The terrible singing, the hollering, the hollering of erotic songs – which doesn't suit pilgrimages, then the arrogant behaviour, since they behaved as they were the lords there. We got only our 24 places. They used all the other free places. There were some who were ill or wanted to sit more comfortably, and they were just shouting, that no, they wouldn't give us space. But then I calmed the situation down, when I asked them and tried to pray and sing and they saw that it was nice and they joined. They were always coming and going, discussing, not respecting for even half an hour that we were praying. On the way back, we just decided to pray the rosary when the anniversary mass of the bishop was starting, and we managed to bring over one loud person from that group. It turned out that he was religious, but hiding that and then he led the rosary. ... The differences were smoothed over on the way back, but we were hurt and humiliated in our humanity and in our Christianity. That type of dictatorship and force, we had already known.⁷⁴ When one says that he commands here. It was annoying for us, that there was some who were annoyed if you sang and prayed like this, so be quiet, do it quietly. It is very very aggressive.

Enthusiast in this rather tense situation identified herself as a pilgrim, who wanted to fulfil a righteous pilgrimage and tried to handle the tension in a modest way. She, as with many pilgrims travelling in an organized way, does not consider physical fatigue as a key element of pilgrimages.

I am not the kind of person who takes part in pilgrimage feasts, but for example I usually visit the feast in Kecskéstelep.⁷⁵ When I taught there, I was always there with my mother and somehow I was accustomed to that, since I knew them, and they loved me, they accepted me happily and I was going there happily, so I usually need some other connections besides the pilgrimage feast [to go to a certain place]. I wanted to go to Mátraverebély,⁷⁶ since that is an ideal in my family. I heard about it as a child, about Mátraverebély and the pilgrimage feast at the Holy Well there and I wanted to see it, and I went. But, to tell the truth, I got really tired during the night on the bus and going to the Stations of the Cross on an unknown route.

Moreover, in certain situations she distances herself from the core of a pilgrim-group, from 'the pilgrims'.

⁷² Csíksomlyó is situated in the middle of Romania in a predominantly Hungarian inhabited territory and has been known as a pilgrimage place since the late 16th century. The origin of the shrine is a tradition of a non-recorded victorious battle of Catholic Szeklers against the Protestant Prince of Transylvania (also a Hungarian), who came to convert them. After the changes of 1990 the pilgrimage held at Pentecost rapidly developed into a feast attracting cc. 200-300.000 people. The leaders of other Hungarian Churches in Transylvania (Calvinists, Unitarians) have a place near to the altar, since the feast has lost its anti-Calvinist meaning and gained a full-Hungarian content. The centre of the pilgrimage is the Franciscan church and the miraculous statue with the iconography 'The Lady dressed in Sun'.

⁷³ 'Vonatozás' is a funny song and 'dance', named after the Hungarian expression for train. It was rather popular in Socialist times. Singing the funny song, people form a queue and make circles around the room.

⁷⁴ She is referring to Socialist times.

⁷⁵ A village belonging to the city of Szeged. Here she is referring to a patron saint feast, which is named with the same word as pilgrimage in Hungarian ('búcsú'). See details in Chapter 1.

⁷⁶ A pilgrimage place in northern Hungary.

And you know I have some prejudices in connection with these pilgrimages. Somehow. Since I thought, that ... I don't know, that ... it's not the true religiosity, that I go here and there, great spiritual happenings and then we continue our godless life, somehow I have never considered this right. But when I was taken to a journey, I went with an old friend of mine and we were talking during the whole way, and the pilgrims said 'Please, pray with us, we are on a pilgrimage and we are praying now'. But after a while I [asked my friend] 'Mary, let's talk, I don't want to pray on the whole way'. Somehow, it was too much for me, but the place really touched me.

As it can be seen that the feeling of community is a rather changing feature in the case of *Enthusiast* and it is even reflected in her terminology. In these narratives the usual term for the traveller is "zarándok", while in the above case she uses a rather archaic term, "búcsúsok". This, 'búcsúsok' is almost never used in singular speaking about one person; but it is always in the plural, like pilgrims. The term 'búcsúsok' has a collective, 'taking a group as one entity' and an archaic connotation.⁷⁷ In spite of this, in the strict sense of the term it means the same as the other term, 'zarándokok', used for pilgrims, so it is a strong marker of her alienation from the mainstream pilgrims of the given moment.

She has doubts also about the motivation of pilgrimage, although she considers her fellow pilgrims more prepared compared to herself.

- And since you graduated from theology, you know what it means to receive indulgence. Is this your motivation?

- I have used so many possibilities to receive indulgence since my childhood, that - I tell you truly - this is somehow for me ... (*finishing with a negative silence*) ... It is good that indulgence comes with that. There was this Batthyány journey.⁷⁸ It turned out that we could receive indulgence, but this wasn't my main motivation. I will see that over there [~after life], if it was a mistake not to take that enough seriously. But usually I try to receive it, anyhow if I am there. [The fellow pilgrims] went for that. They truly went for that. They were more prepared than me, since for me it is ... I utilize it, but truly I am ... (*with a shrug*).

Enthusiast connects her physical recovery to pilgrimage. The change of both place and environment advanced her recovery.

- And did you have any special reasons to go on this journey to Csíksomlyó?

- Of course! I was really ill the year before. I lay on the bed and wasn't sure whether I would be cured at all. I drew myself forward with walking sticks. And my family took me to different examinations. I had a tough time; I was in pain, and slowly started to become better thanks to the medicines and cures. I saw a number of people with sticks and thought I would be the same. I was about to have an operation; I was prepared for everything, but then this was cancelled and slowly I started to move more easy. And then in autumn I was persuaded to go on a journey, for a retreat. And it was a kind of change in surroundings. It was a very pleasant environment and I came home without sticks. And then just a month later, I woke up, and I felt I had been cured. And I thought this was a present from God. I told everybody that I was cured, and, although earlier I had given my teaching stuff away, one day I was phoned and asked to help in teaching in a nearby village. And I took the burden and managed to do it. And then came this journey to Rome and I thought I should say thanks to God. So, I would go to Rome! And then came Csíksomlyó. I felt, that once I got back my motility, it was a must to go.

⁷⁷ See further on the differences of terms in Chapter 1.

⁷⁸ Referring to the beautification of László Batthyány Strattmann.

Expression of gratitude has been a motivation for pilgrimage known for a long while. In case of *Enthusiast* it also expresses her joy over gaining back motility.

Enthusiast connects religion also to the similarly ideologically based national feeling. It becomes clear from her narration, that some of her remarkable religious experiences are connected to feeling national togetherness. In her story about a Slovakian journey, her joy over meeting 'authentic' and organic pilgrimage was stronger than the national element.

Then once there was a pilgrimage feast in Nyitra,⁷⁹ so in Slovakia. And accidentally we were there close to this Hungarian pilgrimage feast during our two weeks long staying in Slovakia. And we were advised not to miss that. And we went by bus and on foot. And then came the pilgrims by a carriage and with instruments. So, they were trumpeting the holy hymns and sang on foot, orderly. It was so touching, so nice and we were on a large square full of people. And they sang very nice songs that we didn't know, and we were in tears. So, it really shook us, this Hungarian pilgrimage and then I really longed for Csíksomlyó. I had heard about it on TV, radio and from people, so I felt I should go to this all-Hungarian meeting.

Nonetheless, it is the pilgrimage feast at Csíksomlyó in the dominant Orthodox Romania that embodies Catholicism linked to national feeling not only for *Enthusiast* but also for many other pilgrims and travellers.

... but I feel Csíksomlyó a merciful place, since it meant so much for me, that I stayed there at a family, where I was received with real love. We got to know each other and we have loved each other since then. I saw how they dressed up, and I belonged to them and I was Hungarian just like they. They [~Transylvanian Hungarians] can feast much nicer than we. But I am Hungarian as well, and this feast of all-Hungarians concerns me as well. And then, we Hungarians, we entreat⁸⁰ the celestial sphere together. For the things we lack. And I am completely certain, that we gain 'mercy bread'⁸¹ together, collectively, Hungarians collectively. This is very useful, and then we will see over there. I am really convinced, that without that we would have been ruined by now. Like that smaller segment of our fellow travellers. [referring to the other group in the same bus] But if we have direct connection to the heavenly, we are unbeatable, so they cannot take away the good from us.

Enthusiast simultaneously points out the special driving force of Csíksomlyó and that all the troubles can originate from this. Csíksomlyó attracts a wide audience of non-Catholics, non-religious people – it is only the feature of being Hungarian that unites that mass. In spite of being in the middle of Romania, there are only Hungarian language religious services, reflecting the composition of the visitors. The multi-national or supranational Catholic nature, which can be experienced in Europe's several pilgrimage places, is not present here. *Enthusiast*, similarly to many, went there not to receive indulgence, but was attracted by a national feeling. The way she describes how she believes, that a (-not fully Catholic or Christian -) nation can achieve, beg for, ask for and collect some collective grace is rather particular, making Catholicism or rather this large and mono-national religious feast taking place in an alien environment a

⁷⁹ City in Slovakia.

⁸⁰ Using a very strange word here, "*ostromol*" roughly cc. the combination of 'ask for' – 'assault / besiege'.

⁸¹ A rather rare Catholic expression, the Hungarian original is "*kegyelem kenyér*".

subject of worship. According to her the worshipping in and of Csíksomlyó unites the Hungarians and will result in some grace. But what kind of grace can that be, which is good for a Calvinist, a Catholic or a non-religious person at the same time? Religious ritual here finely helps to worship an important - although in a more and more plural society disappearing - feature: belonging. Belonging to an ideological construct and an everyday reality, which is understood in the non-Hungarian environment. Religion definitely does not mean too much for quite a portion of the participants in Csíksomlyó, but it helps to feast, its structure helps to regulate and symbolically communicate feelings very hard to share even with one person, not mentioning with a whole nation.

For *Enthusiast* pilgrimage places are important not only due to their meaning but also to their ability to formulate community. Her example shows clearly how people can accept a pilgrimage place due to its atmosphere and milieu, or even how a particularly personal and individual meaning can explain the effect of a certain place.

I was really touched, when once I went to the Hungarian Fatima. It is somewhere close to Szolnok,⁸² but I don't remember the name of the place. It is just called as the Hungarian Fatima, I have forgotten the name. ...the place really touched me. It was similar to the Lourdes cave of Szeged, exactly as it was in my childhood. My mother always told me in the summers, that if we behaved well, she would take us to the Lourdes cave. And we loved going to the Stefania,⁸³ to have a good swing there, en route there was a chance for some ice cream, and then we went to Újszeged to the Liget [~park] and then we had a rest in the cave and there was a mass in the evening. The stars were up; we hid behind mother and were during the mass like that. And then we went home in the darkness, through the bridge to Felsőváros, and she told us everything we asked. She was the child of the century, born in 1901 and died in 1996. She lived through the century and knew everything very very well. So I still live from my mother.

The personal interpretation and the *atmosphere*, or let me say, a *certain temporal spatiality* is the most important feature in the cognition of a place. The attached meanings are coming from the self, from the memories and just secondly from defining 'texts', such as guidebooks, religious teachings, the religious experiences of others.

Spirited - Quest for the True Experience

SPIRITED is approaching 80 and in perfect mental and good physical condition. He resides in the centre of Budapest in a house from the age of the *Ausgleich*: the building is in poor condition from the outside; the flat is enormously large. The roughly 50m² hall is furnished with old-fashioned pieces from the '60s. A large

⁸² City on the Hungarian Great Plain.

⁸³ A part of the inner city in Szeged.

palm dominates the room, as it later turned out he brought the palm seed from the Holy Land. So – as his wife said – they have their air from the Holy Land.

Spirited was born in a small town of the Great Plain. His studies in a teacher's training college were interrupted by the war. He married right after the war and the couple moved to Budapest in 1950. He finished technical school besides working in a communication machine plant. Later he became the human relations officer in the plant responsible for the education of workers. He retired from that position. His wife was a typist. Beside his pension, *Spirited* earns some money as a technical draughtsman nowadays. They have children, numerous grandchildren and live quite active life. They are much-travelled.

The community of the tourist agency is inevitably important for the couple. Thus it is not by chance that they consider getting to know the pilgrim travel agency as providential. Some years after retirement, being on a journey to Fatima, Portugal, with the rival pilgrim agency, they recognized the detailed guiding of another Hungarian pilgrim group. As it later turned out, the nearby guide was the leader of Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency.

[in Fatima when it turned out that a group next to them is from the Macroworld agency] ... and we [*Spirited* and the owner of the agency] started to talk, and somehow we met in spirit as well, and then we came home and I visited him. Since he organized pilgrimages on the first Saturdays, the one which is organized every first Saturday in each month heading to somewhere with a certain aim, and anyhow, somehow I felt the whole more religious.

- What do you mean by that?

- So (*hesitating*), it was somehow more spiritual. The rival agency was very sweet and nice, and modern, and elegant, so to say, so before I finally left them I went to Transylvania with them for the last time.

After some journeys, *Spirited* and the owner of the agency became friends, so for some years he has been acting as a spiritual leader of certain in-country journeys and as the 'official' photographer of the agency. From the many slides taken on the journeys he compiled several so called "slide-pilgrimages" – series of slides with meditation. He is invited to several places to have slideshows. During these meditations *Spirited* is completely transformed, conveying very enthusiastically his certainty in faith and concrete knowledge as a testimony to his audience.

Spirited, although untypical being a man, defines the mainstream and surface motivation in a very elaborate way. In his narrative it is possible to discover the normative explanation of why it is important to go on pilgrimages nowadays. Unlike in the case of the other interviewees he does not meditate about pilgrimage embedded in his own life story. So I could easily conclude that I have come across the - non-existing – 'believer practicing according to the catechism'. However, this is not so, as it is revealed in the following. He is a very empathic person, as is obvious when he is discussing the different wishes appearing in a pilgrim group as well as the pacification of these clashes. And the same empathy is expressed when he points out the personal problems behind travelling in the cases of some participants. Thus it is not surprising that

he was asked to act as spiritual leader in certain journeys, having the empathy of a good tour guide and the spirituality of a religious minister.

Although *Spirited* presented very thoroughly and very carefully the normative motivations and characteristics of pilgrimage, his religiosity bears some features I consider important. The most prominent of these - described at the end of the interview - is their not belonging to any particular community but the pilgrim agency, which has special importance for them.

- And have you ever thought about going on a pilgrimage with your own parish?

- Well, no.

- And is there any special reason for this?

- No, none. Especially since we don't visit this nearby church every Sunday or on feasts. We go to the Franciscans, or the St. Roch or if there is something somewhere, so we don't visit regularly one church. My wife has such an idea, that she has listed all the churches of Budapest and we go each Sunday to a different place.

- We have been already at fifty-six different places. [his wife]

Although Church structure is territorial based on parishes, this does not have any significance for them any longer. Instead, they have developed a lonely, personal 'kind-of-pilgrimage' instead of participating in a parish community.

- I would like to ask you whether you have any organized community you belong to, similar to the community of the pilgrim agency?

- We don't belong to any kind of community besides Macroworld.

- And how would you define this Macroworld community?

- The Macroworld agency has a friend-society. ... But telling you the truth [in connection with any society membership] I cannot engage myself, so that I should go somewhere at a certain time and then I would have to orientate myself to that. ... [There is a Karitás⁸⁴ in one parish] we are there for example, as if we were members. Not officially, but as if. They bring the elderly together, taking care of caritative issues, and since I was referenced there and we got to know each other, there isn't a single occasion I would miss to go there. ... So every second Thursday of the month is theirs. No pardon, anybody invites us anywhere, we should be there at 2 p.m. And there are thirty-fifty and then we sit down, chat and there is a small *agape*, greeting the ones who have name days in that month. We are officially not members, but they and we feel that we belong together.

Although they seem to reject all kinds of membership in any societies, as well as attendances in duty bound and absolute devotion, it soon comes clear that this is more like a personal choice, since they can accept regular duties in certain other communities. The most important voluntarily chosen community for them is the pilgrim tourist agency, where *Spirited* is one of the central figures among the travellers not only due to his status as spiritual leader, but also due to the fact that there he can practise his favourite activity, photography.

Well, this is absolutely a personal matter, I went to secondary school in my hometown, and my drawing teacher was then nominated the master of Kolozsvár secondary school, when we got back Transylvania. He really liked me, since I had excellent manual skills, and he gave his camera to me. Just like that. To remember him. Well, I do remember him even today! But this was quite a time ago. Before the

⁸⁴ Charity organization and in-parish community which can be found in almost every Catholic parish - it varies which function of the previously mentioned dominates in a certain parish.

Second World War. And so I started to take pictures, first on 35 mm films, but then there was a photographer in my hometown and he suggested me trying to take slides, and since then I have been taking pictures exclusively on slides.

Photography is not only his most important activity, but it has also gained a new meaning in the community of the pilgrim agency. He is the official photographer. His pictures are present in the yearly brochure of the agency. He became integrated and found his position in this community through photography. This is why in his recollection this element was picked from his pre-war life. As it turns out it is mainly due to the slide-pilgrimage lecture invitations that they are quite busy, travelling a lot in the country despite their age and through which they are integrated into several communities.

Spirited, as a leader of pilgrimages, besides the normative religious practice on a pilgrim journey considers physical circumstances also important. He feels they can influence the completeness of a pilgrimage tour.

- But from where does this different spirit or religiosity originate as you have described the agency?
- Well it depends on (*hesitating*) ... or one reason is that it is well organized. So is the journey itself. Even the one-day journeys as well. I don't want to say there aren't any problems, since we are all human beings. But fortunately in the new buses the windows cannot be opened. [Lengthy description, that one wants to open, the other wants to close the windows.] So in the modern buses this is not a problem any longer, there is air conditioning.
- But this has no relation to the spirit of the journey. [his wife critically]
- It has a relation, since it influences the spirit.
- This is not so. [his wife]
- I have just said that we are humans, so this can influence the spirit. And so, with leading the journey, how the leader can find the contact with the participants and the program [this influences the journey as well] and then the so-called 'harmonization' is taking place.
- Does this have any other signs?
- Yes. Spiritually. On the one hand, we start to pray together, to sing together, in the right intervals, in the morning as we start we pray the Angelus together, the morning prayer, then we beg for the help of the Holy Spirit for our journey, then there is a break, chatting. There are those who meet once in a month on these journeys, so we have to give them time to discuss, to meet each other again, and then we arrive at the place we are heading to have a mass.

The most exciting aspect of our conversation may be that his wife represents the ideal pilgrim image: according to which this entirely spiritual activity cannot be influenced by physical or any outer circumstances. *Spirited*, who has to lead and moderate these journeys, has a different opinion, relying on his own experiences. The clash between normative image and experimental image is clearly perceptible in our conversation.

Spirited interprets the most crucial motivations of pilgrimages by virtue of his own experiences. Indulgence considered normative cannot be found among his motivations.

- Would you please, tell me, what these journeys mean to you? Why do you go, besides that you are asked to lead the journeys?

- I am charged.⁸⁵ Partly the interest for a new place, but mainly to strengthen our faith. Since a journey is heading to Fatima, or Lourdes, or the Holy Land or just to a totally unknown place on the first Saturday journeys, it has a different atmosphere during the mass, there I am charged in a different way, although its value is the same as that of a Sunday mass, in spite of that it has a different inner spirit, from the one at home. There was a nice journey, the journey to the Italian saints, we had never been to Assisi, although Francis of Assisi is my patron saint and I was ashamed that I had been everywhere but not there, and there we were able to experience that miracle or that spiritual plus, which he, my patron saint provided for me in that place. And I have such a photo, since I usually take a shot at the Elevation of the Host,⁸⁶ and so I raised the camera as the priest was saying the words intending to raise the Eucharist and the bread was lit up. Not everybody saw that. But now everybody can see it, since I took a photo of that. So, there are such small signs, which tell you, you have to do that and you are doing well what you are doing or you should do better. And to be able to lead [the journeys], or to be able to deliver these [slideshow-] lectures, so for that it is needed to have your spirit charged fresh. So, not to let the deepest adoration to the Holy Spirit become extinct.

In the case of *Spirited*, spiritual charging means both the strengthening of the faith and experiencing something completely new. In his narrative these experiences in fact strengthen the faith: a small sign that the pilgrim interprets – either as confirmation or as encouragement for the better. According to this the experiences of these travels could have different meanings and interpretations for each pilgrim. Besides the motivation of the tourist, the quest for getting to know new places is present. In the interpretation of *Spirited* this is the decisive experience for other participants as well.

- After taking part in so many journeys, what do you think is the main motivation for most of the people?

- I think the motivation is the same for everybody. I wouldn't say that relaxation, since it is the least important element there, there is quite a number of people who have some inner troubles. Spiritual sorrow, family troubles and so on, and they try to get closer, either to the Virgin or to any part of the Holy Trinity to achieve spiritual peace. That is the most important. If I don't have peace, I cannot radiate peace. And this is visible in the world nowadays. This being unpeaceful. ... [This peace] is being formed during the years, and during the pilgrimages, or accepted by man, and can be felt on the person.

- You just said, that the mass is different in these places. Why is it different although they are held in average churches and not at pilgrimage places?

- Well, being familiar is one reason, where you live and visit always the same church. The priest is familiar, the place is familiar, and the milieu is familiar. Here we are heading to new places. The milieu is different, the person we are travelling with we meet only once a month. The priest is different and has a different message. Because if I go every Sunday to the same church and probably the same priest celebrates the mass, it can happen that it will become over-familiar after a while, or more, I can even say, it will become boring. This can provide some novelty; the church can provide a completely different milieu. There are quite many nice churches in Hungary. Unbelievable. And the other cause is that you cannot reach these places. At least not in one day if you don't have a car.

Spirited, who can usually get to know the travellers' motivations more deeply being the spiritual leader on the journeys, considers personal tragedies as

⁸⁵ The word '*feltöltődik*' has a double meaning in Hungarian: it means directly charging e.g. a battery, but it means spiritual refreshment as well.

⁸⁶ A particular moment of Catholic masses – when the bread that is blessed and eaten in Holy Communion is raised.

substantially the most important motivation. In course of travelling, pilgrims try to get closer to the saint, which according to *Spirited* advances the gaining or strengthening of spiritual peace. This saint, however, as it is expressed in other opinions as well, is present not only at shrines. My pilgrims *feel* where it manifests itself. Moreover, the decisive experience is rather individual. A crucial part of experiencing the saint is that it is new, different, and that somehow the experience as a whole should be constructed genuinely for the person. By underlining the milieu and atmosphere as well as the everydayness of the place I can understand that the *momentary situation* should be *organic, interpretable, free from defects and disturbance*. Although *Spirited*, as an educated Catholic, knows that the 'official' spiritual "values"⁸⁷ in case of such experiences are the same as in the familiar places, but still lets himself say that these experiences provide some extra.

To visit and meet small, far away communities gives an extra plus or charge to the local communities as well. And these far away places, with genuine experiences and new priests, can offer the possibility for my urban, non-community based Catholics not only to charge but also first to discharge, i.e. to open up.

- It is interesting when we are in these places, the priest mentions frequently, that if only there were so many believers every Sunday in the church. Often they almost weep that so many of us came.

- So it has a positive effect on the parish?

- Very, very positive effect, also the love radiation of the vicar affects the pilgrims. So it is an experience, not only that I travel, but also, that I meet a priest I have never seen before, and how nice he was, how well he can speak, how he approached to me, how he talked with me after the mass, this can give such a great experience to everyone, spiritually or in other ways. And then there are quite a few who like to confess in such places ... and it is, for sure, that the pilgrim opens up more on these occasions. He can discharge himself to a greater extent here than in an accustomed place.

Opening up spiritually in these places shows what spiritual effects can *the different, the unfamiliar* has. This spiritual effect is in fact the changing of sensation: the individual feels that he can open up this particular place. After discussing the peculiar 'uniqueness' of these places not defined beforehand, *Spirited* finally underlines the significance and effect of the shrines as places where the 'earthly' and the 'heavenly' meet. And, although his argumentation should stress that the significance of these places is due to a peculiar presence of the saint, his example to illustrate this, however, presents the *individual, accidental and individually interpreted* saint he earlier referred to.

We should add though, that to go to such a place like Lourdes or Fatima, or what else, Banneux⁸⁸ for example, places where the Virgin regularly appears, or Medjugorje ... people can have different feeling in such places. In spite of the fact that the person had visited that place before, it can still not become familiar, he can

⁸⁷ It should be explained why he uses the word: *value* - probably he wanted to point out that in his worldview every act should support his 'benefaction or well-doing collection' by which he can achieve merit after life.

⁸⁸ Pilgrimage place in Belgium.

discover novelties, spiritual and local novelties. ... We were for a third time in Fatima, we were there for a week and we didn't go with the group, we stayed in the pilgrimage place and just sat into one of the chapels and prayed the rosary there. I cannot describe how fantastic it was. And does one have time for that otherwise? No, no.

At first sight he counts in his example the peculiar radiation of Fatima. Although analysing the experience it becomes clear, that in the *non-ordinary* place a *nameless* small chapel and citing the rather *everyday* prayer - to sum up, devoting time to the soul - provide a special experience. As a matter of course *Spirited* is aware of the theological interpretation of shrines. However, he highlights that gaining indulgency is not this crucial significance.

- But there is a great difference between Santiago de Compostela and Taizé, isn't there?
- Certainly.
- One is a pilgrimage place and the other is a Christian community centre.
- Yes. But you can experience everything in a Christian community centre, and can go together to Santiago ... [You can experience everything] in a mass celebrated by the Holy Father. How many people are on the square? Thousands and hundred thousands. Since his character is like that, that he attracts.

Experiencing community is then important in reaching religious experience. Or is it rather the perfection and coherency of the experience that counts and community is important to the extent it assists the individual to achieve religious experience? Considering the religious variegation in a pilgrimage group *Spirited* refers to the problems caused by community as well. He has experienced this as a spiritual leader and can imagine the restrictions of religious practices to a certain extent, so that the participants should complete a day having experienced the intention of the journey.

- They [~certain pilgrims] really like to sing. One should be careful, since there are groups or pieces of groups, which can sing constantly. This of course cannot happen, to sing from morning till night is not good, but we try to satisfy everybody, to feel when the pilgrimage is over, that it was a very nice day, that they are charged, have found the straight track, feel better. Since we can bear physical pain if the spirit is in order, then physical pain doesn't seem to be so bad.

Unexpectedly, he interprets the fact that it is mostly older people who take part in these journeys in a rather unusual way. In most cases, acknowledging this leads to thoughts about secularisation or awakens the sense of guilt mentioned earlier. However, it is not so in the case of *Spirited*.

The truth is, and it is not only me who notices this, but everybody who is concerned, that our generation will die out after a while. What we, those in their 60-70s could plant into their children, a part of that has disappeared in course of time. Either the [Communist] system extinguished that or life itself. So, they cannot hand over so much to their children as we did to our children. Do you understand me? This is always less and less. Well, there are quite a number of young people who are woken by the Holy Spirit. So there is a stratum of people, which will rise in time. But the serious question is when this stratum will start peregrinating. Or could it be, that this type of pilgrimage will not be good in the future? Do you understand me? This is a serious problem. ... Since the young say that we are not going with you, because you

are old. We cannot speak their language. So when will they start going? (*stressing seriously*) The Virgin had to visit Elisabeth, didn't she? So, pilgrimage started at that time. She was the first pilgrim. And we have been continuing since then. And so how will they go or in what way to Lourdes, Fatima? Because they will go there, since in Lourdes all the voluntary places are filled for five years. So, there will be young people, but how? Since I have never met mixed pilgrimages, half of it is old, the other half is young, or solely young pilgrimage. But there are priests who take them to pilgrimage, to pilgrimage places, who take them to have a camp to have fun and take them to certain places. Perhaps this will be the future of pilgrimage, and when they become old, they will sit on the bus.

The first part of his narrative reflects the widespread opinion on secularisation. Although it is not this that disturbs him, but rather the question whether young conscious Christians will ever go on pilgrimages. He stresses the question 'when will they depart' signifying that this - preserving the religious form - is the real question, and not secularisation. Since it is not gaining indulgence that defines the meaning of pilgrimage, but rather meeting the saint in peculiar circumstances.

- So you think, that the form of the pilgrimage should remain?
 - Yes... This type of pilgrimage should remain and I'm sure that there will be some in fifty years who will even go on foot pilgrimages.
 - But isn't it possible, that my generation will find other ways for becoming spiritually charged?
 - Yes, there are those Taizé⁸⁹ days. This is miraculous. ... They can also similarly experience the presence of the Holy Spirit, they pay their respect by guitar and louder, and not singing the hymn No. 120 from "Szent vagy, Uram!"⁹⁰ but from their hymnbook. ... We had to wait in Medjugorje an hour, because there was a huge pavilion and some hundred of us were waiting for the mass and they lost the key. And there was a young company, some thirty, and they started to play their music. And nobody was interested in finding the key any longer. And we sang their songs. ... So you see. This is why I said, that a more happy and different form it will have, but pilgrimage will survive.

Rather interestingly he puts the phenomenon of peregrinating into a generational perspective. But this does not only point to the fact that this late modern religiosity is segmented, differently interpreted and separately practised by age-, education-, social- and cultural groups (and the pilgrim agency sometimes brings them quite into a proximity which is rare nowadays) which is probably more obvious. The more important thing here is how he speaks about peregrinating as an absolute and inevitable human activity. When he continues recalling the visit of the Virgin Mary to Elisabeth from the New

⁸⁹ A non-official inter-Christian monastic community founded in Benedictine style some decades ago by the Protestant Roger Schütz in southern France attracting tens of thousands of young people every month. 'Taizé meetings', inter-Christian mass-recollections, meditations, singing, praying are organized in certain metropolises of Europe every year.

⁹⁰ Published in 1931 "Szent vagy Uram!" and "Hozsanna" are quite widespread, pre-Vatican II Council Hungarian hymnbooks, frequently used by village communities and on pilgrim journeys. Long after the Vatican II Council in 1983, following its advice, it was to be replaced by "Éneklő Egyház", although it took place only in urban and modernist communities. "Éneklő Egyház" is considered as modernisation, although it is revitalizing the oldest, late middle age-strata of church hymns written in Hungarian.

Testament, he puts the whole into a more eternal dimension.⁹¹ He is not simply disappointed by the new generation not being interested (let me call that an apocalyptic approach). He takes it granted that peregrinating is a basic human activity, the question is more in what form and when one starts peregrinating; can it be the eternal human quality approach.

Seeker - Quest for the True Self

SEEKER is a pretty, well-dressed, young lady. She works in Catholic child-care as a professional kindergarten teacher and lives with her parents in Budapest. She grew up as the only child in a Catholic family. In her childhood she joined a Catholic youth-circle under the supervision of a priest. She took part in that company for a long time. Then she left it in her late teenage years, when most of her friends married, moved, or left the company and new participants came, and she felt too old to follow the instructions. In spite of leaving this circle she kept her connection with the Church as a practising Catholic, but she has not taken part in any organized friendly circle or community since then. She took part in several courses dealing with Catholic spirituality (so-called Holy Spirit Seminar) or in courses aiming at educating lay spiritual leaders (called 'Hajszoló' in Hungarian). *Seeker* studied in a Budapest-based college while living at home.

Asking about her interest in pilgrimage, *Seeker* told me that although she was a practising Catholic believer, it was her serious illness that turned her attention towards Lourdes, thus towards pilgrimage.

I had a heart-operation in 1997. And then I received the Sacraments of the Ill and this was a great help for me, since I had a fear of death before. And then when I received the sacraments, then I was able to go to the operation and my whole recovery was so miraculous, that I felt I was in the hands of God. That He protects me and relieves me from all my fears. And then I wished to go to Lourdes. But I couldn't ..., however, I managed to go to Rome. ... And then, when I was in St. Peter's, it was a miraculous feeling. I cannot perhaps describe it with my own words what I felt there. And then I started to go on the first Saturday pilgrimages regularly.

After becoming acquainted with the religious travel agency and its regular circle, she applied to be a 'spiritual leader' of some in-country journeys. She continues to work in childcare, but on certain Thursdays and Saturdays she leads in-country pilgrimages. For this job *Seeker* gets credit she can use to buy a place on other journeys.

Seeker, although being young and due to this part of a small minority among the travellers of the agency, sheds light on her motivation, relation to this community and the role of this activity in her life and religiosity. She is a late modern young Catholic, who grew up in late Socialism. At that time, to be a

⁹¹ As for the origin of peregrination many scholars refer to an eternal cause similar to that of Abraham, who was called by God.

Catholic child meant taking part in small communities inside parishes. It was like a family heritage, which had to be kept. After 1990 not only the world changed, but also the role of Catholicism as well as its representation in the society. For quite many young believers this is probably not interesting. What is more interesting is that the Church became more and more colourful and diverse or its hidden diversity was openly appearing. The appearance of the so-called *renewal movements* or *charismatic movements* inside the Church (parallel to the appearance of different new age movements in mainstream society) or just a certain popularity and open discussion of *alternative Catholicism* started in the late '80s strongly influencing the thinking of that generation. The Church, in hibernation at the end of the 1940s, appeared again together with the late modern Church of the post-Vatican II Council in the Hungary of 1990s. The conflicts and collisions arising from that are well represented in her narrative.

Seeker details her more or less smooth shifts between communities or her losing and choosing communities. She does not belong to any given community and she feels she is not attached to one. Her single, active and (partly financially) independent life makes it possible to join communities she is interested in and not the ones her role, position or place of residence are suggesting. She grew up in a parish community but at that time the choices were neither possible nor attractive for her: to be a pious Catholic mother taking part in a rosary circle or to be alienated from the Church and withdraw (as most of the middle-aged generation did in the last decades). The kind of search I see in her case, definitely distinguishes her from the core of the travellers. Namely, the way how she engages with activities generally not considered typical for her age group (namely going on pilgrimages) and mixes them with new forms, rites and contents, additionally interprets them as 'spiritual searching, growing', or sometimes even as a 'predestined fate'. On the surface this distinguishes her from her peers as well, but the freedom and tendency to *combine seemingly faraway elements* and be happy with this personal mixture is probably a more general trait.

Seeker is a rather self-reflective personality: she is able to meditate on her life, on her developments, looking back on herself from the outside. It is especially interesting how easily and honestly she recognizes the *duality of herself*: the difference between herself at home and on pilgrimages.

By the way, it is so interesting that when I am leading a pilgrimage I am somehow different. I could tell this to you, that - getting to know myself, how I behave at home and on a pilgrimage - somehow the two extremes became visible. Since I'm a kind of person on the pilgrimages who prays together with the elderly on the way, who meditates, who tries to bring these elderly people closer to God, and at home I am rebellious, still living together with her parents, who would like to somehow break out from home, who would like to be (*hesitating, searching for the good word*) live alone. So, not to depend on my parents, not to be served by them. As they serve me completely. As I experienced that through my childhood, and at the age of 32 I am still being served. So I would like to be independent. And so I have regular conflicts with my parents, first of all with my mother, who is not able to understand, or if she understands she is not able to change our relationship and feels sorry when I don't tell everything to her. And so these two things, these two extremes of mine I sometimes am not able to bring them closer to each other. Since both personalities

are me, and both can be found in me. The one of the home is inside me when I'm leading a pilgrimage, and the one of the pilgrimages is inside me when I am at home.

Her living together with her parents makes her realize this duality, although she considers this situation a burden.

She [mother] knows another person – the one I am at home. And, supposedly she doesn't know the one who I am on the pilgrimages. ... And you know I feel, that when I am at home, that somehow ... I cannot break away. I cannot ..., sometimes I would like to escape from that. Since I would like to live my own life, finally.

She is not scared, does not feel guilty, does not really want to change – this status is not a cause of shame, it is more *a condition of life* for her. With this self-reflective and dynamic approach all her reasons and conclusions of travelling become easily understandable to herself: the fact that socio-cultural boundaries can be crossed easily (taking part in these journeys filled mostly by the elderly), her conflicts at home, the changes in her personality (- let me call it a dynamic self-image -) and her open, complaining relation to God. The appearance of this 'other', true self is a result of these journeys, her connection to this travelling community. At the same time these journeys provide a possibility for self-reflection.

And then I felt the calling of the Blessed Virgin. A call that I should go there now. And, truly I was expecting an answer as well, namely how to continue, what God really wants from me? Which direction should I continue? And then I was in Medjugorje, then I experienced such a flow of the Holy Spirit, I remember there was a strong wind, and somehow I felt, there is the Spirit. And so I didn't receive any direct answers, but I remember as we were coming back on the bus, I had a testimony. I was speaking into the microphone in front of the others. Somehow I was released as I was able to tell the whole.⁹²

The journey is a mirror – the possibility to look back on herself. And since it is a very personal quest for her, the community she is travelling with serves as a part of the mirror, which should listen, but does not need to give an answer. As if the results, the changes taking place on the route were important, to see not only the good, but all the important, silent or hidden details. And as a matter of course it is important to listen to another 'voice' during a journey as well.

Well, probably the most important [motivation], that I'm still searching for myself, where I am, where I am standing, and what my relation to God is like. It isn't a long time since I have had this personal relation to God. I was religious earlier, but this personal relation is important in my life. And as I've already said it is not only the pilgrims who have to recognize all the good things God have given to us, but also I myself need that. And this is why I go, why I go happily, just to recognize God while sitting in a church, to listen to Him in the silence. The other is, that I'm happy in this community, the community of the agency. I'm happy to go into the office and tell them what happened, to give them the experiences, sometimes the negative ones as well. Or sometimes I tell them what grace I received. And I feel I like travelling. And somebody told me once that I would travel a lot. Me? How would I?

⁹² There is a similar 'relief narrative' coming back from a journey and telling this to the colleagues.

Although due to her age and her being a spiritual leader on the journeys *Seeker* likes to distinguish herself from the other travellers, she considers that the most significant motivation for travelling is the same as hers.

[On the motivations of going on such journeys in general] If somebody, let us say, goes on these full of questions concerning his life, when he sits in a church, or looks at a statue, or even just at a moment of life, a child, a flower, any of that can provide an answer for his question.

- And do you consider it important to avoid well-known environments?

- Yes, certainly. Certainly, since on these journeys we travel to see the created world, so we [can discover] all the miracles - *miracles* and this isn't a too strong expression, I should say these are really miracles.

Nonetheless, she expects and looks for the answers to important questions of life in form of 'everyday signs'. There are no saints present in her narrative; even the visited places are mentioned only briefly. She speaks more about the signs appearing in an environment alien and far away from home. She considers these *signs* as *miracles*. Thus it does not come as a surprise how she thinks about indulgence as a rather abstract aspect of pilgrimage.

I have to tell you that the absolution (*little bit uncertain, hesitating, but then she finds the word*) - I cannot handle that. I cannot handle that, since I don't know that. I don't know the history of that, and I cannot tell how (*bit sarcastically*) richer I become if I receive absolution. I feel richer when I feel the real connection to God. The personal relation. When they tell me, I can gain indulgency, this has no meaning for me, and I cannot 'do' anything with that.

In the community of the travel agency she is accepted as an open personality, and as a young among the old, and as - although lay and self-made, but - a spiritual leader among the travellers. However, this community at the same time serves as a counter-world, a space where she can create a profile connected only and solely to her. I consider this attraction to make something alone and something her own as a late modern phenomenon. The community formed by a thousand-year old ritual is a social space where the true self can open or can even make the adventurous endeavour to build up a new self-imagination. Most of the travellers do not know anything about *Seeker's* family. The fact that she can be herself, without bringing any other, pre-defined meanings with her, is definitely attractive for her. Being the rare young among the old is providing for her first of all not a community of safety, but rather a community of praise and recognition.

The personal connection to *God* or to have a *good and honest partner* in this self-made lifeline is certainly the most important part of religion for her. She interprets herself as too selfish or too much attached to her decisions and there is only One, from whom she accepts 'comments', or more, wants direct guiding. *Seeker* is not interested in and not attracted by these journeys because of gaining indulgence, i.e. the original motivation of pilgrimages, not even because of the dissimilarity or sacredness of pilgrimage places, since she herself has gone through remarkable experiences, but not in pilgrimage places.

Now I feel I have a personal relation to God. And in a number of cases, either in the cases of pilgrimages or when I just sit in a church, or something hurts me, then I can speak to God, and then I really feel that He is there, present and listens to me (*She speaks more and more firmly.*) One of my latest experiences was when we visited Kecskemét on a pilgrimage and there was a kind of lunch-break and I sat in the parish church close to the altar. And there is a fresco depicting God and I started to speak to God half-aloud. And somehow I felt I was complaining to God, that, there I was at the age of 32 and my life hadn't progressed, I was in the 'stagnant water'. I, somehow, of course, exist. And now I would like to have a family, a family around me, and somehow I felt I had to stand in front of God, and then I had a particularly good feeling when I was able to tell this to God, and then I was expecting that He should answer to me now, how to continue.

The pilgrimage places are important of course, but more as places for finding inner answers, or as possibilities to make a direct relation to God. It is more a kind of *inner sense, inner status or inner experience of an atmosphere or milieu*, which gives meaning to the place and not the outer 'markers' and attached religious or cultural meaning. This is how the average, grey 19th century Kecskemét parish church can be mentioned in the same breath as St Peter's of Rome or Medjugorje. There are no rules, forms or any stability of what a religious experience is. There is only the *true sense* (in her words, the feeling of the presence of God) which gives the key to recognising religious experience. And according to her, this is a different communication with God: not the written down, well-known prayers, but a kind of discussion.

Once I was taking part in a praying circle, and then one member said to me, that since I am still searching for my partner who is proposed to me by God in life and I am already 32, I could turn to God asking Him, complaining to Him and now I am using this word, complain. God, I believe in You, and You wish the best for me, but I am impatient. And, in these moments I finally end up in praying for stronger faith, to have patience and faith to keep along with God, and to accept His wishes.

The fact that she feels some kind of tension, or 'being late' staying at home alone without her own family, at the same time indicates, that in the socio-cultural background she is from, this lifeline is considered strange, problematic or at least unusual. She even connects the duality of her life to that, at least partly.

Although community is important for *Seeker*, it is not the community that she is travelling for. She is travelling for experience: to experience the answer to her questions and guidance for her life. She imagines herself as a person travelling with a quest to recognize the messages of God. As spiritual leader of pilgrimages she also recognizes the religious diversity. However, she has a rather firm opinion about this being herself religious in an alternative way.

I noticed on a pilgrimage last year, that there was an old lady from a certain village, and you know ... always the rosary [which they wanted to pray], they were asking for that, and if they didn't complete the whole rosary on the route they felt some lack (*a bit sarcastically and surprised*). And they immediately asked me, when we left for a pilgrimage, "when shall we start the rosary" (*pretending*). And then I told them, "you know, there is a certain structure of the pilgrimage" (*in a teaching manner*). "We will pray the rosary, but we have just started our journey, don't be impatient, please, wait for the time, when it comes." And somehow I felt, that I was just saying five tenths [a third of the whole rosary], and they just wanted the whole. ... I don't want to repeat

continuously the rosary, without thinking over what I am doing at all, just to repeat monotonously the prayer.

Her analysis about the religiosity of the elderly is quite useful, as a reflective material. The travellers' sense of expectation together with her creativity to fill this old-new travelling-type with content exemplifies how these journeys are under continuous formation. She creates the message by herself using *Catholic texts* in the concrete sense and the *Catholic 'text'* in the meaning of imaginations of Catholic culture.

The things I tell them I read from religious books. So these are finally not my thoughts, these are published, these are thoughts of other people, but I consider them good. And I would like to give these to others. So I try to 'put together' from different books the spiritual part of a pilgrimage. Not only putting the pieces together of course, since I not only give them texts, but I also like to sing. So sometimes I bring these kinds of religious songs on a cassette, they are first of all praises, praising songs. I think these make pilgrimages more colourful, or sometimes I teach them a song like this. I try to involve them into the pilgrimages, not to leave them passive, but to make them active participants. I do the same when on certain Thursdays we go on pilgrimage and we have the Stations of the Cross. I give them in advance the stations, the text that belongs to a certain station, and I ask them to read the text, which belongs to a certain station.

[asking them about the reaction of these songs popular among the youth, but usually rejected by elderly] (*laugh*) They react strangely. I understand your question. They react strangely to these songs of the youth, when I put in a cassette with that kind of songs. These songs of the Nagymaros meetings.⁹³ Earlier I took part in those Nagymaros meetings. And the atmosphere there, the songs really touched me ... I was always, always flying high. Somehow, the songs bring me closer to God. And (*laugh*) yes, I provided such songs of the youth for the pilgrims, and yes, I fear a little bit how they will react. I don't know how close these can bring them to God, whether so close as me. Since they are elderly people, they know and sing the songs from the Hozsanna hymn book. I know these songs, most of them, but I really don't know how close these songs of the youth bring them to God.

As it turns out from the analysis of the pilgrims' complains, they have rather categorical ideas on how a pilgrimage-leader should look and behave. These ideas certainly originate from the cultural knowledge provided for use by Catholic vernacular religiosity. Simultaneously, *Seeker* has ideas on what pilgrimages (in her interpretation journeys to find the answers of God) have to be like. A new ritual is under formation in the context of a thousand year old - and to a large extent broken - heritage and of contemporary culture and imagination about travel and consumption. Facing a different religiosity *Seeker* often intends to define religiosity, giving her opinion about the religious practice of her fellow travellers on a discursive level.

Shall we think about what religiosity is? On the interpretations of religiosity. I think, these elderly in their familiar small world, as they were brought up and lived their life, they got used to a certain formula. And they try to live according to that, and cannot do it in any other way. So, they expect that. That they will receive that on a

⁹³ A popular alternative gathering and recollection of Catholic youth called "Nagymarosi Ifjúsági Találkozó" has been organised twice every year since 1973. First illegal, then quasi-legal, finally legal this grassroots movement is considered as a typical example of modernist Catholicism during the Communist times (Kamarás n.d.).

pilgrimage. This 'let the prayer flow without a stop', 'let us sing', 'let us meditate without a break'. And I should tell you frankly, this is tiring. ... Somehow I feel, that the elderly - respecting those different - but I feel in quite a number of times, that their religiosity is 'closed-minded', blinkered ... *(with the voice of quoting them)* 'I am good for God if I repeat the prayers without a break, if I repeat the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria and turn to God with all of these written down prayers.'

- So you think anything that is recorded or given, and repeated at length [is what the elderly like]?

- Yes, the quantity is really important for them. I think the prayer of the young people is more searching, a kind of searching prayer. Wishes, hoping for an answer from God and somehow not the popular prayers are important, but more how you can turn to God. And how you can tell Him your problems, what hurts you, what you miss, what interests you in your life with simply words.

Seeker structures the experiences she gained on these journeys in contrasts, at the same time defining quantitative and qualitative, repeating and searching, quick or careless and careful religiosity. According to her interpretation, however, it is not simply the difference between quantitative or qualitative attitude, but rather the difference in understanding, as her opinion on indulgency reflects:

[On the elderly travellers] I'm quite hesitating to say this, but they aren't really interested in what this [indulgency] means. Only in that 'this is a pilgrimage place, I completed that and so I got absolution.' *(saying this in a simple, minimal way)*.

On the very surface *Seeker's* life story-creation is using culturally known models, one could say, conventions (more precisely Catholic conventions) on the topic of 'finding the way to God'. Her interpretation of her life-changes follows those conventions. The story is a mainstream Catholic narrative on the surface if one detects only the turns in it: she grew up as a Catholic, then she withdrew from organized communities, then became ill, turned to God, after recovery went to a pilgrimage, then decided to go regularly and then became a spiritual leader. At the same time, if one does not only search for the turns, but more for the meaning or interpretative field where these turns happened and how they were interpreted, one can get to know a rather personal and individual development.

Eschatologist - Quest for the True Faith - Eschatological Pilgrim-critique

ESCHATOLOGIST is a retired man, lives in a village-like peripheral community of Budapest in a house with a large garden full of trees. Years ago, reading the travellers' letters sent to the pilgrim agency I memorized his name because of his extremely compelling, although sometimes strange, short comments. At first sight *Eschatologist's* narrative is not connected very closely to the topic of the present research. He does not speak a lot about travelling, visiting shrines, indulgency or 'spiritual brokerage'. However, getting closer to the text his narration turns out to be absolutely related to my topic. During our whole

conversation *Eschatologist* is defining *the pilgrim* - in his interpretation *the Christian* - often using religious tourists as counterpoints. His strong and distinctive point of view reveals the layers of 'images' and meanings attached to the pilgrim and also how individually these interpretations use the images formulated on pilgrimage over more than a thousand years.

Eschatologist's father was a military officer before the Communists came into power. This became a heavy 'social deficit' in the early Socialist times, when he grew up. He was a clever student, but his father did not allow him to go to university, although - despite the father's earlier positions - he was accepted by some places. He explains this situation in that at that time everybody was sooner or later influenced by the small compromises of the age if he went to university, and his father wanted to avoid that. Anyhow, the regime naturally tried not to allow the suspicious ones to go to universities - in this way interrupting and reshaping social mobility. (This project for a time and to an extent seemed to be successful.) He started to work in a section of a military factory as an average worker. Then came the 1956 revolution and the so-called 'worker's committee' took power in the factory. They had to create new inner laws and regulations. He took part in this activity asking for the advice from his father's old lawyer friends. As member of the leadership in the factory he signed a number of suggestions for inner laws. Stimulated by the experience, *Eschatologist* personally became interested in law. Then the revolution was defeated and he was soon collected and was questioned, beaten several times to give up those who helped him in his active role in the worker's committee. Even his knowledge of law was 'examined', i.e. tested. For his activity he received a death penalty at the age of 21. Then after four trials this was changed to lifelong penalty. Then began the "get to know the prisons of your country - movement" spending shorter or longer periods in different prisons. With the softening of the post-'56 dictatorship, he was released after serving 8 years of his sentence.

Eschatologist is naturally deeply effected by these happenings and he was eligible for compensation, but not earlier than after the fall of Socialism in the 1990s. While talking to him it became clear, that after being almost executed, losing his youth and being marginalized for the rest of his life, nowadays he looks at everything with a certain eschatological⁹⁴ approach. Everything is interesting for him only when it has a connection to fulfilling God's wishes and everybody should act keeping that in mind. Naturally, he has quite a pessimistic view at the moment, as the post-communist party was able to stabilize its position on the country's political landscape. Not this is the only thing that frustrates him, but the changes of some former fellow prisoners make him unhappy. This is why, in most parts of the interview, we left the world of living creatures and went to meet the dead fellow prisoners. "The faces are just coming into my mind." - I watched his eyes looking at the distance. And some

⁹⁴ A branch of theology concerned with the end of the world and God's final judgment of mankind.

of the killed or dead companions have almost been forgotten completely: "His face came up immediately and I asked him, Who are you?"

Considering all these, it is not surprising that he had a rather definite opinion about the phenomena of our world. This opinion reached everybody, encouraged by the authority of a man once preparing for unavoidable death and later 'cruelly freed' from his earthly bounds. For him several phenomena seem to be unjust, not simply inauthentic, but in fact dissembling, false and deceitful after the changes that have taken place in the last decades, especially in the very last one. Getting to know the dynamics of the pilgrim community he had a rather critical approach to organized pilgrimages. Additionally *Eschatologist* is different even from a sociological point of view: he is a man, either divorced or a widower. He travels mostly alone, although last time going on a 'pilgrimage-like' journey to the beautification of László Batthyhány Strattmann he travelled with a female companion. He explains his strict opinions with the fact that his peculiar life-course provided him with sharper eyes. And his life experiences, of course, support the strong legitimacy behind his words allowing a rather thorough critique on peregrinating.

... we know the Bible so poorly. If we knew the Bible and what Jesus advised there, we would know that we don't have any relation to these examples. ... These pilgrimages are so, that we are rattling in the bus, singing, praying (*in minimizing manner*) It [true faith] doesn't depend on that. This [peregrinating] has no relation to the fact whether the Realm of God will appear in us or not, Jesus wished this realm to come into being and described it to His followers at least 50 places in the Bible. We don't want to understand that.

Considering untruthfulness, shortsightedness and insincerity *Eschatological* criticizes the whole world. Regretting that the Realm of God cannot be realized his critical opinion on consumer society ends up in a meditation about human envy.

It [understanding the teaching of Jesus] is too complicated, too hard. If we accepted that, who would shop in these drugstores, Penny markets, in these rubbish marketplaces, in the results of the global world, the pest of everything, which will destroy everything. ... That I don't have a car?! How come, that I don't have a car, and at least a Mercedes or a BMW! Here we can find basic contradictions that exclude each other. You know, there is a crucial teaching of Jesus that you cannot serve two lords. His teaching starts exactly like this: who loves one, hates the other. Matthew, 12. ... [long discussion about the unreflected negative changes after 1990] ... And those, rattling on these buses, they are nice and kind, but for a true spiritual change, for that, they should break away from their whole past. But nobody is breaking away from his past here. Everybody enjoys the stolen property and wealth - here I stole a small house, there a small flat, a small plot, a cottage. Then what do we want? I am a thief, rubbish, cheater, and now I am going to..., where am I going? (*sarcastically*) To Rome. Why the hell am I going to Rome? ... I explain this very polarized, but this is history about. ... There are such problems here ... I went to my workplace through decades and gained my salary for the work I hadn't done. I am a thief by status. I don't know, could you understand me, by status. ... So being Christian and a thief at the same time, going on pilgrimages and behaving dishonestly and acting hypocritically and simulating - you cannot combine that. ... Turning back again, this marvellous Pope, this fantastic Pope proclaimed the whole Europe again as a missionary territory. Like the cannibals, the Papuans or the Zulus,

on the same status. But they have a clean heart. It is possible to tell them the truth. But we are contaminated on all levels.

As I earlier explained, he approaches everything with a kind of eschatological approach – everything is judged according to how strongly it is connected to the fulfilling of the wishes of God. And naturally, he thinks that all outer activities, like peregrinating, are not the core of faith. That core is personal renewal and inner change.

From now on we just try to discover your wishes, our God. Do we have such a great faith? This is an important and hard question. And a good question as well. Since our faith is really questionable. At the least questionable. ... this community... earlier I travelled with them a lot, but nowadays I am not going, because my nerves are ill now as I have turned old, and I don't want to expose myself to certain atrocities [does not want to make himself nervous]. Because I don't say anything, since what should I say, really what? They don't understand anyhow. Then why the heck should I tell them? If they don't know about that. ... To put it in a nutshell, I could tell the pilgrims that we don't know the Roman Catholic faith; we don't know what our Church teaches. Some years ago the Vatican published the Catholic Catechism. I think they have simply not dealt with that at all. So, all of that, what the real meaning is in that, what has been realized, this is simply not interesting for them. And if this doesn't interest them, nothing interests them. Then all the side-circumstances become unnecessary, as we don't need the backbone [core of faith]. Then all the additions are not needed, then what are we talking about at all. So, as I said, slowly I just gave up these journeys, ... since in the last 50 years everybody [has become influenced], honour to the some who have not been hit by this wirtschafft [compromises of Socialism]. As most of the people have been hit. Everybody else, except those who were watching 24 hours a day and were guarding themselves. Those simply died. These are all the results of Socialism. ... Sometimes I tell my son, that 'you know, it's your luck that you don't know what you don't know. If you knew what you don't know, you would be quite surprised.' And all the coming world will be really poor.

Eschatologist has a certain cognitive image about true religiosity originating from and backed by both his experiences of later times of his life and his marginal position in society from where everything has a different view. And he considers himself old enough, legitimate and marginal to share his view without hesitation. *Eschatologist* considers the mainstream untrue, which he cannot accept as another form of true religiosity. It comes clear from his narratives that he was looking for true religiosity in different forms of religious expressions. This search orientated him later to the pilgrim travel agency.

And then they had such original ideas, that we went on journeys every Saturday dedicated to the Virgin. It is absolutely not important with whom you are going, who is there or who is not; it doesn't take away anything from the Virgin. But then came such niggling, one was a larger donkey than the other. And all of that happened in front of my eyes. And then I just discretely closed the door from the outside as a shadow, and sneaked away from there. The travellers were tearing each other apart and then they started gossiping. I think – although I am absolutely not interested – but I think I was called everything as well behind my back. If I relied on such people, I would be in a very sad state.

Eschatologist does not forgive. For him, this other type of religiosity and any formal connection to that is a sinful collaboration. He just 'closes doors', but in his narration, he has never opened a single one. Without judging him, I think it

is the discourse on the whole that is important, the strong life-historical framework, whose function is to legitimate the personal judgments. Although he feels that by closing doors he at the same time excludes himself, this makes his interpretation even stronger.

[Admitting that I did not get his number from the agency although not clarifying that when calling him] I was surprised, that they gave my number to you. When you phoned me yesterday I turned to myself and said, "you see, you again judge too quickly. You see it is not always so as you think." But it is always absolutely how I think. (*sadly*) ... I talked with him [the leader of the agency] a number of times, but he also doesn't have an ear to listen. He isn't responsible for that, but not really interested either. For running the agency and making it profitable... if they dealt with that, the whole [peregrinating] would be questionable, and then, then it is better for me to leave. So, we are changing the crossing and going to the other direction. And they should go where they want to go.

For him a peregrinating community (and I suppose almost any formal religious community) serves only as an *enforcement of his cognition* of mankind, to see 'how large the zoo of God is'. Searching for the real meaning of faith, *Eschatologist* forms the image of the true pilgrim and the true Christian from the peculiar aspect of his life history. Eating fresh and cold cherry soup in the shadow, he placed the masses of people travelling on the buses certainly at that moment as well into a far-ranging, rather personal moral perspective. Meditating on life and death, truths and lies quoting the examples from his life, I was making a tour to the world of dead prison-mates, gaining not only some knowledge on the interviewee's cognition, but on his own family history as well.⁹⁵

Occasional - A Tourist with Rosary - the Non-religious Pilgrim

OCCASIONAL is a young lady living with her retired mother in a village nearby Szeged. Growing up in the family of a kindergarten maid and a carpenter she speaks in a very strong dialect. She had a very troubled life during the long-lasting divorce process of her parents, the memories of which, breaking through the interview were very difficult to handle. Knowing her life history is also important in understanding the role of peregrinating and pilgrim community.

Occasional was brought up as a single child in very simple circumstances. She did not have too much success at school, not only because she was taking care of her grandmother, but also because of shortages at home she has been 'working' since the age of 5. The family built a house over a very long period of

⁹⁵ As it turned out shortly before my first attempt to leave, he was put in one cell in the late-'50s with the brother of my grandfather, who was a policeman before the 2nd world war, and was imprisoned on some fictitious charge after the '56 revolution. Since my grandfather was also a police officer before the Communist times and my family experienced a "social deficit" as well, I have a natural interest to the happenings of the time. The story of my grandfather's brother was untold, mysterious and remained unknown until now, as he died before the changes.

time with great effort, always improving it a bit. *Occasional* was made to go to a nurse secondary school, she was not particularly longing for. In her teenage years her father had a brain seizure and became partially paralysed. It just deepened the problems, when through the Red Cross her father's children from a previous relationship found them. *Occasional* counts the disappearing of family peace from this point.

... and one morning being 16 I was awoken by the words: 'wake up, here is your brother' And I had lived without knowing that I had a brother. It was such a clash. Since that...

Soon her father had a second seizure and shortly after that he sent a petition for divorce. He started to search for a new partner, and when they were separated, he officially gave the almost-ready house, the symbol of the family's burdened life and struggles to the new partner, to the "Gypsy bitch" - as *Occasional* calls her. Intensifying the problems, *Occasional's* grandmother died in the days when she finished school and started to work in a hospital. Soon, her father also died and *Occasional* and her mother started a trial to regain their house. They had a four-year long trial, and *Occasional* recalls it crying, that her first salary was not enough for the cost of the attorney.

Occasional went on the first pilgrimage after the trial ended. She worked in the hospital, later shifted to a nursery to gain free time to complete grammar school. She has not been working for some years. Still, she is living an active life. I got to know *Occasional* some years ago, while doing fieldwork on one pilgrimage. I noticed her not only as one of the very few younger participants, but also in the moment when she got on the bus and did not want to sit down into the place offered, saying "Don't bother, I am at home here" and went to talk and got to know the travellers.

Occasional lives on the social periphery of her village. This has several reasons, partly her non-average lifestyle - being young but not considered attractive, she has neither a family, nor a party-going youngish attitude or relation to any young company - and partly the divorce of her parents. In her narration she recalled the shock the divorce caused, since her mother is known all around the village for having worked as a kindergarten maid for decades. Taking part in organized journeys definitely serves as a counter-world for her.

- Let me ask, if your local parish organized a foot pilgrimage, would you join?
 - No, because they would be there then. My fellow villagers would gaze at me as a young person. 'What is she looking for here? She is again in everything.' But if an agency went from Szeged to somewhere, I would join, since there would be nobody from my village.

She feels that her environment envies her because of the journeys, which, however, she considers as a core of her adult life comparing it to other's lives.

- So, it is not known, that you travel a lot?
 - On the contrary! I have quite a lot of jealous people around me. Everybody sees only that I travel; I go, but tell me, I don't have a child, a family. Is it possible to bring up a child from a hundred thousand forints a year? And those are arguing who have

some children. Because she has found the beauty and happiness of her life, although she has never been outside the village border? There was this first possibility to go on this first journey and then I vowed, if I could I would go to some other places as well.

She partly constructs the image of alien surroundings supporting that with the narrative comparing her hobby and the child growing of other young people. This points out how central, or more, *identifying* travelling is for her. *Occasional, the traveller* – in a village context this serves and can serve as a self-identification.⁹⁶ And there is the most important *reference community*, the non-stable, changing, far away, non-everyday and always moving one: the community of the pilgrimage agency.

I cannot even say I have so many acquaintances on a journey. I always find some. (*proudly*) Or I will make some. There are journeys, when nobody is turning to me in seven days. In Mexico after 14 days I didn't even know the names of four of my travel mates. I simply opened up towards them, they did not, and then I thought, 'retire to your shell'. I tried in the first three days, no; the other thirty mates remained. ... [I fit to this company] very easily. At least I myself very easily socialize.

Occasional considers her openness and easy socialization as an important feature of her personality. In spite of local and family relations this provides her friendly company and positive confirmation, so needed for healthy life. And for the young, troubled, to a certain extent marginalized and simple village woman this confirmation is vital. *Occasional* told a story when in Venice the guide of her group got ill and as the only younger participant she led the group in one afternoon. She was then introduced to the leader of the pilgrim agency. Back home she wrote an Eastern postcard to the agency. Automatically with that she was invited to the year-closing feast of the agency to Budapest. There she gave a small album to the leader of the agency she composed from her photos taken on this first journey. She still keeps this habit after every journey besides composing detailed albums for herself.

This was the first journey of my life. And they started to send the prospectus to me at that time, and invited me when there was something in Budapest. So, this was how the friendship, or how should I call it, formed with the agency.

The story sheds light upon how community making and business can converge: how the consumer with some well-designed automatism can develop a feeling of belonging. It is not surprising that she refers to the 'friendship' with the agency. Compared to the rival agencies the personal face, the concrete and everywhere visible person behind the company is an important factor of making success among the target group of these agencies.

⁹⁶ Although when she describes her fellow-villagers as the group of jealous people she creates a rather simple image about the village. This points out how strongly we are prisoners of our own imaginations and 'life world' – since the village in question is a rather open settlement with a mass of instreaming settlers from the nearby Szeged. These people do not really care and look for the 'great news' of the original villagers. It is surely partly an 'imagined community', partly *Occasional's* and her family's local 'reference community' which she is referring to.

In her story a new version of the little bit shamefaced, shy and apologetic narratives appears. These narratives usually complain about 'why we were not religious during Socialism?' and can be called *apology narratives*. They come up in most conversion narratives or in narratives about children's faith. However, here I have a different version of these stories.

When my grandmother died, my mother started to go to church. Earlier she didn't go, only in her childhood. She worked in a kindergarten, and so chose her workplace instead of visiting the church. And anyhow, we didn't have an active religious life here. We had a vicar, but here even the gates of the houses were closed before him.

Formal secularisation and distancing from the Churches as institutions is naturally present in every complex society. Although those living in former Socialist countries always attach that phenomenon to Socialism. And that is where the origin of these apologies can be found – personal regret.

From her narration it becomes clear that she is not bothered by not being a practicing Catholic in the official sense of the term.

[four people from her village took part in her first journey] They were all daily churchgoers. I wasn't, well, I was baptized, but I didn't receive the Communion, so I didn't have confirmation or anything. Perhaps when I am enough mature for that, then ... If they accept me like that, I will go to church when I have time. But it is not my absolute priority to go to a mass every Sunday. But I don't condemn that, or how can I say, I'm happy to read the quotations during the mass or everything they ask from me.

Although she sees her 'travel' around religion as a kind of journey or spiritual development ("Perhaps when I am enough mature for that, then..."), but she does not feel as if she was late or in a need to hurry. It seems, that this travelling community gave her the gift of *not stating any expectations*, forms and norms in connection with that. As a matter of course for the non-religious *Occasional* the differences in religiosity do not cause any trouble, although she notices that it can sometimes cause problems.

The thing that annoys the travellers is that a young priest who regularly leads pilgrimages always chooses hymns not from Hozsanna, but from the blue booklet he takes with him. He takes the 'Expiatory prayer'.⁹⁷ And there are some who ask why they don't pray this and that, since they are used to certain ones at home.

Considering the reasons of her taking part in these journeys Occasional's motivation seems to be rather complex: she at the same time rejects being a member in a religious community and is attracted to the targets provided by the pilgrim agency, moreover - according to the previous extracts - to a certain extent to the people taking part in these pilgrimages.

⁹⁷ A rather particular collection of prayers spreading as a - using a self-created term - '*pietic subculture*' in Catholicism. It is not completely prohibited by the official Church, although because of certain theological thoughts there are concerns in connection with this spiritual movement. The appearance and popularisation of that in these journeys again points out the '*spiritual brokerage*' present in these journeys as I have pointed out in an earlier part.

- After so many years, why do you go on these journeys? To see foreign places or to belong to a religious community?
- No, I wouldn't like to belong to such a religious community, definitely not. (*reacting categorically*) I gladly look at the churches, and we can visit such places I couldn't travel to with my family, I wouldn't be let in. ... That is why I said, that I wouldn't be [happy] to lie on the beach for two weeks. In Mexico I didn't want to go to Acapulco, but I was interested in the Maya and other cultures. So, in the local people themselves, how they live and how the big cities look like in other places.
- But you could have done that with any other agency, couldn't you?
- The pilgrimage places are nice; they are close to my heart. How can I put this? I am proud of being in La Salette,⁹⁸ Garabandal,⁹⁹ if I tell somebody that I was there, they ask me where that is.

Considering all these I could easily categorize *Occasional* as a tourist, who chooses pilgrimages because of the peculiar target places and to some extent because of the employees of the agency and the special circle of travellers. Although being a tolerant tourist, a surprising account reveals the complexity of her approach.

- So in Lourdes you didn't go out to the cave to pray?
- On the contrary, I went out there.
- But how is that then...
- How can I say? When in Lourdes ... I read about it, and it raised my interest, whether it was really so, that people were going there to be cured, and so I woke up at dawn, and went out to the cave to pray, I said my small prayers as I used to, but not for curing. And anyhow, I was listened on that first occasion, since I went there eight months later. (*laughing*) I was asking, in quotation marks, asking, to be there once more in life, I was so touched by that place, so, so ... (*searching for the right words*)

For *Occasional* it is not an ambition to belong to a religious community, which does not mean that she is not happy with the community. Surely, she feels healthy to belong to this caring, open and from certain aspects tolerant community. Although, religiosity as presented here is not attractive for her. Having grown up in more simple circumstances, *Occasional* does not reflect on the contrast between her religious practice and relation to Catholic faith. In places of worship she acts as she sees it from her fellow travellers. Although she does not consider herself religious, at these places she practices her own 'religiosity', 'saying her own prayers in front of the statues of the Virgin'. When asking about her motivation she immediately started to point out the practicality of travelling with the agency, but later it just turns out that beside the good organization something touches her in these places.

... so now comparing it to Fatima, since that was mentioned to me at home, [in Fatima] the great square, the never-ending lines of stones, that didn't touch me... on the contrary, this [Lourdes] is so homelike, hilly, in the green, and the story [she means the miraculous origin story of the Lourdes pilgrimages], that it happened there, and not another two kilometres until we reach the place of the apparition [-referring to Fatima].

⁹⁸ Pilgrimage place in France.

⁹⁹ Pilgrimage place in Spain.

There is something attractive in the pilgrimage places even for a non-religious pilgrim like *Occasional*. The stories, namely the healings attract her, the non-religious or hesitating one, and even drives her to act similarly to 'the pilgrims'. But who are 'the pilgrims'? Thus each prayer said kneeling down in front of the statue can be so complex or non-obvious like that of *Occasional*. Who is *Occasional* from the outside? She is a pilgrim coming from Hungary and kneeling down in the place of the Lourdes apparitions. And who is she from the inside? She is a non-Catholic tourist who has found a good and accepting community and who is attached by the faith of the others trying to hope and wish for the future. These images differ to a great extent making it impossible to judge simply and quickly.

In spite of her own hesitant self-identification, *Occasional* notices not only the religious differences, but also the difference between pilgrims and tourists characteristic of these journeys.

[The company is usually] very mixed. Very mixed. As I said, there are ones who immediately accept me. There has been for example the Benelux-journey recently. And it was advertised as a pilgrimage-like journey. So there will be masses, but we will look more at the tourist attractions. And, so, the young priest as a good pastor held evening prayers and morning prayers on the bus - if he does something he likes to do his best. And some feedback came, they told me, 'You know the priest, tell him not to sing so long,' or 'Why was it important ... half an hour would have been enough, why was it important to have the mass for an hour'. They took part as tourists. There were others ... they told me several times that they went here and there while we were having mass. I should tell the guide, that they didn't get lost; they were just not interested. And this is quite common. If I count 45 people on a bus, there are 10 of them who absolutely don't apply on a religious basis, only that they would like to travel to that particular town. And I am the 11th. But I don't press them, why the priest speaks so much, etc. And he [the priest] asks me: 'Was it all right? Was it too long or too short?' And I answer, 'Look, I am happy that you said this, I am happy to listen to you, it was a complete entity.' I said, 'Look, you know how you would like to put your thoughts, and you cannot interrupt that in the middle.' I said, 'If somebody cannot stand that, then he wouldn't come to listen to you'.

After pointing out that there are many, or at least two types of travellers on these journeys, *Occasional*, following her own position present throughout her narrative, defines herself also as a tourist. However, she explains and presents very carefully her particular tourist position and tourist sense, at the same time describing sensitively the rather complex group of tourists as well as her own, also not simple identity.

[asking her about the reactions of her fellow travellers when noticing that she does not take the Communion] Nobody has asked me about that yet, no negative sign. And it is not only me, who stays in the pews. But on the contrary, I am the first who sits into the pews. I am not escaping from anything. I am more a tourist, but I do take my rosary with me, but if I had to start or pray that, I would not be able to continue, since nobody taught that me. Just to show I have that as well. I pray, but never go to the front of the bus to hazzan.

When really forced to define herself, *Occasional* is rather detailed and sophisticated. She counts herself as a tourist. Even after describing one fourth of the participants, the tourists, as non-religious, non-interested, a bit selfish,

desire-driven, a bit intolerant. She is able to recognize and openly tell what she is not: the religious community does not attract her; she is not interested in gaining the sacraments, nor becoming Catholic - yet. But at the same time, and this really points out her clear senses, she is distancing herself from everyday tourists. With one word, she does not want to cover the divisions of that community; she does not want to easily sit in the rather comfortable 'being a pilgrim' position. Being rather tolerant, adaptive and flexible she simply gives back to the community what she has received from it. *Occasional* is able to make subtle distinctions not only concerning faith and being a pilgrim by disintegrating vast and seemingly evident categories, but she is also able to distinguish one traveller from another.

- ... [in Mexico] there was the wife of the attaché. And I was wondering; being the wife of the attaché she had not seen Gaudalupe.¹⁰⁰ And she had not seen a third of the places I have visited. But she was in Brazil, and here and there, but she probably didn't even come out of her accommodation. So, she was not able to describe any experiences that she liked in these places.

- Aha, and when you tell a story to your fellow travellers...

- Then they listen with 'open mouth'. [surprised]

Occasional constructs the profile of true traveller using 'the wife of the attaché' as a parallel. On that basis she considers the true, authentic form of travelling as a continuous quest. She is a Phileas Fogg using Orvar Löfgren's term (Löfgren 1999). Precisely searching for the right identification sometimes distancing from pilgrims, at that point she is distancing herself from another form of tourism.

As presented earlier in connection with Lourdes, for *Occasional* it is important to get to know what happened in a certain place earlier, how this knowledge influences her to act in a certain - for the first sight in her case - rather distinctive way. Although exploring further the narration, it seems that the outer interpretation, the 'meaning', is not enough for true experience.

I really tell them, I tell them the failures as well, and so I really tell them if I am disappointed. The head of the agency usually asks me, "So, any disappointment now?" And I tell him, yes; I again had some disappointment, since I usually discuss this with him. So these are the kind of disappointments that emerge between the image formulated in me and the image I have seen in reality. And for example, Mona Lisa was one of them in the Louvre. I hadn't imagined it like that, compared to the copies, which are magnified. I imagined a larger picture, than it was in fact. Or the Eiffel tower. Yes, it is nice, I was happy, and everything, but I had imagined a larger one. I imagined a larger one, as it is depicted above the city or as it is presented on TV or in the news, so these are a kind of 'TV-disappointments'. And then Bethlehem, and as I mentioned there was a difference between Fatima and Lourdes. So, Lourdes is a small humble place in spite of the crowd that is so real and true, while compared to that in the concrete jungle of Fatima where many people just push each other. So, the small church and the other constructions considered [to symbolize] holding arms, but this is a concrete jungle under the sun. How much more pleasant it is in Lourdes! Among the trees or on the grass, I cannot describe. [Showing pictures of Fatima] so this is how we can go to the place of the apparition, and there are the Stations of the Cross, you can go along that. But if the apparition took place here, why didn't they build the church here, in the very same place?

¹⁰⁰ The major pilgrimage place of Mexico, close to the capital.

The lengthy discussion about the disillusionment in Paris, in the Louvre can be understood. Although citing the disappointments in Fatima, and even in Bethlehem – sounds strange among the experiences of a pilgrimage agency. This again points out that for *Occasional* it is not enough to say that ‘this is a rather important pilgrimage place’ or to get to know the meaning. *Occasional* (and I can mention *Seeker* as well) needs a place with a touching atmosphere, an authentic place and not a defined place.

Occasional exemplifies the fact that religious or spiritual experience, or simply experience (since she does not state she is searching for religious experience) cannot be reached in any surroundings and community. Being together with the locals of her village, her presence would be so ‘loaded’ according to her senses, that she would not be able to reach ‘the experience’. But what is that: the experience for her? Definitely not a good ‘praying together’, definitely not the pious act, and not surprisingly it is not being freed from her sins.

- And do you know, what it means to gain indulgence?
- No, no. (bit confused)
- Can I ask, for what do you pray on these journeys with your words?
- Things I am concerned about, what I would like to achieve in life, things like that.
- And why is it better to pray in these places than in the church of your village?
- I don’t know, recently in Mariazell I have knelt in front of the statue of the Virgin and said my small prayer. I feel that it is more likely my prayer is heard, and there is some thanksgiving that I could go there.

Occasional – being non-religious, but travelling for years with a pilgrim-agency - does not know the meaning of indulgence. In spite of that, she feels the difference between pilgrimage places. What then is the experience she is searching for? Probably the possibility of becoming happy and relaxed.

- But there is singing and praying on those journeys. How did you feel yourself?
- I was feeling good (*neutrally*), how can I say, I accepted. I cannot sing..., but I know the Our Father and others. I didn’t feel uncomfortable.”

Occasional told me an important condition of spiritual health: being different, but accepted by a community. The possibility of reaching interesting places and to become richer in her home circles with unique experiences. And probably the possibility to formulate the most important wishes for herself when kneeling in front of a statue in some charging, metaphysical state in some authentic physical space.

6 IMAGINATIONS IN COLLISION

Looking through pilgrims' reports, certain features can be noted in their recalls. I regard these texts as sources of fieldwork that reveal the motivations, images and self-imaging of the travellers most plastically and in the most qualitative way. In this chapter I intend to look through the central observations formulated on the basis of the interviews. At the same time, I include other qualitative sources in my analyses, such as other interviews not presented in details, short interviews made during the journeys, discussions with the employees at the pilgrim agency, my observations on different scenes and travellers' letters and diaries.

The Reinterpretation of Life in the Light of Pilgrimage Experiences

Conversion and its Testimonies

In the interpretation of my travellers, travelling itself undoubtedly causes a remarkable alteration. Due to their experiences and observations, the travellers look at the surrounding world, as well as themselves and their own life in a different way. Since this particular travelling *is connected to faith*, for most travellers it affects the most central or substantive, but at least important regions of life. Thus it is not by accident that in talking about travelling, each topic considered important is set in the frame of a life history. In most cases the individual connects the alteration of his personality to these journeys, thus in his report he intends to reveal and explain the circumstances in which these remarkable events took place. The most significant life historical turning point coming up in relation with pilgrimage is *conversion*.

Before discussing conversion I consider it important to underline, that this is a rather challenging concept with a double meaning. The primary meaning is accepted and well known in general social discourse. The Hungarian '*megtérés*'

means solely the acceptance of faith and the process of becoming a believer. However, the English expression *conversion* at the same time also refers to the shift between different religions (in Hungarian this shift is referred with the expression 'átterés'). The Hungarian expression itself is often not even connected to a concrete religion or Church, but rather means the *general* acceptance of faith. In this case, however, it is not this otherwise relevant difference in meaning that counts, but rather the way in which conversion has gained a secondary (in our days already dominant) interpretation in Catholic discourse. In my opinion this process is due to the effects of the II Vatican Council and late-modernity,¹⁰¹ together with the disappearance of the so-called 'militant Catholicism' and the fact that Catholicism recognized its minority status in society. In this context conversion means the real experiencing of faith gained through family socialization. In other words, it is a kind of transition to Catholic adulthood. What we may term the 'second conversion' referring to the second coming of Jesus. The term referring to 'final times' is not an overstatement here. Since regarding this type of conversion many believers report concrete experiences, almost miraculous events and in most contemporary Catholic narratives this conversion gains an existential significance. Recalling the cases of the pilgrims *Convert* has converted, *Medium* has converted to Catholicism from Calvinism, while *Occasional* may have accepted the faith, but does not link herself to the Church. *Seeker*, *Eschatologist* and *Enthusiast* have all been brought up in Catholicism. However, in their cases the secondary meaning of conversion characteristic of Catholic discourse can be traced. Thus conversion due to this double meaning may be in the case of almost each pilgrim a crucial turning point, and at the same time the starting point of the adult Christian life. According to this conversion-centred approach, pilgrimage or being a pilgrim is the end and fulfilment of the process of conversion, as well as making the relation with the otherworldly perfect. Thus pilgrimage is in fact an opportunity for self-analysis, and for the clarification of self-identity. And as it will be presented later, pilgrimage presents an opportunity for the clarification of the relation between the self and the surrounding society through the undermining of categories considered as 'given'.

Influenced by the experiences on a journey, a traveller recorded the retracing of essential and substantive questions of life in her letter:

Meanwhile we arrived at the Sheet, on which I noticed Jesus' head and felt for the first time in my life how much He suffered for us. I had to think over my whole life very deeply in the context of my faith. And in fact all the previous experiences that had happened inside me since 1973, in that very moment became full reality in me. Here, it was not religion, that I converted from Catholicism to Calvinism, since I found my spiritual welfare there, and that the devotion of the Virgin Mary has always been with me since my childhood and Her prayer has affected me very deeply, which is also very important for me, but rather the fact that I was able to experience spiritually the suffering that Jesus offered for me, He had to die because

¹⁰¹ The connection and interference between the two is an interesting problem; however, not analysed here.

of my sins and I came to understand this in reality only here. I can tell, that also before, but in fact it happened on this day, on 5th June, 1998, on the 33rd anniversary of our marriage that my whole being was developed to perfection with the help of Macroworld Travel Agency. (Letters 98/143)

The text undoubtedly records a 'second conversion', at the same time signalling that this does not cause a complete break from previous life phase. It does not lead to its complete denial, or to its critical review, as often happens in the case of 'first' conversions. It means a different, in a way deeper understanding of the faith, often followed by a formulation of a more personal connection with God, as *Seeker* describes it in detail. In a later phase I will analyse in full this new kind of faith in God, which differs from the searching and admiring attitude of the converter that longs for perfection (*Convert*).

Analysing - or perhaps even reciting - conversion and life before conversion is an important element in creating a new pilgrim- or Christian-identity. In studying these texts one can observe how the converter distances his earlier self from himself, how he creates a new behaviour with the help of which he can present Christian life. These conversion-narratives show very clearly that late-modern self-identity is *changing*. Individuals not only sense this - this being in itself already a late modern phenomenon - but also *analyse* and *interpret* their new self, looking back on and *confronting* their old self. A peculiar feature of the late-modern individual is that he apprehends his identity in a dynamic way.

Moreover, as if all pilgrims were converters, many of them regard the demonstration and *testimony* of these conversions as significant. The spreading of this phenomenon - rather unknown in traditionalist Catholicism - signals the changing of Catholic self-identity in societies where earlier dominant Catholicism has become a minority, as well as the fact that religious people are becoming self-analytical (or perhaps late-modern). *Medium* calls her fellow travellers directly to make testimonies instead of reciting Our Father all the time, while *Seeker* makes a testimony on her personal God-experience both on the pilgrim bus and at her work-place following her own inner call.

The rising value of testimonies refers to the altering group-identity, i.e. here Catholic-identity. Their appearance obviously signifies the endeavour to strengthen group-identity: in a wider sense *Catholic-identity*, in a narrower sense *pilgrim-identity*. Thus it is not by chance that making testimonies takes place in the sole intimate meeting place of the pilgrim group, namely on the bus. At the same time a bus journey may be considered as a liminal-phase. The experience lived through *together* (namely during a given journey), at the same time *alone* (namely separated and interpreted in an individual way) becomes more valuable and is manifested in this rather distinctive form in Catholicism. And all this takes place in a pilgrim group just about to separate and already moving away from the sacred space and time. Telling and expressing an experience publicly does not only help the formulation - and this way recording - of the experience, but also encourages personalization, and its searching for place in the continuous process of self identity formulation. Nonetheless, expressing a

positive experience and confiding in other certainly has a healing effect. And the latter is not a new phenomenon in case of pilgrimages.

Pilgrimage: 'Illnesses', 'Therapies' and 'Recoveries'

Pilgrimage has been a "therapeutic" journey (Tomasi 2002, 8). The recoveries from corporeal illnesses are remembered by the masses of *ex-voto* objects one can find at certain shrines. Pilgrims of earlier ages hoped for the recovery of both the body and soul from God. Listening to travellers' experiences as well as reflecting on fieldwork observations, it is clear that the religious tourist of our day – howsoever inauthentic and superficial he may seem to the observing scholars watching from the outside or for the exhausted walking pilgrims – is looking for recovery, today in the first place for spiritual recovery during these journeys. The hope for physical recovery, due to the dominant social discourse believing in science, has decreased and become undoubtedly a 'specialty' of certain shrines, first of all of Lourdes in present day vernacular Catholicism (Dahlberg 1991, Eade 1991, 1992). Since distance pilgrimage by a bus can be extremely exhausting, especially due to the fact that for instance in Rome it also includes a detailed tourist program (mostly done on foot), it is not possible to take part in organized religious tourism – here not considering special journeys – with a serious illness or physical disorder (Dahlberg 1991). Thus it is not surprising that those searching for recovery in most cases go on these pilgrimages due to their spiritual illnesses. As could be seen in the cases of *Seeker*, *Convert* and *Enthusiast*, pilgrimage made after recovery is an important motivation, partly as an effect of self-understanding clarified during the illness, partly as remercies.

Convert and *Medium* are types of travellers I often meet in organized pilgrimages. These travellers have some very serious spiritual troubles, certain mental diseases (for example depression) and do not reveal these to their fellow travellers, who are sometimes selfish, noisy or just happy. I experienced in fieldwork that the priests travelling with the groups are not really searching for these troubles, although to get rid of them is the main motivation in making these people travel. However, talking about them is definitely one step towards relief. As I started to ask people about their motivation, in quite a number of cases this, until then untold 'motivation', came immediately from them. Usually at these times the priests travelling with the group still seemed to stay comfortable not taking others' problems on their shoulders. In this way pilgrimage may lead to analyse or consider the 'illness', today more likely a sorrow or a hurting experience. In this way for the pilgrim his own journey can mean the journey of the 'sick', in the first place the journey of the man suffering from troubles being in a hopeless situation. It is not by chance that these travellers desire for sympathy being liable to open up. And exactly because of this could the role of outer spiritual helpers become relevant on these journeys. And all this is taking place in an age, when in usual circumstances, i.e. at home, one can observe the rarefaction of confessions, which also the clergy has started to adjust to. Confession as *acknowledgment of sins* has in fact lost its significance

in the age after the II Vatican Council built on adult Catholicism. Confession, however, as a *relaxant therapeutic discussion*, is almost unknown in mainstream Catholicism. Thus my contemporary pilgrims go on their lonely pilgrimages, away from the offered form in the community. *Convert's* report that she cannot get relieved while confessing at home, but she calls up a pleasant memory of a confession done in a pilgrimage also signals this duality.

Travelling as a member of a community itself can be therapeutic for some. It is not surprising, as *Convert* also notes, that many of them have continuous conversations, i.e. chatting, during these journeys. She at the same time notices the therapeutic feature in her own habit to keep a diary. However, it becomes clear from her narrative that she considers non-stop chatting on the bus as superfluous. *Eschatologist* considers this unnecessary talking and chatting as a negative, characteristic feature of the pilgrim groups. *Spirited* more understandingly, relying on his experience as a group leader, admits that it is important to leave time for the acquaintances meeting so rarely to talk to each other. For *Occasional* being in a community and talking to people – presumably not about faith being a non-Catholic – undoubtedly means the counter-world so desired and needed for her spiritual health. It seems that the level of identification with the community depends on the actual spiritual status of the individual.

In case of both freshly-converted people and older believers talking about pilgrimage as a rather special religious practice reminds them of a peculiar spiritual burden. They ask the question why their children do not believe, how they are responsible for the fact that their children became irreligious. In most cases these narratives start with a rather strong self-critical tone and continue with reference to powerlessness and a lack of means. Then God is mentioned, to whom they leave the solution of these problems. As a kind of side-narrative, stories of how many different ways they still try to get their children closer to God can be heard and what – rather small – successes they can achieve. The positive and hoped for recognitions of these small successes can be interpreted as symbolic compensations. This guilty feeling resembles the feeling of guilt that parents feel in bilingual/bicultural families where their children are raised monolingual.¹⁰²

The Needed Other in Discovering the Existential 'Centre', the True Self

Listening to these narratives it seems clear, that the Other (i.e. the non-pious, frivolous tourist or the pharisaic, hypocrite pilgrim) is a strongly needed entity, as if a more or less annoying counterpart was needed to be present. In almost every narrative the clashes referring to different understandings of these journeys can be found. For a clear definition of the self, the traveller needs a point of reference – the more evident (i.e. more profane or more hypocrite) this entity is, the better. These reflections can help in the quest for finding and

¹⁰² In correspondence from Marjut Anttonen.

defining the true self. The true self, being neither a normative, imagined one nor one matching certain socio-cultural positions, can only be discovered by “living through” these experiences with a certain self-reflection. And the ‘sharpening’ of senses can advance this kind of self-reflection. Does it come as a surprise then that most people finally consider their own life exceptional and their own faith more or less individual and special using the extremes of the traveller as reference points?

As I have already observed, in the case of *Seeker* a pilgrimage journey serves as a mirror. The fact that travelling partly means discovering the self, or more exactly discovering *another* self - like in the example of *Seeker* - has already been revealed. Adler’s conclusion about medieval pilgrims is to a great extent similar; “Ideally, the reward for going the distance was a response to the self, a mirroring, both more disinterestedly individuating and more ethically abstract than responses routinely evoked in familiar home territory” (Adler 2002, 31). Tom Selänniemi, discussing the southern journeys of Finnish tourists, also refers to similar phenomena (Selänniemi 1999b). However, while for the tourists these journeys mean a kind of *excursion to an alternative self*, pilgrim journeys may result in a permanent or at least sustained effect in the pilgrims, due to the meanings connected to them, i.e. getting closer to the otherworldly. Centre and periphery has been in the centre of pilgrimage studies for a long time. Eric Cohen (1992b) has discussed in detail the problem of centre and periphery in studying pilgrimages. According to him, Victor Turner’s (1973) fundamental idea in connection with pilgrimages was that pilgrimage places are found almost always further away from the economic-cultural centre of the given culture, that is to say somewhere “out there”. In his opinion these are always peripheral, out-of-the-way places. Nonetheless, since these places have become central places of religions, pilgrimage places are paradoxically in fact “centres out there”. As Mircea Eliade points out these pilgrimage places are “the Centre of the World”. In course of pilgrimage studies during the 1970s, mostly due to Victor Turner and Mircea Eliade, one can easily trace the improving process of the theory of centre-periphery continua. Within this theory not only the case of pilgrimage places already becoming socio-political centres (Jerusalem, Rome) are analysed, but also the problem of Great and Little Tradition together with the questions of formal and popular pilgrimage places are discussed. It was also Eric Cohen who strove to apprehend the difference between tourism and pilgrimage from an aspect other than mere geographical and socio-political: for the pilgrim his target place is not on the periphery, but in the *existential centre* (Cohen 1996). His idea has been strongly criticized, especially after further studies in tourism, when the diverse understanding of travel among tourists was revealed (Selänniemi 1996b). The image of the pilgrim travelling to the existential centre was further criticized in studies pointing out the segmentation of the pilgrims and criticizing the Turnerian idea of the *communitas* as an ideal state of the pilgrim (Sallnow 1981, Pfaffenberger 1983). Analysing the reports of my travellers I can support Cohen’s argument. According to the narratives, the individual who has returned home *meditates* over the morals of his journey, storing them, although not only as pleasant memories. Experience gained in the

course of the journey appears as a certain kind of norm, the norm of the personality, *the norm of true life*. It is not by chance then that *Seeker* realizes her real self is the one that appears in these journeys. *Eschatologist* feels his experiences gained while travelling strengthen his conceptions about the world around him. *Occasional* – although not understanding, not even interested in the theology of the pilgrim – reflects on her own life at the pilgrimage places and feels herself in the appropriate community during the journeys heading to a pilgrimage place. Most important, however, is how the travellers regard *travelling* as a spiritual plus, or even a kind of *spiritual re-charging*. There are some, who recall their monthly regular one-day pilgrimage as experiences that give them strength to go on and live until the next occasion. This fact, that travelling (tourism and pilgrimage) can be understood as a counter-world is not a recent discovery. There is to a great extent a similarity between tourism and pilgrimage. It would be in fact a mistake to aim at contrasting the experiences of tourists and pilgrims, as authentic and inauthentic experiences at a time, when the generalized image of the tourist has already broken down and I am here striving to eliminate the simplified image of the pilgrim. Nonetheless, it should be taken into consideration that my pilgrims during their journeys do not simply meet the sacred (which may be a profane sight for the dedicated tourist) or live through cathartic experience (as certain tourists do as well) but they achieve all these through evoking and reinterpreting their own pain and trouble.

Shaping Christianity - Identities in Verification

The Hungarian writer, Frigyes Karinthy wrote his short story entitled *Barrabas* in 1917. The story takes place on the third day after Christ was crucified. Seeing the people suffering from the tortures of Barrabas, the killer, Christ returns to earth to ask for a new judgment from Pilatus. By the time he arrives at the governor's house, a huge mass of people has been following him. According to the short story Pilatus asks the crowd again whether to release Barrabas or Jesus. As the story goes, although everybody is shouting the name of Jesus, Barrabas' name can be heard. Karinthy with his text compels each one of us to reflect on ourselves: the distorted cry losing its aim obviously refers to human fallibility and moral vulnerability. How is it possible, that it is Barrabas, who is finally released again? How may good will become distorted? Do we explain our acts later falsely? I know, I shouted Barrabas, but looking back at the events, now am I whitewashing myself? Or even do I myself believe, that I shouted the name of Jesus, however, in fact I cried the name of Barrabas?

Jesus and Barrabas, pilgrim and tourist. Our basic questions appear in the field of force and web of imaginations and interpretations. Self-images, role-images and ideal-images influence our conscience, which at the same time distort our rather vulnerable voice.

In my pilgrims' narratives it can be observed that as a result of travelling given and well-known categories become subjects of assessment. My travellers reanalyse their conceptions, in most cases strengthen them, and they argue in a way as if they were certain about the usage of a conception. In their narratives they mostly reflect on '*the pilgrim*' and '*the Christian*'. Most of the time these two conceptions do not appear together: they use either of them. These conceptions are to great extent synonyms, which is understandable due to the parallelism regarding 'pilgrimage as the form of perfect religiosity'. Pilgrim and tourist appear as opposing categories solely in *Eschatologist's* narrative.

Most travellers regard themselves as *pilgrims* regardless of their own acts, as it comes out in fieldwork observations, quantitative analyses and interviews. According to quantitative analyses my travellers not only regard themselves as pilgrims, but also as *religious* according to the teachings of the Church. Exactly because of this it may be surprising at first sight, that the dominant perception and interpretation of these journeys is the meditation on the differences between pilgrimage/pilgrim and tourism/tourist as well as the definition of the true Christian/pilgrim, also the denotation of certain acts from the imagined behaviour of the pilgrim. A distinct recurring motif of narratives discussing the journeys is the rejection of the excessiveness of either pilgrim or tourist acts.

The other problem: the group was very mixed. Already at the registration, you should inform the people that this is a pilgrimage journey, where it is usual that people pray and sing on the bus. For the tourists even that little praying was too much, and for us, it was far from enough, everybody was left unsatisfied. I wanted to travel with You also to Lourdes-Fatima, but on such a bus and with such a mixed company it would be meaningless. (Letters 06/103)

How is it possible, that memories from journeys, which *mainly religious pilgrims* took part in, often speak about the *conflict* between *pilgrims and tourists*, Christians and non-Christians, true and untrue pilgrims? Provided they are all pilgrims, who are the tourists they argue with? Where are and who are the supporters of Barrabas?

The researcher will obviously never find Barrabas' supporters. In cultural analysis based on ethnography there cannot be a higher authority, a more authentic voice, than that of the interviewee. The researcher cannot detect in anybody the supporter of Barrabas and, in a rather paradoxical way, he also cannot reject the fact that others see the supporters of Barrabas. It is a reality Frigyes Karinthy wrote about: everybody thinks about the same thing and still everybody understands and says something different.

Pilgrims and Tourists

The above apparent contradiction reveals that my travellers have very definite images about certain categories, roles and identifications. The most important colliding images are the pilgrim and the tourist. The *interviewees* in their memories confront first of all the prayer-repeating, hypocrite pilgrim who overdoes the devotions, who will be analysed at a later stage. Other qualitative

sources, in the first place the travellers' letters, however, report on the other profile, the *worldly tourist*.

We went through this journey as "tourists" and not as pilgrims, admiring the houses, the dead stones. We didn't kneel down as a group, together in front of our REDEEMER living and expecting us in EUCHARIST. We didn't have time for this. Although I ran back, when I realized that we were already going out of the church, but I was reproached (by my fellow travellers) for keeping the others waiting. (Letters 07/108)

Reading this characteristic report I wonder why the expression 'tourist' is in quotation marks in this letter? The quotation marks of the writer are likely to signify her own hesitation. She may feel, that she uses a too strong and deprecatory expression, although it can also indicate the fact that she does not intend to identify their acts with tourism, but within the group of known conceptions this one stands the closest to what she intends to express. She is looking for an expression that could describe her feelings approximately. According to this traveller a pilgrim does not search for houses or dead stones, but something else. For what? Perhaps, instead of dead objects the pilgrim looks for living people, for faith? According to this report, touristy sightseeing does not fit into the behaviour of a pilgrim. Instead, the pilgrim kneels down in a community, prays and looks for the meeting with the Redeemer. Accordingly, a successful pilgrimage may be achieved in a homogenous pilgrim community seeking for real experiences and avoiding the mundane gaping of the tourist.

According to the reports most conflicts are caused by disagreement on the quantity and quality of communal devotions. The prayers, songs and masses left out or shortened undermine most the pilgrimage. Different expectations may in certain cases formulate a definite image in the travellers, which leads to the complete segmentation of a group.

Unfortunately, there were people in the group who didn't come on a pilgrimage, but as tourists. Also the priest realized this at a very early stage. But, thank God, the pilgrims were sitting at the back of the bus, there was even a cantor among them, so we prayed and sang there. (Letters 92/43)

Thus they need to detach themselves from tourists, to pray and sing separately, and it is even better, if professional helpers (priest, cantor) take part as well. Based on the above report we can note, that the pilgrim very easily senses the non-adequate behaviour that is against the norms. This, considering that the travellers come from a secularised society, underlines how dominant the sensibilities suppressed in everyday life may become here. The professional helpers gain special significance, so in connection with them an even stricter sensitivity can be observed.

I was happy that on this journey happiness and joking didn't end in indecency, nastiness. I had already had bad experiences on another pilgrimage. Then I travelled with people gathered from different villages. Once somebody innocently said an ambiguous word. Only one word! The group became excited immediately. Women started to scream and whinny. Recognizing the effect, the travellers scrambled after one another to the front of the bus. The microphone was glowing; jokes of the most

obscene type were flowing. The most successful was a tall, skinny man who had been singing magnificent carols on the bus before. He was a Catholic cantor, as it later turned out. The jokes were followed by Hungarian Gipsy melodies of the same type. I felt pity for the old, quiet priest, who tried to turn the "good mood" down, suggesting that they could tell other, more acceptable, milder jokes, as well. He even told some, but his effort was unsuccessful. Especially when the so far nice young couple (teachers of religion) started to sing the priest-insulting melody of 'Town of Eger, town of priests'. (Letters 96/9)

Reading this account one can recognize that the *perceptual changes* caused by being en route brought about an entirely different reaction in most of the travellers. Although a minority, some people were hurt by the quality and quantity of 'happiness' and 'joking'. On account of this perceptual change, the travellers reject the kind of behaviour that they otherwise tolerate in their everyday life. What is peculiar about these journeys is that the travellers try to regulate the norms according to this increased sensitivity, which contrasts strongly with the great freedom of the average tourist journey. This sensitivity is, however, very unplanned and formulated dynamically: similar phenomena are often recorded in the memory in completely different ways, depending on the make-up of the group, and also on the mood of the participants, as well as on the common experiences shared to date.

We were already in the Austrian Alps, among snowy mountains, in the area of ski-resorts. We must stop here! And that happened! The courier was again inventive. 'Get out of the bus!' - he ordered and we started a fantastic game with snowballs. We were screaming, laughing, running and of course bathing in the snow, etc. Everybody got refreshing snow on his head and neck. We continued our journey refreshed and recreated, joking on the bus. Good mood was unlimited. This is also an important part of such a wonderful pilgrimage. (Letters 96/3)

However, the opinion of the 'tourist from the most inside circle' or that of the 'least connected employee', i.e. the spiritual leading priest reveals that both the extreme tourist and the extreme pilgrim can be found on these journeys.

... It should be decided whether the agency organizes pilgrimages or tourist journeys "on a higher level", in which one have to "smuggle" a little meditation, praying, singing (under the motto "sorry that is my turn") or, on the contrary, the permanent praying and singing should be released with a little silence or with an innocent joke. (I think the agency aims at fulfilling the previous demand, which I consider good, since there is only one Sunday in a week and sometimes a feast. But the clients should be informed what kind of journey they are registering for.) (Whether they should take a hymn-book and a prayer book, as it can be useful.) But they shouldn't expect, that there will be praying and singing all day long. (Although this is just my personal opinion, I heard, there were also travellers, who found the praying and singing too "little".) (cited by Pusztai 1998, 15)

As it turns out in the above report, sometimes the travellers themselves do not know what kind of journey in which they are taking part. The '*angry pilgrim*' will never travel with the agency again, because she was provided with a tourist trip. The '*sensitive pilgrims*' withdrew to the back, since there were also tourists on the bus. Nonetheless, the definition of the journey is obviously ambiguous, and this is partly the conscious aim of the agency: they expect those

other than pilgrims on these journeys. The reports in most cases reflect in their phrasing and the way they are structured the opinion of their writer:

The employees did their best, so that we could see a lot and enjoy ourselves ... The couriers were polite ..., they got so near to each sight, that we didn't have to walk long ways ... On the locations the well-prepared courier presented the sights. (Letters 06/61)

The above traveller describes exactly what a successful journey is like. The traveller should *see as much as possible, walk as little as possible, visit locations*, where they should have a look at the *sights*. Recalling that the journey in question is one that most travellers consider as pilgrimage, one can understand the collision of different images.

He [the courier] could have recognized on the very first day that this group consisted of two parts: of more simple believers, who came first of all for a pilgrimage and of more educated intellectuals, who were more interested in a tourist journey. These two demands could have been harmonized to satisfy both groups. Instead, he pitted them against each other and let the confrontations develop. (Letters 96/122)

Exactly due to the double rootedness of this travelling, in my travellers' narratives the tourist and the pilgrim discourse appear side by side. In this context *asceticism*, as the differentia specifica of pilgrimage can be discussed. Asceticism, so significant in the classical interpretation of pilgrimage – i.e. the neglect of the body, as well as the glorification of the sick body in certain pilgrim interpretations still today (Dahrlberg 1991) – turns into a topic of discussion owing to the diverse images connected to the journey. The travellers often reflect the normative image of a pilgrim.

The bus was a little bit uncomfortable due to the heat and lack of space ... I don't want to complain, since a journey like this, for a person, who is travelling as a pilgrim, also means self-denial. (Letters 01/45)

... we wouldn't have changed with the passengers in the other bus, neither with those traveling by air. On a pilgrimage journey one must suffer a little, a pilgrimage can be true only this way. (Letters 06/31)

Contrary to the above citations, according to my fieldwork the travellers only seldom interpret the physical inconveniences that occur as the necessary asceticism of pilgrimage. Among the letters the travel agency receives, many complain about the strain caused by inconvenient accommodation, distant parking place of the bus, although, at the same time reclaiming their money from the agency, in spite of the fact that most travellers consider the journey as pilgrimage. The travellers' image of these journeys can be divided further than pilgrimage and tourist journey. There are some who consider these journeys as "religious tours" (Letters 96/57), or "tourist journeys on a higher level" (Pusztai 1998, 15). The category of "tourist pilgrim" signifies very subtly individual image creation, as well as hesitating identification. The "tourist pilgrim" is a sensitive, although according to his self-acknowledgement, imperfect pilgrim.

The hall of the Last Supper made the intimate evening of the Holy Thursday which took place centuries ago real, then the road of suffering (Via Dolorosa) created by human evilness painfully seized the heart, even if one went through the road as a tourist pilgrim. (Letters 02/29)

The True Pilgrim/Christian

While in their letters the travellers intend to differentiate themselves from worldly tourists, noticing them at each step, in the interviews the definition of the *true Christian*, with another name *true pilgrim* is the most remarkable element. It is worthwhile recalling the experiences of *Convert*, who considers the proper motivation of pilgrimage, as well as the true pilgrim not only in connection with her fellow pilgrim, who humbled her. Although she recalled her positive experiences of the community, she described at length, what debates the atmosphere before the previous parliamentary elections caused in the pilgrim community. Although *Convert* may feel that as a freshly-converted believer she lacks the confidence needed to judge questions of faith, she differentiates the *true pilgrim* from the traveller, who looks only to his own interest. The concept of the Christian/the pilgrim breaks down during these journeys; *disqualifying and defining discourses* can be traced. *Convert's* opinion – “It is not always the true Christian who goes on pilgrimage” – in fact signals the break-up of the conventional interpretation caused by the experiences of the journeys. All this signifies that *Convert* experiences a different kind of behaviour which is inconceivable according to her conventions. She reacts to this by disqualifying some fellow-travellers from the group of pilgrims. According to my field observations this is true also the other way round. The wealthy lawyer couple, the Várhegyis, after travelling non stop for two days, facing inconveniences at the hotel and constant praying on the bus, rejected *this particular form* of pilgrimage. What does it mean then to be a pilgrim? It does not mean in the first place travelling, since - as it become clear from the interpretation of my travellers - non-pilgrims also travel. Neither does it mean performing the necessary acts needed for gaining indulgence. In the travellers' view several people are not pilgrims, people who are otherwise considered pilgrims in an external scientific description, analysing only the actions and neglecting inner interpretations. However, many people can be pilgrims, who are not considered as pilgrims according to this external observation.

Medium stresses the importance of the community during the journeys. She even notes that socio-cultural differences also break up, losing their importance. She cites almost word-for-word the Turnerian definition of *communitas*. However, a little later she 'draws' the borderlines and the line of inner distribution somewhere else. She senses the distribution within the community in the conflict between the *saloon faith believing in a dead God* and the *practical faith believing in a living God*. Nevertheless, she reckons loud, continuously repeated praying as excessive and unnecessary.

Enthusiast does not consider it true religiousness if pilgrimage does not have a fundamental effect on life. She feels hurt, if her fellow travellers behave improperly, although she mentions how the pilgrims warn her when she is

behaving improperly. By underlining that others did not respect “our pilgrimage” on the way to Csíksomlyó, she points out how many different meanings the word pilgrimage may have. It is evident, that these “others” were also travelling to the same place, to the same event. Pilgrimage refers to a certain type of *imagined behaviour* and in this case the others did not respect it, although they were also travelling to the same pilgrimage feast. The definition of pilgrimage usually narrows the range of tolerable behaviours.

Spirited as an experienced spiritual leader feels that friendly conversations should get space and time, even by regulating praying. *Seeker* reckons the excess of loud, repeated prayers as unreasonable and this way senseless. While *Eschatologist* considers pilgrimage itself as a peripheral act.

It should be noted that the variety of understandings and interpretations of the notion of *pilgrimage*, even in case of a single informant, nicely points out that this activity (peregrinating) and role (pilgrim) bears the heritage of the last thousand years as well as all the symbolic meanings. The individuals try to define themselves according to these meanings, contrasting them with their personal experiences. There is always one, but *partial understanding* of pilgrimage, which is utilized in each narrative. Different imagined profiles of pilgrims appear in the imagination of the travellers. The researcher in fact steps into this imagined world during the interviews, in order to get to know the traveler’s ‘true pilgrim’, as a kind of ideal. Undeniably the image of the archaic, foot-pilgrim is strong and definite. This pilgrim is going to a shrine wearing traditional or simple costume, without using the advantages provided by modern infrastructure, this way going through considerable physical weariness. For *Enthusiast*, for instance, seeing the rural pilgrims in Slovakia had a revelatory effect. This is partly due to the retardation of Hungarian Catholicism, which has transmitted certain images from before the Socialist era. However, in this longing I can detect the frustration of modern urban individual. In this context the image of the simple and true believer living in an unspoiled, undivided community may become an ideal. They are almost considered as Zulus – in *Eschatologist’s* view.

Another remarkable line of thought, however, creates the image of the ‘true pilgrim’ detached from the ‘hypocrite pilgrim’. According to this view the way of travelling and physical weariness are not important. In this case pilgrimage is rather an intensive direct communication with God. Conversations with long silences, as *Spirited* or *Seeker* describe them in detail. This way of thinking, which considers pilgrimage mainly as an opportunity for a straight introversion and self-analysis, does not consider seeing a shrine as most important.

Everywhere I see different interpretations of the pilgrim role and activity. The collection of meanings, which the individual can choose from in a certain situation, is one of the greatest and most complex matrices connected to one form of motion in space. Considering the allegorical meanings and the transreligious and transcultural understandings, pilgrimage is certainly a rather complex term in human culture.

As it was presented above, pilgrims tend to create the image of the true pilgrim around these two intersections. All this draws an interesting parallel with the only attempt made to describe the segmentation of religious tourism. As noted earlier, Valene Smith, following Adler, presented the pilgrim-tourist continuum rather statically and externally. According to my observations, however, this leads to the accentuation of a rather external aspect and in the long run strengthens the conflict between 'frivolous tourists' and 'serious pilgrims', that is inevitably visible on the surface. However, in the case of *Enthusiast* one could see that the identification of the traveller in fact *depends on the situation and context*, and it is eventually *created from the inside*. Nonetheless, this self-identification hardly steps over the imagined borderline between tourist and pilgrim. *Enthusiast* getting into conflict with the pilgrims did not conclude that she was not a pilgrim. Instead she started to meditate on the *kind of pilgrimage* that is suitable for her. *Eschatologist*, *Convert* or even *Medium* in similar cases simply comes to the conclusion that "the other" is not a pilgrim. Considering all these I may conclude, if one studies pilgrimage not on the basis of external features – for which the categories cited by Smith can be used very well –, it is "the other" traveller who changes places on this particular scale, while the *self* is situated permanently in the position of the pious pilgrim. What is the explanation for this?

These self-identifications to a great extent rely on the image of the travelling pilgrim. This *image* is not so variable and situational as *personal identification*. As I have noted above, since in these narratives the pilgrim appears as a synonym for Christian, the imagination of the pilgrim is in fact an imagination of true religiosity. This image is always present as a mould, so that travelling experiences could get shaped in them: they either verify or falsify travelling, i.e. pilgrimage. If the journey goes according to the pilgrim- or the Christian-mould of the individual, he has been on a pilgrimage. If it is not so, he complains about a tourist journey.¹⁰³ This all means that each traveller has a kind of normative image before setting out. Since these images originate from a rather divided pilgrim- and Christian-image in a more and more plural Catholicism, when travelling in a group it is unavoidable that these images confront each other at certain points. *Contemporary mass pilgrimages are in fact imaginations in collision*.

Emic Patterns of Religiosity

Listening to my interviewees' narratives about the pilgrim and the Christian, the material seems to be suitable to outline some rather general characteristics of contemporary religious man's image of religion. This, as a matter of course, does not intend to present what role religion plays in late-modern society. It

¹⁰³ I would like to stress again, that meanwhile the traveller, who regards himself as pilgrim and complains about the journey being far too touristy, may behave and act in a way that the researcher describes as tourist. In this case, however, it is already the researcher's own pilgrim-image that conflicts with the acts of the travellers.

must be stressed that although these may resemble the approach of sociology of religion, they originate first of all from the self-definition of religious man.

Most of my travellers, as I have already pointed out, define their faith in relation to something else, to something they see, feel, recognize or imagine around themselves. It seems as if as a consequence of the hibernated Socialist half a century, religiosities from different decades, moreover, from different centuries were present and in collision with each other. Then somebody creates a social and real meeting space/place, the pilgrim agency, using a centuries old form, and the people gathering there for various reasons try to fulfil that with *their* imaginations and meanings.

Among the interviewees it is *Medium*, who describes the different religiosities she notices around herself as the conflict between saloon faith and practical faith, between faith in a dead God and faith in a living God. She considers practical religiosity as characteristic of rural believers. She reckons her own religiosity also as practical, although as it comes out in the interview, her religiosity bears the features of late modern, new age spirituality-influenced, charismatic Catholicism. The categories, the classifications the pilgrim creates, as a matter of course, are not closed and finite, but are formulated and refined as a result of new experiences. *Medium*, for example, referring to the practice of praying on the bus, detaches herself from a behaviour others connect exactly to 'rural, simple religiosity'. *Medium* grasps very markedly the features of different religiosities she recognises. According to her interpretation the so-called practical faith can be described as follows: it recognizes the invisible around itself, believes that the otherworldly will manifest in this world (in pilgrimage places, in the light of the Eucharist, etc.). According to her, this faith is in open discussion with God, it is falling and restarting. Whereas saloon faith, as she describes it, has no direct connection to God. Because saloon faith always justifies its steps, it can never fail and in this way never learn from the failures. According to *Medium's* description this saloon faith does not realize the invisible around itself, neither believes that the otherworldly manifests itself in this world.

By contrast *Seeker*, *Spirited* and *Eschatologist* detach themselves exactly from the acts they connect to rural pilgrims. In their opinion true Christianity is characterized by intellectualism, which does not mean repeating, but more 'listening' and 'discussing'. It is a kind of continuous search for a 'real meaning'. It means alienation from and sensing routine in most mass-rituals and mainstream devotions. It attempts to leave the non-necessary, the routine, the personally not acknowledged, like the rosary or the saints. Concluding from the previous features, true Christianity means non-rituality, love of spontaneity and recognition of 'signs', 'messages' in everyday events. It includes a very conscious finding and defining of inner truthfulness, which at the same time can be shocking for the mainstream. However, this does not usually bother these people.

Finally, it is possible to point out a feature in this line of argumentation, which is hard to conceptualise: for these people there are no general and inherited religious laws and normative religious behaviours, but instead they

see individual cases. At the same time the acceptance of some basic religious truths (existence of God, the sacrifice of Christ) is certainly important, moreover, central for them.

Continuing the analysis of religiosity, altering completely the relation to communities is characteristic of this kind of religiosity. I can detect this in almost all of my interviews. In most cases one can observe the definite devaluation, or even often the complete cessation of community as a territorial concept. This is a rather remarkable feature of contemporary religiosity, since Catholicism is built on a definite territorial precept, namely on parish *communities*. By contrast none of the interviewees integrates to his/her own local community. Not only the inhabitants of the metropolis ignore their local community. For them the possibility of looking for another, alternative community is given anyway, as *Spirited* belongs to the Karitás community of another parish, and another interviewee attends a laic praying circle. Even *Occasional*, although living in a village, chooses the distant community of the pilgrim agency that she can experience so rarely. For her this detachment from the local community, however, causes difficulties, even internal tension. *Spirited*, despite his age, does not join his local community even on feast days: he rather looks for, sometimes far from his home, even in other cities, the communities he gladly joins. Due to the importance of experiencing a non-familiar feast, he considers it significant to visit different communities. *Seeker* parallels her break-away from her community with the process of becoming adult. *Convert* is unable to open up in her local community.

How then can the community at the pilgrimage agency be successful? Considering my sources the *non-structured nature* of this community contributes to its success to a great extent. The community of the pilgrims is laic: the accustomed spiritual leaders are lay and the priests taking part in the journeys join this community only as temporal guests. The regular travellers certainly know better the routines of the journeys than the priests, invited occasionally. The travellers often refer to the community of the agency as a “parish on the move”. This is, however, a parish, which does not have a vicar or the ‘vicar’, the owner of the agency, is a layman. The formulating and constructive state given in this way contributes to a great extent to the fact that many find true and authentic spiritual experience here. Besides, as I have shown above, this community reacts with a certain *increased sensitivity* to the behaviour considered not proper for or conducive to the pilgrims. Nonetheless, as *Occasional* states, this community is *rather tolerant* with the different, non-standard, individual religious practices. *Occasional*, who proves with her acts that she does not offend this increased sensitivity, with her helpfulness indicates her belonging to the community. She is one whom the community is ready to accept, in spite of the fact that she is not a practising Catholic. She is, in this way although at the first sight unlikely, but in fact a *non-religious pilgrim*. According to my field observations her case is far from being unique. This is all true even in the case, when late modern pilgrim, like *Eschatologist*, searching for a community, can easily become frustrated, distanced, disillusioned and can leave that particular community. After leaving so many others.

These two images of religiosity are, of course, not complements of each other and the image of “the other” formulated by the informants does not speak about a concrete other appearing in this text. This is so in spite of the fact that certain features I may put together as definite oppositions. The two religiosities can be described with the following oppositions: rural versus urban, non-intellectual versus intellectual, practical versus theoretical, accustomed, communal versus spontaneous, individual.

It seems these journeys are quintessential and *new experiences of Christianity* for the individual and so are certain verifications and redefinitions of the already accustomed, well known, fixed categories (i.e. identities). These categories exist. They are obviously based on a certain Catholic vernacular, which includes not only popular religion as rites and piety practices. It also contains the parts of Catholic theology interpreted fragmentally¹⁰⁴ as well as the believer’s image of society, community and religion in late modernity. These identities are partly strengthened, partly refined owing to these journeys. Thus late modern community pilgrimage does not aim in the first place at indulgence. These journeys serve not only the strengthening and analysing the individual faith – like late modern individual pilgrimages. The community is present on these journeys as a kind of catalyst for the individual, helping him in clarifying both his existential and social position. *Collision of images* can be observed on these journeys, which underlines that often so different subcultures of society happen to come together. All this stresses how enormous the agency’s responsibility is, since it organizes and controls this *meeting place*, the new rite. In my opinion it is exactly this new, unknown and discoverable rite that makes the coexistence of images possible, as well as the tolerance of different religions.

Places of Grace instead of Places of Pilgrimage. Late Modern Spiritual Experience

Looking through my travellers’ narratives, a peculiar group of experiences connected to physical places, spaces and their interpretation can be outlined. From point of view of comparative religion pilgrimage is a journey to a concrete place. A sacred and in this way, unique place showing up against the homogenous space is an essential condition of the development of pilgrimage (Cohen 1992b, 34 citing Eliade). The profane meaning of pilgrimage and pilgrimage place also originates from the fact, that man perceives space as a structured entity: literary pilgrimages as well as pilgrimages to Graceland are also journeys leading to a *peculiar place*.

¹⁰⁴ The prominent Catholic theologian, Karl Rahner (1987) interpreted the relation of popular religion and theology as practice versus theory, where practice in every case means fragmentary interpretation of the totality of theological doctrines.

Although considering my travellers' memories I must note, that they interpret space in a remarkably more complex way, than as a simple difference between pilgrimage place and normal place, sacred and profane space. In the strict sense of the term, in Catholicism only places receiving from Rome the privilege of indulgence giving (*indulgentia localis*) can be labelled as pilgrimage places. My travellers, however, as it can be seen later, interpret this (the concept of pilgrimage place) in a much wider sense and very clearly *not* due to the above indicated *non-religious connotation of pilgrimage place*. As I will show, the late modern pilgrim does not *extend* the meaning of pilgrimage place, but *delocalizes* it. They do this in spite of the fact that in Hungarian there are separate terms indicating the difference between the official Catholic and widespread popular meanings of pilgrimage place: "the place where one may gain *indulgentia*" ('*kegyhely*', '*búcsújáróhely*') separates markedly from pilgrimage place in the popular sense ('*zarándokhely*'). The Hungarian term used for this kind of 'authorized' places, *kegyhely*, expresses this difference very plastically, at the same time involving the wider, not mainstream, but detailed late modern Catholic interpretation. '*Kegyhely*' (place of grace) is a composite word ('*kegy*' and '*hely*') with an extremely complex net of connections, where '*hely*' means *place*. The first meaning of the word, '*kegy*' is related to the English expressions *mercy* and *grace*. However, the stem '*kegy*' forms also words such as '*kegyelem*' (remission), meaning the exemption and forgiveness provided by man or God, as well as the word '*kegyesség*' (piety, devotion) meaning among others all the devotional acts through which man turns towards his God. Thus '*kegyhely*' (pilgrimage place) is a place of divine forgiveness and of the devotion of God. As already noted, in Catholicism it originally signifies a concrete place, where both acts take place. Considering that in a particular place God turns towards man and man turns towards God, it is obvious that being in a pilgrimage place means at same time a state and a connection. This chapter in fact discusses the Catholic connotation of late modern pilgrimage places, yet in order to understand my argument it is important to point out that in this chapter I refer pilgrimage place as "a Catholic sacred place authorized to provide indulgentia connected to a certain locality".

Although most of my travellers taking part in organized journeys are practising Catholics, they interpret the concept of pilgrimage place in a much wider sense than in case of normative Catholic interpretation. I realized this contradiction on a journey leading to an average village church, on a so-called "Thursday pilgrimage".

Two ladies (one is 69, the other 82) went through all the stations of such a 'national pilgrimage' last year. As they say, it is different to pray in such a pilgrimage place (sic! this is not even a pilgrimage place) than at home. There is always something to pray for or to thank for - they say, but do not explain. ... Thus this kind of journey cannot be called as pilgrimage in the strict sense of the term. But those, who take part, feel there and take home a great spiritual relief and joy. However, they do not follow any kind of pilgrimage rite in the strictest sense: they do not confess, and I do not think that indulgence gaining motivates them. ... Meanwhile the thing, the series of acts they carry out, for them is still a pilgrimage, as they call it. (Research diary, 2001)

Most of my travellers presented in this study are aware of the fact that one can gain indulgence at pilgrimage places, but in the course of their religiously motivated journeys only very few consider this important. Gaining indulgence, owing to the widened range of possibilities provided by the Church,¹⁰⁵ gained more significance in the sacred year of 2000. Although, due to its popularisation by the Church at the same time, it became connected to a fixed period of time. As *Convert* states, in that year she was “dealing with” indulgence as such. One of my interviewees, *Prayer*, offered each of her journeys in 2000 for one of her dead relatives and she even recorded a detailed list on this. Talking about pilgrimage she looked for this list and showed it to me as an evidence of her interest in indulgence. The long list contained names of many more relatives and also the journeys offered for them, all from 2000. *Enthusiast* notes, that although she did not feel it important on her last journey to Rome to gain indulgence, most of her fellow pilgrims went exactly because of this and were more prepared for it than she.

In my fieldwork, while getting to know the motivations of several pilgrims in detail, as well as observing my fellow travellers’ acts, it became clear that only few of the travellers take part in these organized journeys in order to gain indulgence. *Enthusiast’s* recollections mentioned above, however, indicate that my travellers are aware of this possibility, but they are likely to exaggerate its significance concerning the motivation of the *others*. According to *their image of pilgrimage*, the pilgrim travels solely in order to gain indulgence. *Indulgence* one may gain at a pilgrimage place is present in Catholic vernacular as a *kind of convention*, although only few still follow this practice.

In the Catholic imagination the image of pilgrimage divides the space into pilgrimage places and other places. My travellers, as I have pointed out, do not travel in the first place to gain indulgence. Their most important motivation is not to reach this more or less lasting *result* (indulgence) but rather to create a special relation between man and God, in fact to reach a momentary *state*. Thus, on the basis of my fieldwork, I conclude, that late modern spiritual experience means *creating a state* instead of *achieving a result*, reaching the momentary instead of the lasting. Searching for spiritual experiences radically changes the perception of space: it turns *stable* space into *dynamic*, as well as turns the space *interpreted from the outside* into one *interpretable from the inside*, and turns the *determined* into *discoverable*.

Individual ‘Classification’ of Pilgrimage Places

As a matter of course the significance of pilgrimage places is still great. *Convert* in fact collects pilgrimage places. As a kind of cultural tourist she visits further and further places, and gets to know more and more saints and cults. For her, as a converter, this means getting to know and learning Catholicism. In her narrative *concrete* places undeniably appear. However, she gives rather

¹⁰⁵ During holy years, thus also in 2000, believers may gain indulgence in places other than shrines, as well as in numerous other churches.

stereotyped and *general* reports on these places. In her more detailed description these places are “wonderful”. She tells more about Assisi and Ars, but here again she rather speaks about the influence of Saint Francis and Saint John. She visits European pilgrimage places like a collector. However, these places seemingly do *not make any special influence* on her. Although they have an undeniable *effect*, which is why she feels it important to take home souvenirs and sacred paraphernalia: sculptures and pictures. These may then recall this *not particularly unique* but probably *pleasant* effect. For *Spirited* photos partly play the same role. Photos and souvenirs recall the pleasant experience lived through in the given place.

While for *Convert* it seems, that concrete places do not have a special significance, *Occasional* explains why Fatima, even Bethlehem may be *explicitly*



Waiting for the feast to continue - Saint Peter's square. (B. Pusztai)

disappointing. It seems in interpreting a *place* it is not important for her what happened in that given place. Listening to *Occasional*, who is not tied by Catholic conventions, one can not have any doubt that it is not only the *meaning* of a place that awakens spiritual experience. Something accidental, a momentary perfection, as well as the harmony of place and perception of place is also needed. She experienced this in Lourdes, but not in Fatima. After all this it does not come as a surprise, that *Enthusiast*, who is theologically educated, feels that she needs something *else* as well beyond the approved miracle and the guaranteed possibility of gaining indulgence. In the suburb, where she used to teach, she took part in the church feast exactly due to the presence of this ‘something else’. Right

after this she explains more exactly what she means by this *something else*. As she describes how important one of the pilgrimage places, Mátraverebély, was in her family, it is obvious what this something else is; that she needs to go on pilgrimage to a certain place. Besides the generally known history and tradition of the particular pilgrimage place, she needs a personal, thus probably more interpretable connection to a certain pilgrimage. *Enthusiast*, as she describes her disappointment at this place, points out how a pilgrimage may lose its attraction, in other words why a pilgrimage cannot provide religious experience, if personal connection has faded and the circumstances are not perfect.

One purpose of the trip - meeting John Paul II with great enthusiasm. (B. Pusztai)



According to my fieldwork, experiences of “momentary perfection”, so needed for religious experience, are often not found at the most significant pilgrimage places. These places, like Rome, Santiago or Jerusalem, are both religiously remarkable places and at the same time important memorial places of European culture. My own disappointment in a space with great religious significance undoubtedly reflects at the same time the disappointment of the “pilgrim”.

Today we had sightseeing, firstly Saint Peter’s Cathedral. In fact, the cathedral is situated on a marvellous square; it’s amazing. Although inside the building the enormous crowd is very annoying. Practically all kinds of tourist guiding is impossible here, as there is a terrible chaos here. The visitors can be divided into two groups, almost without exception: either they are active tourists (listening to guides, taking photographs and posing, looking at books, etc.) or they are rather looking around and gazing. Only very few people were praying in a separated area. My travellers also acted like tourists: they basically tried to get as close to the guide as possible in order to listen to her. They left the guide only to take some photos. I could not detect too much enthusiasm in them. (Research diary, 2000)



Enthusiasm is infectious - the Hungarian flag is also a relevant device in the hands of others. (B. Pusztai)

In such circumstances it may not be by chance that several pilgrims often look for and find a sight, which is *definitely Catholic, but still only a sight*. With other words it is a kind of substitutive-experience, which then becomes their most remarkable experience.

In Rome again, on the service of Holy Saturday with the previously reserved tickets we managed to get into a good sector, where we were very close and could take pictures of the Pope. (Letters 98/47)

I could see the beauties of Italy, the cathedrals of Rome, its Catholic institutions and sights; they were all marvellous. However, the climax of our pilgrimage, the most elevating experience was the visit of His Holiness. - I will never forget, that I could see him face to face and shook hands with our Pope, John Paul II. (Letters 91/2)

Catholicism, worrying about the authenticity of pilgrimage, also noted this phenomenon. Paul Robichaud (1999), rector of Santa Susanna Church in Rome wrote in his article advising a true pilgrimage before the holy year of 2000: "Instead of being a rich and varied experience, the modern pilgrimage to Rome has been reduced to two things: seeing the Pope and celebrating mass in various churches. ... The spiritual hunger to be in the presence of the Pope and to receive his blessings speaks as much to the lack of opportunity to experience the holy in Rome, as it does to the actual moment of being with John Paul II. While the papal household tries to make the Pope as available as possible, seeing him has become the only way to validate a journey to Rome as a religious tourist. I can't begin to tell you how saddened people are when they cannot get into a papal Mass or discover they have arrived the day after the Pope's audience. Their world collapses, as if there was nothing else of the holy to experience in Rome."¹⁰⁶

Robichaud (1999) sees a similar problem in the fact that the churches of Rome are at the same time part of the cultural heritage:

"The great churches of Rome are often treated as museums, rather than as holy places. As a rector of one of the oldest churches in the city, I see this daily. While cameras flash and guides explain the colouring in the 16th century frescos that adorn the nave of my church, the fact that five saints rest here is often passed over or little noticed. ... Sadly these wonderful churches, which to me are the very heart of Christian Rome, are often entered by accident, and their spiritual importance is rarely explained. But this is part of the reduction and simplification present in the world of religious tourism."



Pastoral work and interpretation of the experience in the middle of Saint Peter's Square. (B. Pusztai)

¹⁰⁶ Although in this chapter I do not aim at analysing historical material, at this point I must quote the admonitions of Count György Széchenyi, which he recorded at the end of the 17th century for his son setting out on a Grand Tour: "... as this coming new year will be a holy year, you are expected to visit Rome, and there it should not happen to you as to those who spent a lot to travel there and did not even see the Pope [...] His Holiness, as well as other Cardinals and Princes must be visited, and all their habits and manners should be recorded" (Ötvös 1993, 11).

Research into religious tourism has also noticed that the destinations (pilgrimage places) have several parallel meanings. Nolan et al. creating a detailed system attempted to reveal how diverse the destinations of religiously-motivated journeys may be (Nolan - Nolan 1989, 11-19). Their description is right and exact, free from the worries and normative expectations of the church administrator; this way it helps to interpret the extremely complex phenomenon of religiously motivated travelling. However, the pilgrim's inner image creation is, as I have already pointed out, more complex. The pilgrim sees a pilgrimage place in the destination of each religiously-motivated journey. Pilgrimage places, it seems, no longer interest these late modern people. Moreover, pilgrimage places are not considered authentic *solely* due to sacred tradition. Late-modern man reinterprets and totally reforms the complex web of pilgrimage places that had developed in Catholic Europe by the Baroque age. In Baroque Central Europe an individual lived in the catchment area of local, regional, supra-regional and international pilgrimage places. These places affected significantly not only his piety, but also his economic relations. As opposed to this, late modern man arbitrarily chooses from among these places. He visits only the places that have a *meaning* for him. Once famous places may lose importance and new, so far unknown localities may appear in the religious mental map of late modern man. But what is this *meaning* exactly? What kind of religious experience has altered the possibility of gaining indulgence as the most important motivation? What is the religious experience that means reduction and simplification for Catholic clerics?

“Virtual” and Everyday Pilgrimages, or the Relativity of Place

Analysis of “alternative pilgrimage-forms” traced among my pilgrims may help in grasping and understanding religious experience. Among them first I have to point out the ‘alternative pilgrimage to Rome’. Each Sunday *Convert* and *Medium* actually take part in a ‘virtual pilgrimage’ to Rome. Masses from Rome broadcast by Rai Uno as well as regularly seeing the Pope are extremely important for them. Analysing their recollection, it is no doubt, that the spiritual presence with the help of TV creates in them a pleasant and integrated state. This is extremely important, since, as *Convert* explains, she cannot find relief in her local parish community. Seeking religious experience, due to a bishop's request for common praying, she realizes and stresses the significance of these virtual communities, at the same time identifying them with real communities. These virtual journeys can be considered in order to interpret religious experience, since this spiritual presence, as they say, can be compared to visiting Rome and take part in a papal mass. In fact they do not travel anywhere, moreover, they are in their accustomed environment. Yet the experience is developed. This indicates that *travelling*, visiting a special and distinct place is *not an essential condition* of spiritual experience, it *merely helps* its development. Spiritual experience basically depends on *proper spiritual preparation* and *feeling of perfection*. That is why the Sunday broadcast of a mass from Rome can be regarded as remarkable experience, being extraordinary in

ordinary circumstances. This virtual experience, similar to all virtual experiences, is adjusted to our desires, also structured and conveyed. It can be considered as a pseudo-event (Boorstin 1975), although it is far more. It has been created in our mind to such an extent, that nothing can compete with its perfection. It is simply without mistake: the weather, a bad community, physical weariness or - referring to the recently quoted "passionate photographer" - a seat too far from the front blocking the effect - nothing can undermine it. It seems the extraordinary awakening spiritual preparedness does not have to be concrete, or directly experienced. It is enough, if it creates in the mind the *integrated feeling*, which may encourage self-reflection.

It seems for late modern man this kind of self-reflection is missing. Man has not developed with civilization as a biological being: his senses are still unable to cope with more information than thousands of years ago. He manages to defend himself against the unbelievable amount of information only by selecting. My pilgrims seem to aim at picking out and recalling again and again a question overshadowed in the vast amount of information. This is why *Spirited* prays silently the *well-known* rosary in a remote chapel of an *unknown* country after travelling thousands of kilometres.

My pilgrims can be understood even more plastically listening to their experiences on *pilgrimages* that do not lead to a pilgrimage place, and are done *on weekdays*, on Thursdays or Saturdays. *Convert* reveals very distinctly that self-recognition, turning inside, and concentrating on the soul are the most important motivations. She explains that she does not pray enough and pilgrimages on Saturdays are important for her in this respect, since they provide an occasion to pray. *Eschatologist* says also that it is exactly due to this that organizing pilgrimages on Saturdays was a very original idea: it did not matter who was there and who was not, the whole day was offered to Maria; only that counted. I may explain the popularity of these pilgrimages on Thursdays and Saturdays with the fact that their motivation was explicitly and dominantly so different from the gaining of indulgence. Deliberately visiting places lacking any significance in either the canon of tourists, or in that of the pilgrim, provides an occasion for turning inward. In an environment almost lacking excitation for urbanized man there is nothing left which could turn his attention or on which he can concentrate. This is proven by the fact that in these places the development of religious experience is not supported by the previous *knowledge of miraculous events* and recoveries, neither by their *memory* recalled by votive objects on the wall. In far away average settlements there is no chance of meeting the otherworldly in the same way as in Jerusalem one can follow the footsteps of Christ or in Rome that of Saint Peter. This is why local people are astonished when three busloads of people arrive at their village just to listen to a mass "celebrated by the vicar who was left there twenty years before" - as one of my interviewees remarked, quoting the local priest. Local people wonder, what can be so interesting that attracts so many people to their grey little church? In terms of tourists and pilgrims often there is almost nothing interesting. There are no distinctive buildings, famous works of art - nothing interesting for the tourist. There are no miraculous events, walls covered with

the memories of recoveries around miraculous sculptures or pictures – there is only a *rather average church for the widely-travelled pilgrim*. However, my travellers are not simply more tired when they arrive home compared to their start. They have somehow changed. What can that be? What is the spiritual experience of late modern man like?

To quote *Spirited* it is first of all the unfamiliar. It is not the everyday: an unfamiliar place, an unfamiliar rite with unfamiliar characters. That is to say each is an element, which is *interpreted* by the *individual* and not by a permanently connected meaning. In *Spirited's* description, novelty in itself is almost a perfect guarantee for spiritual experience. Novelty, as a matter of course, means the *extraordinary realization of the unfamiliar*. The broadcast of a mass from Rome or a rosary prayer in a chapel in Fatima are both good examples – several elements repeated and known *ad nauseam* suddenly become attractive. *Convert* points out how strong and effective the *new* and the *momentary* may be, describing how she could overcome her own self, previously believed to be unconquerable.

So there was a Jesuit with us, and as we were walking up to the Virgin, I was confessing, and I did not feel that tension, that inner tension, I cannot confess to Father Vilmos [at the home parish], I cannot separate his personality, although we confess to God.

There are *glitterati* at the parish, this is a rude word, but there is a tendency towards that, a group with whom he [the vicar] has better relations.

Well-known forms in an extraordinary environment or situation; it seems, spiritual experience may be developed in individual constellations. The pilgrim interprets and fills a marginal or everyday element with meaning. In *Ré Convert* does not pray in front of the miraculous picture of the pilgrimage place, but instead in front of a sculpture referring to another pilgrimage place, namely Lourdes. For her, in a given place the most remarkable experience is connected to a marginal detail. *Seeker*, with a kind of altered perception, sees signs in the events of everyday life, which she then interprets for herself. The late modern traveller seems to make his own pilgrimage with an individual gaze: one cannot predict what particulars turn out to be of significance for him. *Spirited* interprets a passing sight she noticed during a mass as a sign in connection with her life and faith. For my travellers, pilgrimage as a form of activity is a kind of frame. It is a *common and communal* frame in which they are likely to meet their individual experiences. The greatest enemy of late modern traveller is the *lack* of experience, the death of experience. According to *Spirited*, novelty makes the traveller act unexpectedly, for instance opening up and through this reach spiritual clarity. Therefore through an unusual experience a journey may become spiritually fulfilling, while the practice of piety or a mass celebrated in the local parish cannot or hardly ever achieves this, due to familiarity. Under such circumstances may Bethlehem lose its meaning or become devalued for some pilgrims, at first impression in an absurd way, while a small rural church may remain a remarkable experience for the visitor. In this way the hierarchical

and structured interpretation of space may change: the ecumenical community of monks in Taizé, the thousand year old pilgrimage place Santiago and a dusty border village Magyarcsanak turn into a spiritual harbour in the minds of the pilgrims. Experiences gained here are momentary. As *Seeker* sees it, they require from the pilgrim active performance, at the very least searching and openness, but mostly praying and readiness to communicate. A *concrete place, its interpretation as appropriate* and the *desire* and openness are essential conditions for spiritual experience. The momentary – the most criticised feature of late modernity (Bauman 1997) – turns out to be appreciated; moreover, becomes the most crucial value.

Quo Vadis, Domine?

Dean MacCannell, in his remarkable work *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976, 1989) makes an attempt to reveal the process through which a tourist destination is interpreted. In his opinion, besides the *tourist* and a peculiar *object* created either by man or nature, the *meaning* that interprets the object is also crucial. This meaning emphasizes one feature of the object, that makes it individual, worth visiting, and become visible against the homogenous space. The tourist receives this particular meaning from a certain source. This source is in most cases a guide or a guidebook (MacCannell 1989, 137-141). As Selänniemi (1999a, 343) has pointed out tourists and pilgrims both visit concrete places due to the meaning linked to a physical object: “The sacredness or value of being worth seeing is a value attached to an object through a socially constructed process. ... A society, a group or an institution agrees that a certain object is worth seeing, that it is a sight.” Selänniemi thinks that in case of pilgrimage destinations the source of meaning is a kind of sacred tradition or in most cases a sacred text. As a matter of course in interpreting Jerusalem all Christians use the Bible. In case of Santiago the traveller may rely on a thousand year old ‘text’ and complexity of meanings. The interpretations of Lourdes are supported by the ‘texts’ created in the last one and a half centuries. As another source of knowledge, the courier - in fact as a ‘canonizer’ - leads religious tourists along the neutral parts of settlements surrounding a pilgrimage church. The long walks and meanderings in the small streets finally end up in a place full of meaning. In the small, neat city of Lourdes the long walk ends in front of a small lowly building, where the traveller may stand baffled. However, it turns out this is the house where Bernadette’s family lived. In the enormous Saint Peter’s Cathedral, the long walk leads to an average memorial tablet marking the place of the Hungarian pilgrimage house (*hospitium*) situated there for centuries. While in the Northern Italian countryside it takes the traveller to a seemingly insignificant chapel next to a small town, which is the pilgrimage place of Rosa Mystica. The meaning in each case describes and defines the place. This in each case connects the place to certain elements of vernacular Catholicism, in which it gains its meaning. In this way my travellers are searching for canonized places as semiotics - as MacCannell (1989) pointed out.

How then do small rural churches become part of pilgrimage routes usually featuring places which are somehow special: old and new, general and special, central and peripheral pilgrimage places? Churches, where a saint or Virgin Mary have never appeared. Churches, where - as one of my interviewees stressed - even the altarcloth should be taken to each mass. Churches, which can have as many visitors during the few hours of a pilgrim group as they do over many years. At first sight I may say, the *meaning* that could interpret this place is *missing*. There is no interpretable meaning for the tourist, nor for the pilgrim. Neither has the otherworldly manifested itself here so that one could gather in this place of special influence. Moreover, the very possibility of gaining indulgence that could emphasize the specialness of this church in the homogenous group of neighbouring churches is not given either. What then is the meaning that makes even such an unremarkable place remarkable? What kind of meaning is present day pilgrim looking for here? How does he end up in a place, which has not been signified by previous processes defining authenticity, by pilgrimage or tourism? What makes certain places remarkable for him?

The interpretation of tourist sights (pilgrim experience) has not changed even in our day: the tourist (pilgrim) is still a "semiotic interpreting sign" in the MacCannellian sense. It is the *convention* how to *look for, realize and interpret* religious *experience* that is different. For the present day pilgrim it is no longer the previous devotion of a certain pilgrimage place, the piety of past centuries or a miraculous origin of a place that gives the most important interpretative meaning. He without hesitation devalues and is disappointed by places considered sacred throughout the history of Christianity. Since he does not look for indulgence, this is no longer enough for him to distinguish a place. The late modern pilgrim seeks a spiritual experience, for a momentary *state* developing in a given place. The text, interpreting the concrete place where this may be realized, i.e. *the place of grace*, describes the developing of this perfect religious experience. The sensation/perception of this authenticates and distinguishes a place making it a "sight" and most importantly a place of grace.

7 THE QUEST FOR MEANING IN CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS TOURISM

Multiplicity of Meaning in Contemporary Religious Tourism

I shall attempt to show the significant influence a professional travel organization has on contemporary tours motivated by religion, or, to be more exact, on community and itinerary formation. I shall analyze the program descriptions of travel agencies offering pilgrimages. My intention is not a detailed presentation of these agencies, nor is it the assessment of the realization of their programs, just as it is not a full-scale overview of agencies specializing in religious tourism. In terms of my subject matter, I find it far more important to observe the way they *envision, create and use the forms of pilgrimage*. I think the texts clearly show the extraordinary difference between the various concepts of pilgrimage and the *use* professional travel organization makes of this two-thousand-year-old concept. In the next chapter, I will portray the shaping of contemporary pilgrimage in case of the Hungarian enterprise Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency (hereinafter: "Macroworld"), the primary field of my researches.¹⁰⁷ I consider, that contemporary religious tourism is being born and is interpreted in the inter-subjective space indicated by travelling individuals, travel organisers and the shrine. After presenting how individuals provide meanings, we will examine the other significant interpretative factor of travelling, namely the travel agencies.

It was during the research process that I noticed that travel agencies established to serve religiously motivated travellers are increasingly making use of the internet to promote their tours. Cyberspace, as MacWilliams points out, has not only become an advertising medium but also the scene of virtual pilgrimages as substitutes for real ones (MacWilliams 2002). Now, however, we are interested in

¹⁰⁷ This paper does not discuss the fact that the interpretation of pilgrimage is influenced not only by pilgrimage agencies, but also the administrators of contemporary shrines. This issue is studied in detail among others by Ruth Harris (1999, 246-287), Christopher McKeivitt (1991) and Suzanne Kaufman (2001).

how specialized agencies construe pilgrimage for future travellers browsing the Internet. Through brief presentations of concrete cases, I hope to show how variegated, nourished by various sources and often contradictory the meanings are that travellers preparing for religious/spiritual tours encounter in today's most significant advertising medium. From among the meanings offered, he or she will naturally choose the one closest to his or her *preconceptions and preliminary ideas*; believing that one to be the authentic pilgrimage.

The Canadian family enterprise *Mary's Pilgrims* (Mary's Pilgrims website 2004, history) presents the pilgrimages it organizes in the framework of the story of personal conversion that took place at a Mary feast.

October 7, 2000

Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary

Dear Children of Mary:

We would like to take this opportunity to introduce ourselves, Alex and Beryl We have been travel agents for 25 years. Unknown to us, many years ago Our Lord started to prepare us for a special mission. At this point, we were 'Sunday Catholics', thinking we were on our way to Heaven..... little did we know!!!

In 1989, our inner healing and deeper relationship with Our Lord and Our Mother began. This, we believe was our preparation for our first visit as a family to Betania, Venezuela. After a most beautiful experience in Betania, there was no turning back. We dedicated our company to Our Blessed Mother and called ourselves 'Mary's Pilgrims'.

With God's help, we only focus on pilgrimages. We have taken 25 pilgrim groups to Betania and have been accompanied by our two sons at least 20 times. Betania is truly home to us, and Maria Esperanza and family are our very dear friends.

Again with God's help, we have organized and always accompanied our pilgrimages to different religious shrines around the world. For months before a pilgrimage, we pray at Mass and in front of the Most Blessed Sacrament and ask Jesus and Mary to go ahead of us and do all the planning and preparation... to take care of every minute detail according to His Holy and Divine Will... and believe us, they take care of every minute detail according to His Will.

Through these experiences, we are learning to trust in our God and abandon everything to Him. There have been times when we have taken 400 pilgrims, just the two of us and of course, our partners JESUS and MARY. What better partners could we ask for!! By the way, we have invited them to be our partners in our journey through this earthly life.... HIS BURDEN IS EASY AND HIS YOKE IS LIGHT! Our mission is to bring others to this realization, and this is our fervent, daily prayer for all our pilgrims... those who have traveled with us or will travel with us. We also pray that all of Mary's Pilgrims will bring Jesus and Mary to all we come in contact with... a snowball effect... so that every knee will bow and every tongue confess that:

"JESUS CHRIST IS LORD !"

In the past eight years, with Jesus and Mary's help, we have been organizing Marian Cruise Conferences. We sail in the Caribbean and the Mediterranean. We have a full Catholic Conference on the ship. Our focus at our conference, as well as at our ports-of-call, is to spread the MESSAGE OF FATIMA. We carry a miraculous pilgrim statue of Our Lady of Fatima, as well as a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and St. Anne.

Our theme is always Our Lady of the Most Blessed Sacrament. In preparation for our pilgrimages, as ask our pilgrims to DAILY: hear Holy Mass, pray for at least one hour in front of the Most Blessed Sacrament, read Holy Scriptures, pray the fifteen

decades of the Rosary, make sacrifices and do penance for the success of OUR mission.

On the ship, we enjoy the love of Jesus and Mary through at least two Masses daily (also, one or two Masses for the crew daily), Perpetual Adoration, fifteen decades of the Rosary, the Hour of Divine Mercy, Bible studies, healing services, confessions, talks and much more. Our priests are always available for spiritual guidance.

We are always accompanied by many priests, sometimes up to 10. We are relying on Our Mother's chosen sons to lead and guide us. We also have special speakers from around the world. Our priests and speakers are given at least two opportunities, each, to address the pilgrims. As soon as we dock, they are taken to the churches, hospitals, prisons, schools, clinics, etc. to pray with and speak to the local people.

We, the pilgrims go in procession with the local people to the churches and celebrate Holy Mass. Thousands of rosaries and hundreds of other religious articles are distributed by our pilgrims. We also ask for food, clothing and religious articles to be brought for the poor and distributed at the ports-of-call.

We pray that, if it is the Will of God, you will join us on one of our very special pilgrimages. Please pray for our mission and our family. May the HOLY SPIRIT guide us and MAY OUR FATHER'S WILL BE DONE, with no exceptions. Let us challenge one another to double our prayer lives and sacrifices as we enter the new Millennium. May God bless you and your families abundantly and watch over you at all times.

Yours in Jesus, Mary and Joseph...

As we can see, the owners of Mary's Pilgrims attribute their calling to their "second conversion" widely known in the Catholic context and previously discussed. They not only assert the divine origins of their calling with the inner healing and deeper relationship with God, but also point out that a pilgrimage has a healing effect. The text draws on not only elements of mainstream Catholicism, but also certain charismatic features. By focusing on a shrine, Betania, it presents pilgrimage as a homecoming from exclusion, as a journey from a neutral world to a perfect one. It shows the agency not as a tour operator but as a missionary institution. It thus makes pilgrimage appear as a gateway to understanding, a true knowledge of God. This again reinforces a locally centred interpretation of pilgrimage in the reader. This is all the more surprising as the text goes on to a program that seems to make use of pilgrimage as state. Though physically progressing, the main feature of the ship-turned-mobile-parish is not its moving towards a significant, concrete shrine. The ship is the *perfect space* and therefore the means in the hands of the agency of creating a *perfect community*. Ports are not shrines meant to strengthen belief but missionary targets for spreading the faith. We are justified in saying on the basis of the text that making the ship *sacred*, purifying it, is intended to create a counter-cosmos that has nothing to do with the evil of this world. As an isolated space, the ship is not only suitable for protection, but also for enhancing the totality of the experience, as there is no coming off it, no giving up, no capitulation, no escape into neutral space. The space is not only made sacrosanct, it also turns into a perpetual service establishment as becomes a late-modern individual used to a consumer society, a functioning Church that undermines the normal rhythms of daily existence. It is made clear at several points in the text that the agency wishes to ensure participants of an impeccable Catholicism: not only do they pray before all their tours, but they have Jesus and Mary as their partners, and,

at least according to the advertisement, they entrust priests to carry out the pilgrimage. The ship, which I could call Noah's Ark because of the missionary features, bears the classical image of the Church in spite of all the late-modern attire: "Our Mother's chosen sons lead and guide... us, the pilgrims".

A ship seems to be particularly suitable on which to organise contemporary pilgrimages, for it is a separated and pure, true space, as it appears from the tour offers of *Templeton Tours Inc.* (Templeton Tours website 2002, TTIJBS), was founded in 1980. It is noteworthy that the radical contrast with the previous case can produce quite a different meaning in a similar external frame.

The entire ship has been chartered for this Christian Cruise. The bars, casinos, and slot machines are closed and the ship's entertainers are replaced by Christian entertainers and speakers. Enjoy daily Bible sessions with some of America's best known preachers of the Gospel.

Just imagine, five nights aboard a luxurious ocean liner, listening to eight of the best preachers and teachers in America. Gone are the party crowds and the "Vegas" style shows. We have replaced them with Christian entertainers, singers, and comedians. The casino is converted to a Christian Bookstore, and smoking is prohibited in all public areas. You will enjoy inspiring Gospel concerts by some of the top singers in Southern Gospel Music.

Our home for this adventure will be Carnival Cruise Line's Holiday. The Holiday features world-class dining, offering gourmet delights and sumptuous buffets. From the Welcome Aboard buffet to the 24 hour Pizzeria, you will not have a chance to get hungry. The Holiday also offers a complete children's program with supervised activities for ages 2-15 each day. Kids can enjoy treasure hunts, movies, video games, ice cream parties, and even their own swimming pool. While the children enjoy supervised activities, you can enjoy inspiring Bible study and great Gospel music. This is the ideal vacation for the family.

Our first stop of the cruise will be Playa del Carmen, a town of only 6,000 inhabitants located on the Mexican mainland. No longer the Caribbean's best-kept secret, the port draws increasing numbers of visitors, particularly divers, each year. It also serves as a starting point for excursions to the Mayan ruins of Tulum on the Yucatan peninsula. Enjoy a shore excursion, snorkel, go scuba diving, sport fishing or just relax along the sparkling turquoise waters. Thursday morning we arrive at Cozumel, a resort town of fashionable shops and beautiful beaches. Cozumel is world-renowned for the superb diving opportunities it offers, including Palancar Reef, home to thousands of kinds of brilliantly colored fish. Shop till you drop, dive in, or just kick back on a sun drenched Mexican beach and say 'adios' to all of your everyday concerns.

All this plus...Christian Fellowship. The week is yours to relax and enjoy vacationing in a Christian atmosphere.

The purification of space has a central role here too: according to the elaborately detailed description, true faith triumphs over worldly, i.e. sinful, space. The text pithily portrays the world as it was and the counter-world created in its place. The near ever-present Christian services can be observed here as well, though lacking the strong denominational ties of the former example. The tour, however, is not a missionary journey at all: the passengers are not messengers or envoys of God who replenish on board to stop over at certain places and spread the Good News. This far more ecumenical tour has evidently no room for shrines as destinations. On the contrary, the destinations are very worldly according to pilgrimage parlance: travellers can visit the best beaches and finest shops. Their relation to the outer world indicates that the pilgrimage is not meant to be a turning away from or a renouncing of the sinful world, the stops

are not for exchanging it. This pilgrimage is more like an “alter ego” of sun-lust tourism. The most important aim of the journey is an arrival in an utterly unusual counter-world that is capable of perfectly (i.e. regularly and controllably) serving the desires of the traveller, and where the world can be enjoyed without limit: “shop till you drop, dive in, or just kick back on a sun drenched beach and say ‘adios’ to all of your everyday concerns.”

In the case of Templeton Tours, it is quite clear that the world of the pilgrims is exempt from worldly phenomena offensive to pilgrim norms but in such a way that the tour can nevertheless offer all the comfort of mainstream tourism. Physical trial and bodily suffering have no place in these journeys both defined as pilgrimages by their operators, although many consider this to be the *differentia specifica* of pilgrimages. This voluntarily undertaken asceticism is offered by the managers of *Northern Cross* (Northern Cross website 2004, nx):

Every year for more than 25 years, during the week leading up to Easter, several groups of pilgrims have been walking together from various places in the North of England and Scotland for between 70 and 120 miles to Holy Island on the Northumbrian coast of England carrying a large heavy cross.

So why do people do this?

Northern Cross is a unique way to spend Easter. As pilgrims, we bear witness to the passion, death and resurrection of Christ. Carrying a cross is a very symbolic act – pilgrims relive the road to Calvary and it reminds people we pass along the way of the importance of Christ, and more specifically Easter, in their lives. Pilgrims also share that witness with the people we visit along the way – by sharing witness and worship with our hosts, we serve to emphasize the meaning of Easter to them. It is a pilgrimage we can share with people of all ages, and all shades of Christianity – it is truly ecumenical. Our hosts are Anglican, Catholic, Church of Scotland, Methodist and Baptist; we join in worship with them all along the way.

On the other side Northern Cross gives us a chance to get away from the world – a retreat – in a beautiful countryside, in the open air away from the daily grind, television and newspapers; a chance to think and reflect; a chance to share in a small Christian community for a week. A chance to breathe, and find your own personal space. A chance to work out what are the important things in life – warmth, companionship, food, drink, religion. A chance to drop the trappings of everyday life and to get away from the rat race.

Along the way we talk; sing; tell stories; tell jokes; have silent periods; discuss anything and everything; and try not to get lost.

The friends you make on Northern Cross are life long friends. The community spirit that is built up with a small group, roughing it, sleeping on cold hard floors, experiencing physical and emotional pain and pleasure together, experiencing all that northern British weather can through at you in spring, is a fantastic experience.

Walking 70 to 120 miles in a week is physically challenging, but not beyond the capabilities of most people. Not everyone necessarily walks all the way; there are jobs for car drivers, shoppers and cooks. It is a good idea to have a few substantial practice walks first, to harden your feet. We are also joined from time to time by local people who help to share our burden. We can cater for all ages: family groups with teenage children are welcome.

While expecting the worst weather – it can rain, hail, sleet or snow – in 1995 it didn't rain once and one group was caught paddling in a river, it was that warm.

Asceticism and self-imposed mortification is naturally quite awkward for a Westerner living in a consumer society. It is therefore no wonder that the operators, after a brief description of their trip, begin their exposition with a rhetorical question. According to their presentation this pilgrimage is primarily for remembering the passion of Christ – it is therefore fundamentally a

preparation for Easter, but also a kind of *mission*. The journey at the same time is also a *retreat*, in other words, it again serves the purpose of creating a counter-world. This counter-world, however, with its temporary physical trials, is meant to lift the individual out of his usual environment for a certain time so that he or she can rethink his or her life. That pilgrimage is an ascetic practice is a commonly held idea; however, it is not accidental that most operators do not refer to it in trying to attract participants. Moreover, many contemporary operators not only do not consider asceticism attractive or fundamental, but believe it a destructive and disquieting concept. My next example would initially seem like a genuine pilgrimage operator. Founded in 1991, the privately owned, Catholic agency *Marian Tours International* began by organizing tours to Marian and Eucharistic conferences, and then to popular shrines, Fatima, Lourdes, Medjugorje, and Betania, as well as Rome, the Holy Land and Ireland. The owner, however, seems to regard certain parts of the pilgrim heritage as more of a ballast (Marian Tours website 2002, pilgrimage):

What is a Pilgrimage?

Often, when we meet someone socially for the first time, we will be asked, 'what do you do?' When we respond that we organize and lead pilgrimages the reaction may be something like 'Oh, really', and some further explanation is needed.

It's probably easiest to begin by saying what one of our pilgrimages is not. We don't walk on our knees in the rain at midnight carrying candles and singing in Latin. We don't fast. For those so inclined those are good things, but they're just not things that we do.

A critic might say, 'but this is too much fun to be a pilgrimage'. Where is it written that a pilgrimage can't be joyful? Discovery, especially of life's important questions, should be fun. If it isn't, I would be suspicious of its value.

Our trips are all led by a priest as Spiritual Director. The sites are usually his choice and have something of religious significance in addition to other interests. The objective of visiting them is to deepen the understanding and appreciation of our Catholic faith, its place in history and the people throughout the world who share our heritage. This gives a purpose to the visit other than just idle curiosity – it separates a pilgrimage from just another trip.

Most trips tend to focus on landscape, culture, life-style and history. What we try to do is add, in a balanced way, Catholic spiritual experience. For instance, when we visit a famous church or cathedral, we try to have Mass there. We don't miss the architecture or the history; we add a dimension of faith. But even if, for one reason or another, we can't have Mass there, we can pray and appreciate the significance of the place to our Faith.

Summarily, our idea of a pilgrimage is 'a fun-filled trip whose purpose is to discover and deepen our Catholic faith at a site of historical and spiritual significance.' Sound like a good idea? We think so!

From the above, it is quite clear how, in the very same Christian, in most cases Catholic culture, pilgrimage can mean an ascetic or missionary travel, a pleasant counter-world full of extraordinary delights and a comfortable journey to places offering spiritual experiences. All above interpretations are based on and employ the notion that "pilgrimage is a religiously motivated journey". In spite of the fact that they all start out from the same interpretation and accept certain features (pious exercises along the journey) in common, they all fulfil the journey quite differently. They all use quite different elements of the notion of the pilgrim and the tourist. Though the envisioned, described and thus

interpreted journeys seem to be quite different, they are very similar because of they all have an identical departure point.

If we are to take into consideration concepts of pilgrimage “as a dedicated visit to some place of importance”, the interpretations that looked so different above now look much the same. The most widespread form of pilgrimage in this interpretation is the trip to monuments of a nation, a similarly ideological community. A Californian private enterprise *American Christian Tours* (American Christian Tours website 2004, LEGACY) bases its tours on this concept:

The ACTS Christian Legacy Tour program expounds the historic chain of Christianity with tours throughout America and the world. Some examples of the ACTS Christian Legacy tours would include: The English and Scottish Covenants; Steps of the Reformation; Journeys of the Apostle Paul; and The Foundations of America.

The ACTS Christian Legacy Tour program is customized and designed to adapt to the pastor or organizer. The commentary given by the ACTS tour leader is of a Biblical worldview and is based on historical facts. As we visit various historical and interesting places we enjoy guest lecturers, pastors, and Church leaders, as they provide spiritual guidance and instruction along with the ACTS tour staff. The ACTS Christian Legacy tour leaders provide outlines, if desired, to benefit the tour participants and the leadership.

Our tours refresh the traveller with pleasurable visits, experiential learning, and Christian fellowship. As we pray and permit the Lord to move in His sovereign and powerful way, our hearts and minds are transformed by His historical and Biblical truths. Definitely, the ACTS Christian Legacy Tour is not just a fun and leisure tour, it is a life-changing experience... a trip of a lifetime!

Clearly, the description defines pilgrimage as a journey made by white North American Christian, giving equal treatment to visiting Christian shrines, and to monuments of European colonization not nearly so widely praised.¹⁰⁸ Pilgrimage in this case means an attentive and reverential visit to places of historical significance, much like making a trip to the Acropolis of Athens or any other monument that is fundamental to European culture (Selänniemi 1999a). This tour consists of a selection of important “points” of the past, and thus it offers a characteristic pilgrimage that is, after all, created by the operator. Naturally, this conforms to the ideas and memories of the organizer and the traveller. To this extent, it is similar to what has been dubbed ethno-tourism or homesick-tourism: trips by Finnish tourists to Southern Karelia (Lehto-Timonen 1993, 100-104) or nostalgic visits of German tourists to the villages of their ancestors to Bánát in Romania (Ilyés 2003, 51-58).

Another form of pilgrimage is what we may call “spiritual journey”. This kind of pseudo-religious travel is meant to develop individual self-knowledge,

¹⁰⁸ The connection between national past and faith is made clear by the agency in presenting its objectives: “First, many Americans have forgotten the sacrifices and investments made in creating this great country. A tour with ACTS will remind students of our great Christian heritage, explain the foundations of our freedoms, and tell the dramatic story and impact of America’s Christian beginnings. We are committed to passing this Godly heritage on to the next generation” (American Christian Tours website 2004, OBJECTV).

and uses focal points of various religions and cultures as a basis. Besides, and following the pattern of, the religious marketplace, here the market place of spectacles and meaning-filled places can be found. A pilgrimage shaped in this way seeks out sites that aid the self-understanding and self-interpretation of the participant. *Fifth World Pilgrimages* offers tours of this kind to its customers (Fifth World Pilgrimages website 2002, feminine):

Fifth World Pilgrimages takes small groups on spiritual quests, travelling to sacred sites, learning about cross-cultural folklore and myths, as well as guiding individuals towards their own inner wisdom through yoga, dreams, and creative expression. Pilgrimage is by nature mythological, putting us in touch with the heroic and visionary parts of each one of us, so that we can return home to live our lives with redoubled courage and clarity. In pilgrimage, one can find beauty and renewal in the unexpected, in sacred sites, a bird singing, an encounter with a fellow traveller, a tiny seashell, a noisy market, a dream and even the inevitable obstacles that occur when on pilgrimage. Pilgrims are soulful travellers, letting new images, sensations, and experiences become part of the dance of transformation. Sustainable tourism is responsible travel that conserves and sustains the natural and cultural environments of the global community.

...
 JOURNEY OF THE FEMININE SPIRIT RETREAT (women only) yoga, dreamwork, Maya myths and Maya ruins, Puerto Morelos, Mexico.

IMAGINE... sunrise yoga and meditative walks on the mystical white sands of the Yucatan Peninsula, nourishing tropical waters and breezes, and delicious opportunities to reconnect to your deep Feminine Spirit and to your second chakra energies of Flow, within a Sacred Circle of Women. It is a week of reactivating your innate Goddess self, with her healing energies, imagination, intuition, passion and creativity.

Our week-long Journey offers: Daily yoga and meditation, dreamwork and poetry, creative expression, ancient ruins, relaxation and exploration, sacred listening, ritual and dance, and cross-cultural experiences with local Mayan women.

We offer several optional cross-cultural journeys such as journeys to Maya ruins of Coba or Tulum, and a Maya jungle village where villagers will teach their knowledge of plants, share their handwork, tell their stories and feed you Maya delicacies. You may also swim in a cenote and experience a Maya sweatlodge, swim with dolphins, and snorkel the amazing coral reefs of the area.

Undoubtedly, these tours are late-modern phenomena, consciously uniting the sacred places of different religions and cultures in a level and complexity, which would have been unimaginable earlier on. Learning of these is clearly meant to develop the self-knowledge of weary Western men and women. This visiting of supernatural places for the purpose of gaining self-knowledge is why these trips are associated with pilgrimages. Pilgrimage here is seeking a lost and forgotten, *genuine existence*, it is a trip of *self-understanding*. The description makes it quite plain that it is not only the holy sites of various religions and other extraordinary places that can serve the individual during these tours, but also mundane phenomena, through which participants can apprehend and discover things that allude to the hereafter, things that help him or her feel replenished.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that the homepage of the agency accessible in 2004 has conspicuously less references to pilgrimages than it did earlier on; however, our research focused on an earlier situation.

Meaning Construction in Hungary: the Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency

As the examples above amply demonstrate, the religious tourism of our day, which naturally calls itself 'pilgrimage', covers a mixture of numerous competing and colliding conceptions. Macroworld, the market-leader enterprise in the field of religious tourism in Hungary (which provided the basic opportunities for my fieldwork) also characteristically mixes a mainstream Catholic concept of pilgrimage with modern ideas of tourism. The study of the agency (now not only organizing travel but also running a hotel, a restaurant and a publishing house) provides a fine overview of how various given meanings and creative innovations are blended in the tours it operates.

The introduction of the 1998 catalogue of the agency defines its tasks in the following way:

Serving the people of God is uplifting for us. This is not merely work or duty, but a genuine calling. We find much joy in our tours, in the community of our pilgrim sisters and brothers. It is all the more saddening to see some get on the bus without the spirit of pilgrimage and piety. Everyone must understand that there is no room here for one to indulge in selfishness, offending his or her brothers and sisters, for placing one's comfort ahead of others (Léleképítés 1998).

In its self-representation, the agency describes its task of tour operation as 'a calling'. It mobilizes a characteristic element of Catholic discursive tradition, which attributes a particularly strong *meaning content* to "calling". In its meaning of more earnest commitment, calling is accorded with emphatic importance by Catholic self-representations, because it signifies that the individual organizes his or her whole earthly life on the pattern of a life-long commitment to God. The introductory text in the catalogue of the agency is replete with the discourse of earnest commitment (calling instead of work) and brotherly attachment ('pilgrim brothers and sisters' instead of customers). It is in this context that a passage, which might seem rather unusual from a provider of services, criticising travellers (i.e. customers) and deploring their ill-behaviour and



Jubilee pilgrimage at the 15th year of Macroworld. (F. B. photo)

spirit, acquires meaning. I believe the text realizes two objectives. On the one hand, it defines and asserts pilgrim identity, which is regarded awkward by the majority in a secularised society, accepting the legitimacy of pilgrims' heightened sensitivity. On the other, it reinforces the image of the agency as an authentic pilgrimage organizer. This is just what a good number of future pilgrims want to hear: they are assured that a more religious and pious norm and behaviour is going to prevail on these journeys than in mundane life. This self-representation alludes to the most important element of common conceptions of pilgrimage: its being a counter-world. This perfect counter-world naturally cannot be fully realised during these journeys because, after all, it is people that participate. The self-representation therefore bases itself on a desired notion, but, as we shall soon see, not on the desired notion of the agency but on the one of the travellers. Indeed, the owner of the agency has no intention of creating a separate counter-world, as it is clear from its answer to a letter disapproving of a group of non-pilgrims:



An act of devotion and the quest for spiritual experience. (B. Pusztai)

The essence of pilgrimage is to live out the daily Christian life. We do not select the so-called 'chemically pure' believers, but take joy in mixed groups, as the Christian is to be a leaven in faith and setting an example. The Lord God rejoices more in the skipping of the Lord's Prayer, but in its stead you yourselves and we ourselves, with our examples and love, can bring a soul closer to Him! (Letters 96/103).

In its introductions to its catalogues, the agency usually addresses a much wider potential circle of travellers than in the 1998 introduction referred to above. The main text of the 1998 catalogue, however, continues in a different vein, offering *ad valorem* services, skilled guidance open to tourist spectacles, too.

Our philosophy of work has remained unchanged: (1) to provide *ad valorem* services, and here we have to remain on the firm ground of realities... There are people who in order to 'save on expenses' go into uncertain individual arrangements, but it should not be forgotten

that contingency, relative good can never compete with skilful and secure excellence. (2) Skilful tourist guidance and a bounty of things to see. Apart from the offer in the catalogue, it only depends on the group what they want to fit into their program. We wish to show everything. (3) The principal aim is, of course, the pilgrimage, the performance of acts of devotion and the spiritual experience. It should be borne in mind that a life-long spiritual experience is more important than seeing 'two further stones'. The spiritual director and the staff of the agency can only provide the conditions for this, everyone is the maker his or her own benefit. With individual will, openness, receptiveness, condition of grace, this much will be even more (Léleképítés 1998).

The last section of the 1998 catalogue returns to a definition of pilgrimage again. This is particularly interesting since most of the participants, after the decades of socialism, knew little about pilgrimages. According to the text, a pilgrimage is the *performance of acts of devotion* and *undergoing spiritual experience*. Since the former was written according to the Catholic grammar, it is probably the latter (“undergoing spiritual experience”) that expresses and suggests the meaning



The mode and mood of participation is left open. (B. Pusztai)



Preparing the Jubilee: the Bishop and the leader of Macroworld. (Macroworld photo)

and aim of the tours for a good number of potential travellers. However, the nature and depth of participation in the pilgrimage is left open to individual decision. Thus, the text, by mellowing its earlier demands for a more powerful commitment, probably opens the way to many individual interpretations of pilgrimage.

Naturally, the year 2000 was of particular importance for Macroworld, too. The changes in the ever-increasing circle of customers of the agency is indicated by the fact that the most important part of the text written for the year deals with *alienation*, which it contrasts with the brotherhood, the Christian community, the agency helps realize.

Sisters and Brothers, in the Holy Year of 2000, you have the past, the present and YOUR FUTURE in your hands! *Makrovilág Léleképítés* (Spiritual Formation) [title of the brochure] has been more than a simple list of tour offers... With the help of its particular means, the pilgrimage agency unites the various Church communities, brings them closer together, strengthens their sense of belonging, and wants to pull down the WALLS OF ALIENATION RAISED IN BETWEEN ONE ANOTHER! FUTURE = UNITY! WE ARE ONE, WE ARE TOGETHER, WE ARE MANY WHO FOLLOW CHRIST AND WANT WALK THE WAY OF SANCTIFICATION IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM. (Léleképítés 2000).



Addressing from the altar – a special form of marketing. (Macroworld photo)

According to my observations, however, the agency aspires not simply to shape a sort of Christian brotherhood, but rather to create a concrete application of this quite *general term* to itself – to form a Christianity-based community that is simultaneously *its own* community. There is nothing particularly new about organizing consumers of products and services into communities in late-

modern consumer societies. To this extent, the agency all but follows a successful business strategy in addressing its clients not as *consumers* and *travellers* but *Christian sisters and brothers*.

In order to integrate its travellers, the agency established the Macroworld Friendship Society which has a religious, an educational and a holiday section. Apart from receiving discounts, members of the Society are regularly informed of tours being arranged. At the regular meetings of the Society, a traveller shares his or her experiences with the others. Such encounters provide a *genuine sense of community* for regular pilgrims living in urban areas, as so sensitively revealed by *Spirited*. He himself regularly presents “slide pilgrimages” to this community. The series of slides show places well-known to regular pilgrims, the aim, therefore, being not primarily to provide information, but rather to create a short-term, transient “alter ego” of the pilgrimage, in the final analysis, an *evocation*. Moreover, according to my field experiences, a *partial reliving of the*

spiritual experience. As it turns out from the interviews, the pilgrimage is the perfect Christian life for many, a synonym of existence. The pilgrimage-evoking meetings of the Friendship Society re-create the perfect religious experience itself.

The agency keenly aspires to ensure that members experience the Friendship Society as a genuine community. The Society received a separate room for its meetings and a chapel at the new headquarters of the agency, a restored early 19th century hotel in the centre of Budapest. It pays particular attention to the symbolic re-assurance of the Society, in the last count, its most frequent travellers, i.e. best customers. This is the purpose served by the “Jesus’ Heart Dedication Feast: National Conference of Macroworld Pilgrims” held in connection with the dedication feast of the church in Pesterzsébet, Budapest. Another example is the role of the pilgrims’ thanksgiving Holy Mass celebrated at the St Stephen Basilica in Budapest every December. Apart from common celebration, these are, of course, excellent occasions for marketing purposes, too, where the owner-manager of the agency has the opportunity to assess the year from beside the altar. In a similar way, members of the Friendship Society and regular pilgrims attend an end-of-year celebration just before New Year’s Eve, when travellers, providing substantial feedback, draw lots for expensive trips and books.



Taking part: being an active participant and winning a trip. (B. Pusztai)



St. Stephen’s Day – Church and State celebration. (B. Pusztai)

The Macroworld Friendship Society participates in the most important Hungarian Catholic feast, St. Stephen's Day (20 August), in organized form under the banner of the agency. After Mass, the procession round the city of Pest carries the hand relic of St. Stephen, state-founding Hungarian king. The procession bears at least three meanings: first, it is part of the state feast, which was attended in 2003 by the President, representatives of the government and opposition parties; second, it is part of a Catholic feast – in the context of which, it is no unique phenomenon to carry around the relic of a saint; and, third, it is the self-representation of



St. Stephen's Day - Macroworld, the only venture among the civic circles. (B. Pusztai)

Catholic and conservative civil organizations carrying banners and boards, and following in organized fashion Church and State participants. The procession, both an important tourist spectacle and Catholic self-representation, is made up of Catholic and/or conservative civil organizations, societies, foundations, orders of knighthoods, and parishes. Amid these voluntary and charitable organizations, a business company also appears: several dozen participants march along under the banner of the Macroworld Pilgrimage Travel Agency. This is a profit-orientated enterprise (or, more precisely, an enterprise and its clients) in the circle of civil organizations – an odd and striking example of successful community building in late-modern urban society.

What is even more important, however, is that, by defining its consumers as a Christian pilgrim community, the agency uses the new rites and new pilgrimages, which are built partly on precedents but mostly on creativity, for *evading and resolving community conflict* from many perspectives. On the one hand, it can define conflicts arising from the collisions of various concepts of pilgrimage as unbecoming for a Christian community, as we saw in the letter cited above. More subtle and less observable than this, the agency has the determination and daring to create new rites. It thus not only acknowledges the fact that its activities are not an organic continuation of peasant pilgrimages, but also generates an uncertainty in the participants of these newly devised pilgrimages: not one of them is a "more perfect" believer, a "better" pilgrim than any other. Such a new – to be more precise, a renewed – rite is the so-called *Cruise Pilgrimage*.

It was during the 1938 Eucharistic Conference held in Budapest that a “Ship Procession” was organized first, the aim being to give a new form to the



Ship pilgrimage: altar at the beginning of 21st century Hungary - composed of the Eucharist, the Blessed Virgin, John Paul, Cardinal Mindszenty and lifebelt. (B. Pusztai)



Ship pilgrimage: far from every gaze. (B. Pusztai)

religious reverence of the Eucharist (i.e. ‘adoration of the sacrament’ in Catholic terminology) and to make a spectacular Catholic self-representation. At the time, the procession consisted in ten floodlit ships which cruised round St. Margaret Island in the heart of Budapest (Vass 2003, 100). On the 60th anniversary of the event in 1998, Macroworld organized its commemorative cruising pilgrimage. Naturally, there were very few people who had been present at the original 1938 program. The agency, however,

sought not simply to recreate the rite, but deliberately to shape a new one. Nevertheless, at the same time, it did refer back to the original, presenting the new one as a continuation of the old one. The 1998 feast, however, came to be more grandiose than the 1938 one. Beginning with Holy Mass in Budapest, the pilgrimage continued on the ship carrying the Eucharist, which, leaving Budapest, cruised up the Danube to Vác. Here, the pilgrims participated at a midnight Holy Mass celebrated by the bishop, after which, participants continued their cruising pilgrimage. Thus the pilgrims kept vigil all night, which, in Catholicism, takes place, if possible, before the Eucharist. The ship arrived at Esztergom, the centre of Hungarian Catholicism, at daybreak, where Holy Mass was again sung. The cruise ended in Komárom, with Holy Mass being celebrated on land. The cruise pilgrimage proved to be very successful, and has been organized regularly since 1998. This ship-procession is nowadays held at a most fitting time, on Corpus Christi, the feast commemorating the Eucharist (as had been the case in 1938). After some modifications, the pilgrimage starts in Budapest, proceeds on to Vác and Esztergom. Here, the program reaches its peak at Holy Mass and a prayer meeting at the grave of Cardinal Mindszenty, the notable anti-fascist and anti-communist clergyman – which is, of course, not solely an act of piety. The cruise continues back down the Danube, and the pilgrimage ends with celebrating mass back in Budapest.

Another outstanding example of the *construction of new meaning* is provided by the so-called *Thursday and Saturday Pilgrimages*. Apart from their pious significance, these were an important and wellconceived business initiative. In an interview by the manager of the most important competitor firm, he noted that besides achieving relative successes



Ship pilgrimage: representing and shocking - procession from the ship to the church. (B. Pusztai)

in tours abroad, agencies specializing in the field found it difficult to gain ground in organizing domestic pilgrimages after 1990.¹¹⁰ So as to save on expenses, Church parishes arranged for such one-day trips by reserving buses themselves. Though such trips would not have been very profitable activities for agencies, they certainly would have been useful in spreading and promoting their names. Apart from reasons of piety, this no doubt contributed to the organization of these week-day pilgrimages by Macroworld, which all belong

¹¹⁰ Interview with György Ifjú, 21.09.1998.

in a series and lead to predefined destinations. Furthermore, the agency was prompted to arrange these week-day pilgrimages by a phenomenon referred to several times above: these “religious and pious country tours” leading to no particular shrine would be more attractive if they acquired a concrete aim, an organized form and a framework of interpretation, and appeared not merely as individual trips leading to marginally significant destinations.

With a view to the Holy Year 2000, the agency offered internal tours to commemorate the Year of the Son connected to Church preparations¹¹¹ in 1997. In 1998, in order to celebrate the Year of the Holy Spirit, it organized the “Seven Gifts Supplication Days”. The trips supplicating for the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit led to countryside churches and parishes consecrated to the Holy Spirit. The agency thus managed not only to set



Another original idea: parish visits – filling empty churches. (B. Pusztai)

foot on the market of domestic pilgrimages, but also to promote itself in out-of-the-way village parishes, which had not previously heard of it, the agency having been successful only in towns. These monthly Thursday trips were supplemented by the monthly First Saturday *novenas* leading to lesser shrines – again targeting the domestic pilgrimage market. In 1999, in the year dedicated to the Father, Macroworld offered trips to ten non-shrine churches and, of course, parishes too, selecting one of the Father-given Ten Commandments for each devotion. That year, the First Saturday *novenas* led to shrines, and, in the neighbourhood of which, the groups visited lakes too. The advertisement of the trips is a good example of the creativity of the agency: “In the year of the FATHER, we pay particular attention to the natural beauties of His Creation, lakes and waters” (Léleképités 1999, 7). In 2000, nine churches consecrated to the Trinity were visited, while the First Saturday pilgrimage characteristically served a dual purpose: “The sites of the First Saturday devotions – our thanksgiving for our thousand-year-old statehood¹¹² – will be in churches consecrated to Our Lady of Hungarians.

¹¹¹ In view of the jubilee year 2000, the Holy See professed that the Catholic Church should consecrate the year 1997 to the Son, 1998 to the Father and 1999 to the Holy Spirit, while the jubilee meant the celebration of the Trinity.

¹¹² The year 2000 was also the millennial anniversary of the foundation of the Kingdom of Hungary.



Parish visits – in search of the true experience (Macroworld photo)

the Virgin Mary. Every Thursday for nine months in 2002, pilgrims visited newly built churches and “together with the parishes meditated on the teaching of the Eight Beatitudes” (Léleképítés 2002, 19), while First Saturday novenas each went to St. Mary Churches. In 2003, the Thursday trips led to the churches of the Fourteen Auxiliary Saints, while the Saturday tours were directed to churches consecrated to the title of Queen of the Rosary, to which the Holy See dedicated the year.

Apart from the week-day pilgrimages, the agency shows great openness in organizing trips to the places of new visions and to commemorate non-canonized saints. It operates tours not only to Medjugorje,¹¹⁴ but also to Montichiari-Fontanelle in Northern Italy; the Grass Cross in Eisenberg, Austria; or to commemorate István Kaszap revered as a saint, to Székesfehérvár, and to the Litér grave of Magdolna Bódi shot by Russian soldiers in 1945 and revered as a martyr.

Simultaneously, 2000 is the year of the Great Jubilee, the year of the Trinity, we will therefore recite the Litany of the Trinity, the Millennium Hungarian Way of the Cross” (Léleképítés 2000, 22). In 2001, the agency announced tours consisting of holy novenas called “God for our Nation”, which were held at nine churches consecrated to Hungarian saints.¹¹³ In 2001 too, the First Saturday novena tours went to non-shrine churches dedicated to



That which should be recorded in the diary of the religious tourist - facilitating new cults. (Macroworld photo)

¹¹³ The title of the series of trips refers to a well-known Catholic hymn, asking for the Grace of God on the merits of Hungarian saints.

¹¹⁴ In 2000, the agency arranged discount-rate pilgrimages for priests (!) to this scene of the visions not authorized by the Holy See.



Loosening up: wine-tasting at the end of a journey. (Macroworld photo)



A non-ordinary venture: customers and travel agent feasting together on St Nicholas day. (I.B. photo)



Feasting together - the father turned 33. (É.G. photo)



Visible faces - the owner of the agency leading the prayer. (B. Pusztai)

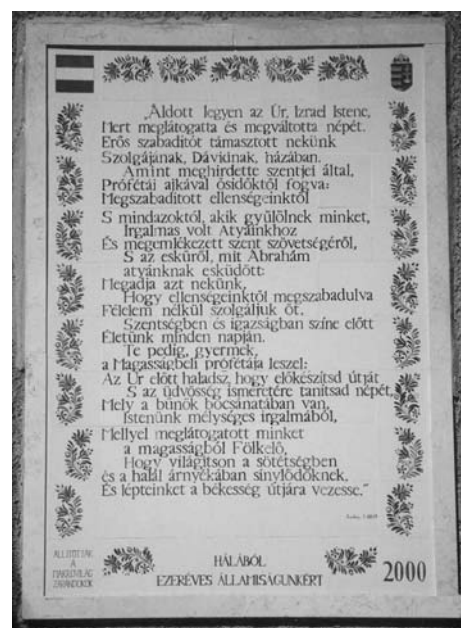


That which should be recorded in the diary of the religious tourist – an adopted church for the moving parish. (Macroworld photo)

this is one of the first events of a trip. Each traveller receives a badge with the coat-of-arms and address of the agency, the first line of this hymn, and the person's name on it. Their common celebration is helped by special pilgrims' books of Roman, Holy Land and Eucharistic hymns and prayers published by the agency from the year 2000. The books, apart from containing basic historical and art-historical information, and glossaries of tourist terms in the languages of the countries visited, clearly define the forms of celebration. They also have the prayers and hymns, the full text of the Mass suitable for the trip. The theologically educated owner-manager of the agency thus tries to fill the religious ritual with meaning, too, not leaving the matter completely to the priest or chance.¹¹⁶ It is no wonder therefore that the manager of the agency construes his activity

A novel form of the collaboration of the community of pilgrims, but especially the regular travellers making up the membership of the Friendship Society, is the so-called "church god-parenthood". The agency, whose patron is Saint Padre Pio, has supported through community collections and fund raising the newly-built church dedicated to Padre Pio in Nyírcsászári, in the far eastern edge of the country, and it has also chosen it as its titular church. Apart from earlier financial support, they have helped obtain church accessories, too. It is not only the support from the agency community that is welcomed in the little peripheral village: pilgrims groups from Budapest add to the lustre of their feasts.

The agency takes special care that its participants experience their pilgrimages as a community not only during feasts but on each trip. Macroworld has its own anthem, a well-known Mary hymn.¹¹⁵ The learning of



Symbolic acts of a community – memorial in Ein Karin, Israel erected by the "Pilgrims of Macroworld". (Macroworld photo)

¹¹⁵ No. 181 of the Hymnal: "Ye are Holy, My Lord!"

¹¹⁶ Iván Purt, the leader of one of the first Hungarian organized pilgrimages to Lourdes in 1985, compiled a similar booklet (Purt 1897, 7).

as “teaching and disseminating” a new culture of pilgrimage.¹¹⁷ At the beginnings of trips, as *Spirited* recounts, common morning prayers, meditations, a kind of “harmonization” to turn attention to a religious spirit and one another helps community formation. An important element of the community experience is the “loosening up” on the way back, a kind of



Symbol creation: certificate on the memory of Rome National Pilgrimage. (B. Pusztai)

relaxation: singing, wine-tasting, telling jokes. Written by participants to thank agency staff, several long, funny and versified tour descriptions preserving the memory of these last periods are kept among the letters of the agency. Upon returning home, travellers receive souvenirs of the trip, ornate certificates of having completed the pilgrimage¹¹⁸ – symbolizing their belonging to the community of the agency.

At this point, it might be worth referring to the recollections of *Spirited* on how Macroworld pilgrims and the owner (acting as guide) caught his attention at his Fatima tour arranged by the rival agency. Upon getting to know the agency, he decided that he should travel with them thereafter, and he became a voluntary and unpaid spiritual leader there. Why should this be of any interest to us? Could we not

say that this was the result of the better operator, the better service, and it has nothing to do with anthropology? No, just the contrary; the former manager of the rival operator said that Macroworld could only achieve low-price trips by compromising quality (sleeping on buses, lower class hotels, skipping expensive museums).¹¹⁹ According to my field observations, the advantage of Macroworld comes from its *successful community creation*. The



Symbols of a community – ‘Jubilee Macroworld Hungarian flag’. (B. Pusztai)

¹¹⁷ As the introduction of the 1999 catalogue puts it: “Dear Pilgrim Sisters and Brothers, we have learned to do pilgrimage together. This past twelve years, the analyses of the many experiences, your helpful criticism, and the consideration of the many requests has raised our pilgrimage culture to European standards again – after decades of prohibition. This is a summary of the opinion one reached at the Conference of Shrines and Pilgrimages in Pompeii” (Léleképítés 1999, 1).

¹¹⁸ These recall the ‘indulgence certificates’ of medieval times, but neither these, nor the certificates given after Camino today, have any such role.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Mr. György Ifjú, 21. 09.1998.

agency is run on a daily basis by its owner, while its main competitors' owners are non-material bodies, and all the visible 'faces' around are employees. The importance of personal presence is well indicated in a letter by a traveller:

Now, who else could remove the mitre of the Father Bishop, skilfully serve at Mass and even read the lesson? Who else but our group leader and agency manager! I have participated at many pilgrimages where the guides spoke beautifully of the shrines, the mysteries of our faith, sometimes even too eloquently, but when Holy Mass began they disappeared without trace. In other words, they did not believe in the text they had learned by heart. How should pilgrims believe in them when they might have decided to come on such a tour for the first time? It was said: "He does not practise what he preaches." They probably went drinking during mass. At last, I said to myself, it wouldn't be like that on this trip. And my hopes were never dashed (Levelek 96/9).



Memento of the Eight Beatitudes journeys. (B. Pusztai)

Still why is this interesting? Because *managing a profitable business and creating an active spiritual community at the same time* are indeed a rarity. According to my observations, this can only be achieved and ensured by providing authentic experience. Authentic experience is not necessarily an outcome of a strict definition of pilgrimage. The agency did not go into competition with the interpretations of authentic pilgrimage, not wishing to simply renew earlier traditions of pilgrimages; it regarded the shaping of new forms as far more



After organizing the journeys, meeting the Pope. (Macro-world photo)

important, where everyone joins the pilgrimage as a novice. With this the agency was able to create an open, more or less pluralistic social-cultural meeting place/space attracting different social-cultural strata, and create rituals consolidating different – sometimes opposing – habits, customs and interpretations of religion. The authenticity of these originates not in the way their conceptions fit in with reality, but of the experiences gained during journeys, where the community is open and receptive to the differences in religious practice and motivation, and the members are in a way all learning to do each new pilgrimage. All this supports and emphasizes the fact that this particular agency, Macroworld, was able to create a *community*. As seen in the interviews described earlier, this is something late-modern urban man desperately needs but is at the same time frightened of. By means of a creative construction of meaning and a business attitude attentive to community, the agency was able to create an open, voluntary and welcoming community of its own, something which is seldom experienced by late-modern urban man.

8 SELF AND GROUP IN LATE MODERN CATHOLICISM

This study examined a contemporary pilgrim agency and its clients, the religious tourists. It presented a 'locality' of contemporary society, and the creators of this locality, all in all, their 'inhabitants'. It is a *space* that cannot be confused with any actual *place*, the quality of which is characteristically post-modern. In this form, the analysed locality could not have come into existence any earlier, though the tragic experimenting with Communism in East-Central Europe, no doubt, did bring about some phase lag. This intimate, but still permissive and forgiving locality particularly manifests certain traits of late modernity, some of which I will refer back to at the end of my investigations.

In the above, we came to know the *religious tourist*, this extraordinarily numerous and globally widespread, but self-admittedly non-existent and thus controversial traveller-type. We also learned how complex a meaning European culture attaches to the 'parents' of this traveller-type: the 'tourist' and the 'pilgrim'. We have seen how scholarship analysing tourism and pilgrimage has struggled to come to grips with the many tensions resulting from the diverse attachments of this form of travel, and how these struggles came to contain some of the differently-formulated, but essentially identical fundamental issues of thought on culture. In the preceding, I have attempted give an external description of some of the features of the Hungarian members of this group. Then, changing perspective, I gave space and voice to a subject that research has yet only silenced, sometimes tolerated, sometimes denied, sometimes presented as a negative counterpoint, namely: this special type of traveller, the religious tourist. Without exaggeration, I believe I have paid a debt. A debt payable only by empirical cultural research (ethnology, anthropology). The quantity, the depth and the complexity of the personal voices and internal experiences perceived have, I believe, perfectly counterbalanced the external interpretations either already offered or in the making. It was possible to be submerged under the beautiful, calm but desolate surface of the sea, and become aware that it covers a whole world of complexities. Faithful to an approach applicable in European cultural studies, the author has been deeply

influenced by, the emic voice. This has actually *deconstructed* the results achieved formerly by scholarly perception. Then, onto the *tabula rasa* offered, I sought to fix – recognising and acknowledging the unsurpassable divergences of emic and etic categories, but even exciting interplay – the conceptions the contemporary religious tourist *and/or* pilgrim constructs with regard to this form of travel, faith and belief. Following Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966), I can conceive of the social reality of these concepts, roles and actions laden with meaning as a subject continually shaped and never completed under the pressures of processes, endeavours and notions of interpretation. The ‘facts’ of pilgrimage, the set of elements of knowledge which influence its interpretation, are human products, in my approach. In the above, I have presented the interpretative environment of which the ‘constructed reality’ of pilgrimage is made up in our day. In the final analysis, what I tried to illustrate was that this construction is the provision of meaning itself: the meaning of pilgrim/age is embodied in the inter-subjective space in between communicating participants (individuals, agencies, the Church, shrines). All the actors, naturally, come from partly-divergent cognitive realities, and interpret the roles and forms. All things considered, following the lead of Karin Knorr-Cetina, I might describe my approach as a kind of ‘empirical constructionism’, my aim being the detection and the presentation of the working and the interference of ‘the machinery of construction’ with particular attention to the individual in this process (Balogh-Karácsony 1995, 21-22).

The ‘permanent creative process’ in which this small locality is involved takes place in the age of late modernity; this is what provides its framework. There are therefore two fundamental questions I have to return to. I believe the important lesson to be drawn from the material I discovered in the course of my investigation is the novelty of interpretation of *identity* and *place*, which connects this small locality to global processes.

As mentioned previously, contemporary Western culture conceives of pilgrim and pilgrimage as a pre-modern phenomenon. This is why our contemporaries most often speak of *individual* pilgrims *generally* or groups of pilgrims. This pre-modern interference is the reason why the late modern individual has resort to pilgrimage as a set of concepts providing strength and meaning in our nostalgic travels, in explaining why exactly we are taking the trip. It seems that pilgrimage provides our contemporaries with a true and apt, honest and appropriate interpretative framework if they want to speak of something more than the mundane (were we to pun, we could say *than tourism*).¹²⁰ This is why Western man looks for pre-modern forms in dress, in travel, when he takes to the road for some kind of spiritual reason. This is exactly why it is *dominantly represented* in relation to spiritual journeys: he who travels for deep spiritual reasons in our day is *represented* as pre-modern.

Not only is the idea of ‘pilgrim’ filled with pre-modern meanings but also that of ‘Catholic’ – though the latter seems to carry more of fogeydom and less

¹²⁰ This opposition is, of course, only valid here, but here it is. Since most of the time tourism appears as the opposite of the mundane, of work, in the various studies.

of authenticity than the former. It is not only that its relation with the individualism is conflicting, but also that the Catholic identity is envisioned as something centrally defined, strongly regulated, heavily pre-drawn, markedly divergent from its background, unquestionable, and defined supra-individually. The last, pioneering and emancipating council not only did not influence the representation of this identity in most cases, but did little to influence the carriers of this identity.

What am I to say of the identity of 'pilgrim' and/or 'Catholic' on the basis of my investigations? Recalling the experiences of my travellers, I can primarily say that it *is under review*. This is a fact of fundamental significance for, as Zygmunt Bauman (1996, 19) has put it in a very important study, *From Pilgrim to Tourist*: "One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence." That identity is tested, contested and altered itself disjoins the subject of my study (contemporary pilgrim/Catholic identity) from the pre-modern, and connects it with modernity and the post-modern age. Those who sense the relationship between the modern and post-modern as merely sequential, the type of thinking whose characteristic example is Marshall Berman's *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (1982), may note the appearance of the modern 'self' to the above.¹²¹ However, those that see a greater difference between modernity and our era have something different on their mind in this guise, as George Marcus' remark on Berman's book aptly indicates:

"Thus, while Berman, like others who study the legacy of modernist expression in contemporary life, departs from the postmodernist project in literature and the arts, his ground for defending the relevance of classic modernism is the common insight with postmodernism that the conditions of life worldwide are fundamentally and increasingly self-consciously modernist. However, what is apparently a predicament for the artist in this recognition is an opportunity for the social scientist and historian" (Marcus 1992, 311).

This is not the place to debate the relationship between modernity and post-modernity, and I think it more important to point out the phenomena characteristic of our age, considered 'post'/'late'/'liquid'/'high' modern by most theoreticians, that relate to self on the basis of my researches. Let me first of all call attention to what most markedly emerges from this ethnography and what Anthony Giddens has expressly called the most important characteristic of our age, namely: reflexivity. Even removed from the self-altering effects of spiritual experiences, my travellers are *self-consciously reflexive*. The contestation of self-identity is such a conspicuous feature of the narratives that it is not only

¹²¹ Whilst not as objective of this thesis, it is unavoidable to state that, when defining the relation between modernity and our age, the political/ideological position of the one doing the defining has a significant role to play. Berman's title represents a conscious profession of this kind of position taking in so far as it is quote from Marx-Engels' *The Communist Manifesto*.

observed by the researcher studying the effects of spiritual experiences but also by the pilgrims recalling their travel experiences at home. In spite of Catholic identity being heavily pre-drawn, represented and discussed, my travellers, meditating upon their identity, perform practices most theoreticians define as characteristic of the post-modern or late modern: they react and build self-reflectively, they are concerned about protecting and reconstructing the narrative of self-identity. In connection with their pilgrimage, they make serious efforts to clarify the concept of pilgrim or Christian, in the final analysis, *the identities they have been offered*; the world they live in prompts them to do so. Referring back to the Catholic interpretation of 'living in the world', it is worth emphasizing that the so-called ballast, force of gravity, does exist but has changed, as Giddens (1996, 188) precisely indicates: "'Living in the world', where the world is that of late modernity, involves various distinctive tensions and difficulties on the level of the self. We can analyse these by understanding them as dilemmas which, on one level or another, have to be resolved in order to preserve a coherent narrative of self-identity." This means that these categories are undergoing change (crisis, as probably many analysts would interpret it) their obvious and evident content and their capacity to be fixed have ceased to exist – clearly a characteristic of the Giddensian "post-traditional society". Naturally, without scholarly apparatus, thinking about identity has undoubtedly appeared in the minds of our contemporary pilgrims. Giddens' observations are particularly pertinent to my travellers: "social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character" (cited by Hall 2001, 278). This is how travel, contemporary pilgrimage, can become a point of comparison. Newer and newer journeys provide the information input that induce the individual into permanent 'constitutive altering'. To avoid misunderstanding, this change is not identical with progress *towards perfection*, which is an important element of pilgrimage in Catholic interpretation. The identity changes of my travellers do not shift from somewhere to somewhere, from the fallible to the perfect. Indeed, my pilgrims are continually *creating* their identity, their "reflexive project" (Giddens 1996, 47-55).

The fact that points of comparison and interpretation important for the individual are being pluralized may be noted as a marked change in the strongly-regulated Catholic identity. The concepts my pilgrims have about this form of travel are not only strongly divergent but they are also continually contested. The shaping of these concepts is no longer primarily, but in fact is less and less influenced by the Church. It is not only in respect of the identity of the believer but also a particular sub-species of it - the identity of the pilgrim - that we experience what Ernesto Laclau has called the *dislocation* of the most important identification centre, in this case the Church, its withdrawal from the centre (Hall 2001, 278). All this the believer does consciously; he senses and takes on its tension. In the final analysis, these individuals select and shape their ideas of religion from the interpretations they are offered – lacking, of

course, the stamp: *nihil obstat*. The deliberateness is a result of the individual's coming into the centre, as Stuart Hall (2001, 281) accurately observes: "the modern age gave rise to a new and decisive form of *individualism*, at the centre of which stood a new conception of the individual subject and its identity. This does not mean that people were not individuals in pre-modern times, but that individuality was both lived, experienced and conceptualised differently."

The *historicity of the individual* is taken for granted by my travellers: they record and interpret the changes of their personalities. Moreover, they ponder upon formerly *unconscious changes* in their character, and in respect of their present identities, they attach meanings to former changes. It is not only researchers that discern fragmentation; the travellers themselves sense it. For them, identifications formerly deemed exclusive can traverse individuals. The most important lesson of late modern identity formation, that it is a *process*, is that it is not identity but *identification* which is changing; in other words, the *sense of the imperfection of identity*, the awareness of its continuous formation can clearly be observed in the experiences of my travellers. My pilgrims feel the inherent polysemy of words and categories; they live multiple, parallel meanings as tension and insecurity. Their endeavour is often to 'close', to fix meaning – a futile endeavour according to the accounts of their experiences. To be able to sense the openness of categories and then trying to fix them they themselves indeed have to open up and expose these categories, in last analysis, *identities*, to criticism. As I have pointed out, these being particularly established categories, it needs a good deal of daring and an overwhelming effect of circumstance to undertake the struggle.

Pilgrimage is a pious journey to a destination, a place, the *axis mundi* in Eliadean fashion, or the "centre out there" in Turnerian terms. On the basis of the ideas of our contemporary travellers, I might say that the very notion of this important phenomenon of European culture, pilgrimage, this very concretely place-orientated, place-centred and place-imagining activity is disintegrating in front of our eyes. It is not that our contemporary pilgrims forget to visit important shrines, and thus certain places lose their significance. There have been many examples of this in the history of Christian pilgrimage. In fact, it is not that they no longer feel the extraordinariness of visiting certain shrines, because even the contemporary traveller senses the extraordinariness of being at these locations.

The fact that certain shrines lose their value is no new phenomenon; to a certain extent it is a consequence of the essence of Christianity, as Eade and Sallnow were careful to show:

"...it is the significance of what happened at these various sites, and the lessons to be learned thereby for leading a Christian life, that are of primary importance for the pilgrims. Indeed, pilgrimage sites around Jerusalem can be moved and re-established with no loss of sacred or pedagogical significance... For Roman Catholics at least, the purpose of pilgrimage to Jerusalem is, in a sense, to verify and materialize the sacred scriptures, to make them real, and to extract the maximum instructional content from them, rather than visit the sites *per se*" (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 9).

Indeed, it was in the wake of the impossibility of Holy Land pilgrimages in the Middle Ages that the Christian approach discussed above led to the *duplication of shrines*, allowing believers to pay respect to the pilgrimage locations of the Holy Land which had become inaccessible *in* European places, like for example the Casa Sancta in Walsingham or in Loretto.

The classical Eliadean notion that the shrine's "power is internally generated and its meanings are largely predetermined" (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 9) has been seriously questioned by contemporary scholarship, notably the volume *Contesting the Sacred*. According to the editors "a pilgrimage shrine... provides a ritual space for the expression of a diversity of perceptions and meanings which the pilgrims themselves bring to the shrine and impose upon it... a pilgrimage shrine is also – sometimes predominantly – an arena for the interplay of a variety of imported perceptions and understandings, in some cases finely differentiated from one another, in other radically polarized" (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 10). Bowman goes as far as stating that pilgrimages lead towards the sacred but that this sacred "is not something which stands beyond the domain of the cultural; it is imagined, defined and articulated within the cultural praxis... At the centres where they go in expectation of fulfilling that desire, pilgrims experience little other than that which they already expect to encounter" (Bowman 1991, 120-121). I believe that the pilgrimage interpretations discussed in this study support this claim. My study has focussed not on a given place but on the many interpretations of *pilgrimage as such* and on the process of how a given individual interprets a pilgrimage within a cultural context. This accords well with the constructed nature of authenticity recognized in the anthropological study of tourism (Wang 1999, 353-356).

I believe the cases I have presented make the argument above more precise. I have sought to present the construction and the action mechanism of the contest of meanings in a given physical space, which researchers had formerly recognized. To put it in other words, I focussed on the human and individual qualities of the tensions surfacing around a concrete place (a shrine), and on the give and take that takes place within one of the significant meaning-generating organizations of our times, the contemporary pilgrimage operator. The interpretation of places is *diverse* and thus *contested*, but, having analysed these travellers, the *method* of interpreting places is also worthy of special attention. As I have already mentioned, according to my observations, it is not the reality, the truth or the authenticity of a place my traveller seeks or senses, which the critique of object-oriented authenticity had already demonstrated (Wang 1999, 350-353). MacCannell's critique of staged authenticity is thus also inaccurate (MacCannell 1973), as my traveller is not interested in the authenticity of the toured object. It is rather the *authentic circumstances of the experience* that preoccupy him, and this is what he verifies in the course of his trip; this why he is ready to connect with objects and phenomena the researcher or the critic might deem inauthentic.

I believe this is possible because the contemporary traveller has the astonishing courage and autonomy to separate *locality* and *milieu*, physical space and space perfect for mental experiences, in this case, the concrete place and the religious experience. And, most perplexingly, he achieves this in the form of travel that is most controlled, most regulated and codified: pilgrimage. The concrete locality – the ‘sight’ for tourists, the ‘shrine’ for pilgrims – is detached from the holy place. This entails a rather bewildering depreciation of places of pilgrimage, which is both caused and indicated by theological changes - the personalization and extension of indulgence.

Avoiding the usual experiences offered by superficially integrating classical (in this case, territorial) communities, my travellers go on a determined quest for the true experience; to use their expression, the ‘upfilling’ experience, the ‘spiritual plus’. Contemporary consumer society provides a whole array of choices for “upfill”. In all probability, the individual selects the ‘place’ and joins the community most appropriate for him on the basis of his prior knowledge and imaginings. For these late modern individuals, as already mentioned, the experience does not occur at all externally suitable places (in this case, shrines) only in an appropriate *milieu*. The individual may have an active role creating and maintaining the milieu, whilst this appreciation of milieu, the recognition of its importance, emerges in the investigations of the effects of globalisation. In order to interpret this, sociology turned to the conception of milieu developed in Max Scheler’s philosophical anthropology. The idea most pertinent to my line of thought is his differentiation between ‘milieu-structure’ and ‘actual milieu’. The first one means an attitude to the world, an approach further removed from mundane processes of interpretation. As opposed to the constancy of milieu-structure, the actual milieu means the current and transitional contents of the milieu (Albrow et al 1997, 29-31).

How does milieu relate to the issue of religious tourists constituting a small locality? I think a good number of the individuals I met shaped similar ‘milieu-structures’ in response to the surrounding world, though they were isolated from each other. In the community I studied, what they sought was as many materializations and realizations of the actual milieu as possible. This in a society undergoing emancipation, where owning a milieu-structure is no longer deemed an intellectual crime, and creating actual milieus on the pattern of accordant milieu-structures is not something to be prosecuted as it used to be during the Communist regime. How did milieu become so important a target for contemporary man? In order to understand this, we have to turn our attention to an obvious phenomenon of globalisation, its ‘uprooting power’ that keeps masses of individuals ‘on the move’. As we already know from Zygmunt Bauman, we tourists and vagabonds “in our postmodern society, we are all ... on the move.” Of course, Bauman makes it quite clear that this movement is to be understood not only physically, not even primarily physically, for “none of us can be certain that he or she gained the right to any place once and for all” (Bauman 1997, 93). As most theoreticians of globalisation, Bauman has also pointed out several times that the compression of both time and space

appropriately expresses the transformation of human environment in many respects¹²², which has led to the late modern sense of insecurity. Bauman focussed our attention primarily to the fact that the access to time and space emphasizes that globalisation is far from only proverbially unifying, it also separates groups of people at other levels: to those who have and who do not have access to mobility. He has argued perceptively that this creates a society that reinterprets the notions of rich and poor, and where “mobility becomes the prime value” (Bauman 2002, 16-17). Surveying the experiences of my travellers, I can say that, in certain cases, tourism, this sham, pseudo-mobility in Bauman’s view, has actually become a value, something that can create identity.

Parallel to globalisation, as Bauman indicates, there are localising processes, which he – looking on regretfully from a distance – connects with notions of shortage and helplessness: “Some of us become fully and actually ‘globalized’, others however stand fixed in their ‘locality’, which is a very embarrassing, undesirable and unbearable situation” (Bauman 2002, 17). While Bauman’s critique of the macro-changes in society is very valid, I believe he does not consider the processes taking place in mundane localities. He seems to view them somewhat from without – is it from the perspective of, heaven forbid, globalisation? According to my investigations, these localities, new tribal and fundamentalist movements, are not nearly so hopeless on a mundane level. Especially not hopeless are the localities depicted above, created by active and voluntary will, and therefore not nearly so defenceless. Certainly, these localities cannot partake of global discourses, but they are capable of generating meaning, aim, sense and, most importantly, community where territorial communities (neighbourhoods, large family communities or, in this case, parishes) lose their meaning, or, to be more precise, become virtual.¹²³ My travellers serve as an example for just the fact that, becoming milieu, a Baumanian backward locality can provide a *new security*, however late modern¹²⁴ or, to use Bauman’s (2001) other very apt word, “liquid”, temporary and mutable a security it is. This is just what Bauman is not likely to believe: “New is that the ‘disembedding’ goes on unabated, while the prospects of ‘re-embedding’ are nowhere in sight and unlikely to appear” (Bauman and Yakimova 2000). For clarity’s sake, it should be said that Bauman’s globalisation-critical framework diagnosis on macro-processes is perfectly sound. Indeed, we experience the disintegration of communities and notions, inarguable points. But, as Milena Yakimova has perceptively observed, the terms to describe our contemporary social situation are mostly negative in the Baumanian and related systems of critical thought (Bauman and Yakimova

¹²² Finely summarized by Eade (1997).

¹²³ Moreover, many such localities do this without harming society in any way, which, of course, can hardly be said some of the new tribal movements – causing widespread aversion.

¹²⁴ Bauman has often described his approach to the notions of the post-modern, late modern, reflexive modernity. In a rather honest interview, he explains his aversion to these concepts (Bauman - Yakimova 2000). In our thesis, we have used the term ‘late modern’ consciously connecting the situation we have described above to modernity often serving as a precursor.

2000). In this interpretation, everything is undone, ceases to exist, disintegrates; processes to the contrary do not stand a chance. The remainder are the backward localities and dangerous new tribal movements. In view of their interpretative perspective, their bitterness and resignation is somewhat justified.

According to my investigations, however, the individual is quite creative in reacting to late modern liquid phenomena surrounding him.¹²⁵ Instead of sharing the bitterness, surely not realizing that now – no, not just now – he cannot influence the debate over basic issues to an equal measure; instead, he rejoices in a phenomenon that smacks of substitute activity from without: he looks for *and* creates milieu. It is anthropology based on detailed ethnography¹²⁶ which helps discover this: in the final examination, the individual creates communities that adjust to societal changes. These communities renew themselves in actual milieus, successful pilgrimages and happy ‘slide-pilgrimages’; these provide the individual with the unique, the upfill, in the last analysis, the authenticity. The processes we were acquainted with in the course of our study precisely indicate that this very *locality-production* and *home-production* are not opposite to the processes of globalisation, but are rather part of it (Eade 1997, 4). Our late modern Catholics who are losing or have lost their communities are involved in just this: using a term coined by Anderson in another, earlier context (but appropriate here, too) realizing ‘imagined communities’, ‘virtual homes’, establishing priestless mobile/movement-centred parishes.

However high-minded intellectuals lack playful absorption, we have to accept the lesson ethnography dictates. On closer view, people are capable of living, living a life worthy of man.

Is anthropology going to give hope back to the humanity in man?

¹²⁵ Though this study portrays one of the major opponents of globalisation criticism, a successful business venture; considering the community of friends, voluntary membership and action, the ideological community provided not by the business as basis, this would be a gross simplification.

¹²⁶ Following Marcus, we could call it ‘realist’ or ‘modernist’ ethnography. He devoted a special study to explain the novelty of this kind ethnography, its divergent approach (Marcus 1992). I have sought make use of these in the course of my investigation.

Summary in Finnish (Yhteenvedo)

Uskontoturistit. Autenttisen elämyksen rakentaminen myöhäismodernissa unkarilaisessa katolisuudessa

Yksilö ja ryhmä myöhäismodernissa katolisuudessa

Tässä työssä on tarkasteltu yhtä pyhiinvaellustoimistoa ja sen asiakkaita, uskontoturisteja. Siinä on esitelty erästä nyky-yhteiskunnan pientä 'lokaliteetia' sekä tämän lokaliteetin luojia ja käyttäjiä, toisin sanoen sen asukkaita. Tarkastelussa on ollut sellainen *tila*, jota ei voi sekoittaa mihinkään konkreettiseen *paikkaan* ja joka tämän vuoksi on luonteeltaan postmoderni. Tämä lokaliteetti ei olisi voinut syntyä nykyisessä muodossaan oleellisesti aikaisemmin, vaikka itäisen Keski-Euroopan traaginen kommunistinen kokeilu kiistatta myöhästyttikin sen syntyä. Tässä intiimissä mutta silti sallivassa ja anteeksiantavassa lokaliteetissa manifestoituu eräitä myöhäismodernisuuden erityispiirteitä, joiden joukosta nostan esille muutamia.

Tässä tutkimuksessa on tutustuttu uskontoturistiin, lukumäärältään poikkeuksellisen suureen ja globaalisti levinneeseen matkailijatyyppiin, josta tekee jännittävän ja ristiriitaisen se, että oman määritelmänsä mukaan sitä ei ole olemassa. Olen osoittanut, kuinka monimutkaisia *merkityksiä* eurooppalainen kulttuuri *liittää* tämän erityislaatuisen matkailijatyypin 'vanhempiin', turistiin ja pyhiinvaeltajaan. Edellä on osoitettu myös kuinka turismia ja pyhiinvaellusta tutkivat tieteet *ovat kamppailleet* tämän matkustusmuodon moninaisista sidonnaisuuksista johtuvien jännitteiden kanssa ja kuinka näissä kamppailuissa ovat näkyneet kulttuuria koskevan ajattelun eräät usein monin tavoin muotoillut mutta perusolemukseltaan harvoin tai ei lainkaan muuttuvat kysymykset. Pyrin ensin kuvailemaan ulkopuolisen näkökulmasta tämän ryhmän unkarilaisten jäsenten joitakin piirteitä. Tämän jälkeen vaihdoin näkökulmaa: luovutin tilan ja äänen tutkimuksessa siihen asti hiljaisuuteen pakotetulle, siedetylle, joskus kiistetylle, tapauskohtaisesti negatiivisena vastapuolena käsitellylle 'kohteelle', matkailijan erityistyyppille uskontoturistille. Voinen liioittelematta sanoa lyhentäneeni velkaa, jota ainoastaan empiirinen kulttuurintutkimus (etnologia, antropologia) pystyy lyhentämään. Henkilökohtaisten äänten ja sisäisten elämysten tunteminen määrällisessä laajuudessaan, syvyydessään ja monimutkaisuudessaan on uskoakseni toiminut täydellisesti vastapainona jo tarjotuille tai muodostumassa oleville ulkopuolisille tulkinnoille. Tätä lähestymistapaa voisi verrata meren kauniin, hiljaisen pinnan alle uppoamiseen ja tutkijan tulemiseen tietoiseksi pinnan alle kätkeytyvistä monimutkaisuuksista. Tämän kirjoittajaan vaikuttaneelle, eräälle hyvin merkittävälle ja eurooppalaisen yhteiskunnan tutkimuksessa edelleen käyttökelpoiselle lähestymistavalle uskollisesti emisistinen ääni on itse asiassa *dekonstruoinut* aikaisempien tieteellisten havaintojen tulokset. Tämän jälkeen olen yrittänyt järjestää – ymmärtäen ja hyväksyen emisistisen ja etisistisen ylittämättömät erot ja myös niiden jännittävän yhteispelin – tarjotulle tabula rasalle, kuinka tämän päivän uskontoturisti *ja/tai* pyhiinvaeltaja *rakentaa* tätä matkustustapaa, uskoa ja

uskovaa ihmistä koskevat käsityksensä. Peter Bergerin ja Thomas Luckmannin (1966) pohjalta voimme tarkastella rohkeasti juuri näiden voimakkailla merkityksillä ladattujen käsitteiden, roolien ja toimintojen ollessa kyseessä yhteiskunnallista todellisuutta tulkitsevien prosessien, pyrkimysten ja mielikuvien alaisuudessa jatkuvasti muotoutuvana, päättymättömänä rakentamisena. Pyhiinvaellukseen liittyvät 'faktat', tapauksessamme sen tulkintaan vaikuttava tietojen kokonaisuus, ovat lähestymistapani mukaan inhimillisiä tuotoksia. Tutkimuksessani olen esitellyt tulkintaympäristön, jossa pyhiinvaelluksen 'luotu todellisuus' aikanamme rakentuu. Lopulta yritin osoittaa, että konstruktio *itsessään* on *merkityksenanto*: pyhiinvaeltajan ja -vaelluksen merkitykset muodostuvat keskenään kommunikoivien tekijöiden (yksityiset ihmiset, pyhiinvaellustoimistot, kirkko, pyhäköt) välisessä intersubjektiivisessä tilassa. Kaikki toimijat luonnollisesti saapuvat ja tulkitsevat tekijöitä ja toimintatapoja osittain toisistaan eroavista kognitiivisista todellisuuksista käsin. Kaiken kaikkiaan voisin luonnehtia pyrkimystäni Karin Knorr-Cetinaa seuraten eräänlaiseksi 'empiiriseksi konstruktivismiksi': tavoitteeni oli 'konstruktion koneistojen' löytäminen, niiden toiminnan ja toisiinsa kohdistaman vaikutuksen esitleminen kiinnittäen erityishuomiota yksilöön tässä prosessissa (Balogh-Karácsony 1995).

Tutkitun pienen lokaliteetin 'jatkuva rakentaminen' tapahtuu myöhäismodernilla aikakaudella, mikä antaa sille kehykset. Sen vuoksi pidän tärkeänä palata tämän työn lopussa kahteen peruskysymykseen. Mielestäni tämän työn kaksi tärkeää tulosta ovat uudet identiteetit ja paikan tulkinnat, jotka liittävät pienen (voimme kirjoittaa näin vaikka vain antropologista traditiota jatkaaksemme) ja kauniin lokaliteettimme globaaleihin prosesseihin.

Nykyisessä länsimaisessa kulttuurissa pidetään pyhiinvaeltajaa ja -vaellusta - kuten olen edellä useaan otteeseen korostanut - esimodernina ilmiönä. Tämän vuoksi puhumme usein *yksittäisistä* pyhiinvaeltajista *yleensä* tai pyhiinvaeltajaryhmistä. Saman esimodernin vaikutuksen vuoksi myöhäismoderni ihminen viittaa nostalgisilla matkoillaan pyhiinvaellukseen voimaa ja merkitystä antavana mielikuvien kokonaisuutena halutessaan perustella mahdollisimman tarkasti matkustamisensa syytä. Vaikuttaa siltä, että aikalaisillemme pyhiinvaellus tarjoaa aidon ja osuvan, rehellisen ja sopivan tulkintakehyksen, jos he haluavat puhua jostain arkipäiväistä (leikkiäksemme sanoilla voisimme sanoa myös turismista) enemmästä.¹ Tämän vuoksi länsimainen ihminen etsii esimoderneja muotoja vaatetuksessaan ja matkustustavassaan matkustaessaan jonkin hengellisen päämäärän vuoksi. Tarkemmin sanottuna edellä mainittu *representoituu dominoivasti* juuri siksi hengellisten matkojen yhteydessä: joka matkustaa syvällisten hengellisten päämäärien vuoksi, *näyttäytyy* aikanamme esimodernina. Mielikuvaan ei ainoastaan 'pyhiinvaeltajasta' vaan myös 'katolilaisesta' liittyä voimakkaasti esimoderneja merkityksiä - vaikkakin jälkimmäiseen ehkä enemmän vanhoillisuuteen kuin autenttisuuteen viittaavia. Esimodernia ei ole ainoastaan katolisuuden ristiriitainen suhde individualismiin vaan myös mielikuva katolisesta identiteetistä keskustasta määriteltynä, vahvasti säänneltynä, selkeästi rajattuna, kyseenalaistamattomana ja yksilön yläpuolella olevana. Uraauurtava ja kirkkoa modernisoinut Vatikaa-

¹ Vastakkainasettelu toimii tietysti ainoastaan tässä. Turismihan on useimmissa analyyseissa nimenomaan arjen ja työn vastakohta.

nin II konsiili ei vaikuttanut useimmissa tapauksissa heikosti ainoastaan tämän identiteetin representaatioon vaan sen kantajiinkin vain paikoitellen.

Mitä 'pyhiinvaeltajan' ja/tai 'katolilaisen' identiteetistä voidaan tutkimukseni perusteella sanoa? Jos ajattelemme matkustajiemme elämyksiä, ennen kaikkea, että se on uudelleentarkastelussa. Tämä on huomattavan tärkeää, kuten Zygmunt Bauman (1996, 19) kirjoittaa eräässä erittäin merkittävässä identiteettiä käsittelevässä, *From Pilgrim to Tourist* -nimisessä kirjoituksessaan: "Ihminen ajattelee identiteettiään silloin, kun hän ei ole varma siitä, mihin hän kuuluu; toisin sanoen, kun hän ei ole varma, kuinka sijoittaa itsensä keskelle käyttäytymistapojen ja -mallien ilmeistä moninaisuutta ja kuinka varmistaa, että ympärillä olevat ihmiset pitäisivät tätä sijoittautumista oikeana ja sopivana, niin että molemmat osapuolet tietäisivät, kuinka käyttäytyä toistensa seurassa." Se, että identiteetistä kiistellään ja että se on tarkastelussa, itsessään erottaa tarkastelemamme ilmiön (tämän päivän pyhiinvaeltajan/katolilaisen identiteetti) esimodernista ja liittyy sen moderniin ja postmoderniin aikaan.

Tässä yhteydessä pidän modernin ja postmodernin välistä suhdetta käsittelevään kiistelyyn puuttumista tärkeämpänä viitata omien tutkimusteni pohjalta eräisiin minään liittyviin ilmiöihin, joita useimmat teoreetikot pitävät 'post'-, 'myöhäis'- tai 'notkealle modernille' (*liquid modernity*) aikakaudellemme tyypillisinä. Ensiksi on kiinnitettävä huomio kvalitatiivisen kenttätutkimuksen tuloksista selvimmän esille nousevaan ilmiöön, refleksiivisyyteen, jota Anthony Giddens pitää suorastaan aikakautemme tärkeimpänä luonnehtijana. Matkailijani ovat minään vaikuttavien hengellisten kokemusten ulkopuolellakin *itsetietoisesti refleksiivisiä*. Identiteetin kiistanalaisuus oli niin selvä narratiiviemme piirre, että sitä ei huomaa ainoastaan hengellisten elämysten vaikutusta tarkasteleva tutkija vaan kotonaan matkojansa muistelevat pyhiinvaeltajat itsekkin. Omia identiteettejään pohdiskelevat matkailijamme suorittavat vastoin käsitystä vahvasta, selkeärajaisena näyttäytyvästä katolisesta identiteetistä useimpien teoreetikkojen postmoderneina ja myöhäismoderneina pitämiä toimintoja: he reagoivat siihen ja rakentavat sitä itserefleksiivisesti sekä kiinnittävät merkittävästi huomiota identiteettikertomustensa puolustamiseen ja konstruointiin. He pyrkivät pyhiinvaelluksiinsa liittyen vakavasti selvittämään itselleen 'pyhiinvaeltajan' tai 'katolilaisen' käsitteitä, toisin sanoen viime kädessä heille tarjottuja identiteettejä. Maailma, jossa he elävät, ohjaa heidät tällaisten pohdintojen äärelle. 'Maailmasta' ja katolisesta tulkinnasta 'maailmassa elämisestä' puheen ollen on tässä yhteydessä aiheellista korostaa, että siihen on yleensä liittynyt painolastia. Tilanne on kuitenkin muuttunut, kuten Giddens (1996, 188) osuvasti huomauttaa: "'Maailmassa eläminen', missä maailma tarkoittaa myöhäismodernia, aiheuttaa yksilölle lukuisia selviä vastakohtia ja vaikeuksia. Voimme analysoida niitä käsittelemällä niitä dilemmoina, jotka täytyy ratkaista jollakin tasolla, jos yksilö aikoo säilyttää identiteettikertomuksensa koherenssin." Kaikki tämä puolestaan tarkoittaa sitä, että tässä käsitellyt identiteettikategoriat ovat muutoksessa (eräiden mukaan kaikella varmuudella kriisissä); on selvää, että niiden ilmeinen tarkoitus ja kiinnitysvoima ovat lakanneet olemassa olemasta, mikä luonnehtii hyvin giddensiläistä jälkitraditionaalista yhteiskuntaa. Identiteettiä käsittelevä ajattelu on näin – toki ilman tieteellistä aparattia – kiistatta ilmaantunut nykypyhiinvaeltajien tietoisuuteen. Giddensin huomiot sopivat poikkeuksellisen hyvin matkailijoihimme: "yhteiskunnalliset käytännöt – kaiken lisäksi juuri niihin

liittyvien uusien tietojen vuoksi – ovat tutkinnan ja uudistumisen kohteina, toisin sanoen ne muuttavat jatkuvasti luonnettaan” (sit. Hall 2001, 278). Matkasta, nykypyhiinvaelluksesta muodostuu näin matkailijoillemmekin vertailukohta. Yhä uudet matkat merkitsevät uutta tietoa, joka kehottaa yksilöä jatkuvaan ’rakentavaan muutokseen’. Väärinkäsitysten välttämiseksi on huomautettava, ettei tässä muutoksessa ole kyse kristityn pyrkimyksestä täydellisyyteen, joka on katolisen tulkinnan mukaan pyhiinvaelluksen tärkeä elementti. Matkailijoidemme identiteetit eivät muutu jostakin joksikin, virheitä tekevistä täydelliseksi. Pyhiinvaeltajamme itse asiassa *rakentavat* arkipäivän tasolla jatkuvasti identiteettiään, ”refleksiivistä projektiaan” (Giddens 1996, 47–55).

Tällä hetkellä vahvasti säännellyn katolisen identiteetin luonteen muuttaminen näkyy siinä, että yksilön vertailu- ja tulkintakohdat pluralisoituvat. Pyhiinvaeltajiemme mielikuvat matkustusmuodostaan eivät ainoastaan poikkea vahvasti toisistaan vaan niistä myös kiistellään. Käsitusten muodostuminen ei ole enää ainoastaan eikä edes ensisijaisesti kirkon tehtävä. Ernesto Lacaun ilmausta mukaillen voidaan huomata, että kirkon asema identiteetin määrittelijänä näyttää siirtyneen pois keskiöstä ei ainoastaan silloin, kun kyse on uskovista ihmisistä vaan myös silloin, kun on kyse eräästä heidän erityisryhmästään, pyhiinvaeltajista (Hall 2001, 278). Tämän kaiken uskova yksilö tekee tietoisesti tuntien ja ottaen vastuun siihen liittyvistä jännitteistä. Lopulta individimme valitsevat tai muodostavat uskontoa käsittelevän tulkintansa tarjotuista tulkinnoista ilman kirkon opillista hyväksyntää tarkoittavaa nihil-ostat-leimaa. Tämä tietoisuus johtuu yksilön siirtymisestä keskiöön, kuten Stuart Hall osuvasti huomauttaa (2001, 281): ”Nyky aika aiheutti *individualismin* uuden ja sille tyypillisen muodon, jonka keskiössä oli uusi käsitys yksilöstä ja hänen identiteetistään. Tämä ei tarkoita sitä, etteivätkö ihmiset olisi olleet yksilöitä esimodernina aikana vaan sitä, että he elivät, kokivat ja prosessoivat yksilöllisyyttään eri tavalla”.

Matkailijoillemme *yksilön historiallisuus* on selviö: he tallentavat ja tulkitsevat omien persoonallisuksiensa muutoksia. Tämän lisäksi he pohdiskelevat persoonallisuksiensa aiempia, *tiedostamattomia muutoksia* ja liittävät merkityksiä menneisyyden muutoksiin suhteessa nykyisiin identiteetteihinsä. Pyhiinvaeltajiemme tietty fragmentaatio ei näy ainoastaan tutkijan analyysissä vaan pyhiinvaeltajat tuntevat sen itsekkin: heille yksilöä halkovat erilaiset, aiemmin toisensa pois sulkeneet identifikaatiot. Voimme jatkuvasti havaita matkailijoidemme elämyksissä myöhäismodernin identiteetin muodostamisen tärkeimmän piirteen: identiteetin muodostaminen on *prosessi*, identiteetin sijaan kyse on *identifikaatiosta*. Toisin sanoen matkailijat tiedostavat elämyksissään identiteetin *lopullisen muotoutumattomuuden* ja sen jatkuvan rakentamisen. Pyhiinvaeltajamme tuntevat sanojen ja kategorioiden monimerkityksellisyyden ja kokevat useiden merkitysten samanaikaisen olemassaolon aiheuttaman jännitteen ja epävarmuuden. Heidän yrityksensä suuntautuvat monesti näiden merkitysten ’lukitsemiseen’ ja kiinnittämiseen – elämiskerrontansa perusteella useimmiten epäonnistuneesti. Kyetäkseen tuntemaan kategorioiden avoimuuden ja myöhemmin yrittämään niiden sulkemista pyhiinvaeltajiemme tulee siis itsensäkin ’avautua’ ja tehdä näistä kategorioista ja lopulta identiteeteistä kritiikin kohteita. Nämä puolestaan, kuten jo aiemmin olen huomauttanut, ovat poikkeuksellisen tarkasti määriteltyjä kategorioita, minkä vuoksi tämä kamp-

pailu kielii suuresta rohkeudesta ja olosuhteiden musertavasta vaikutuksesta.

Pyhiinvaellus on hurskas matka tietty kohteeseen, paikkaan, eliadelaisittain axis mundiin, turnerilaisittain 'kaukaiseen keskukseen'. Nykypäivän matkailijoiden ajatusten perusteella voidaan väittää, että tämän eurooppalaisen kulttuurin tärkeän ilmiön, pyhiinvaelluksen, hyvinkin selkeästi konkreettiseen paikkaan liittyvän ja tiettyyn paikkaan suuntautuvan toiminnan, käsite hajoaa silmiemme edessä. Kyse ei ole siitä, että pyhiinvaeltajamme unohtaisivat vierailulla tärkeissä pyhiinvaelluspaikoissa, joiden merkitys vähenisi ja jotka näin siirtyisivät pyhiinvaeltajakaanonin ulkopuolelle. Tällaisestakin on ollut runsaasti esimerkkejä aiemmin kristillisten pyhiinvaellusten historiassa. Kyse ei ole siitäkään, etteivätkö pyhiinvaeltajat enää pitäisi tietyissä pyhäköissä vierailusta erityisen merkittävänä, koska nykymatkailijakin tuntee pyhäkössä vierailun erityisyyden.

Konkreettisen paikan merkityksen tietynlainen väheneminen ei ole täysin uusi ilmiö vaan se johtuu tietyssä mielessä kristillisyyden perusolemuksesta, kuten Eade ja Sallnow (1991, 9) ovat huomauttaneet: "...pyhiinvaeltajille kaikkein tärkeintä on paikassa tapahtuneiden asioiden merkitys ja se, mitä niistä voidaan oppia haluttaessa elää kristillisesti. Itse asiassa Jerusalemin ympäristön pyhiinvaelluspaikat voitaisiin siirtää ja rakentaa uudelleen ilman että niiden sakraali merkitys tai opetus vähenisi lainkaan. ...Jerusalemiin suuntautuvan pyhiinvaelluksen merkitys, ainakin roomalaiskatolilaisille, on pikemminkin pyhien kirjoitusten varmentamisessa ja toteuttamisessa, parhaimman mahdollisen opetuksen omaksumisessa eikä niinkään vierailussa itse paikassa." Todellakin, kun pyhiinvaellukset Pyhälle maalle muuttuivat keskiajalla mahdottomiksi, yllä esitelty kristittyjen asennoituminen konkreettisia paikkoja kohtaan johti juuri *pyhäköiden kaksoiskappaleisiin*. Pyhiinvaeltajat pystyivät näin kunnioittamaan entisiä Pyhän maan pyhiinvaelluskohteita myös Euroopassa, esimerkiksi pyhää taloa Walsinghamissa tai Loretossa.

Nykytutkimus, varsinkin *Contesting the Sacred* -niminen artikkelikokoelma, on vakavasti kyseenalaistanut klassisen, eliadelaisen käsityksen, jonka mukaan pyhäköiden "voima muodostuu sisäisesti ja niiden merkitys on pääosin etukäteen määrätty" (Eade ja Sallnow 1991, 9). Toimittajien mukaan "pyhäkö ... takaa rituaalisen tilan niiden mielikuvien ja merkitysten moninaisuuden ilmaisemiselle, jotka pyhiinvaeltajat itse tuovat pyhäköön ja joita siellä soveltavat. ... Pyhäkö on myös - joskus perimmiltään - lukuisien sinne tuotujen, joskus toisistaan hädin tuskin poikkeavien, toisissa tapauksissa puolestaan radikaalisti erilaisten mielikuvien ja tulkintojen taistelukenttä" (Eade ja Sallnow 1991, 10). Bowman väittää jopa, että pyhiinvaellukset johtavat kohti pyhää, mutta että tämä pyhä "ei ole jotakin, joka on kulttuurin ulkopuolella; sitä kuvitellaan, rajataan ja artikuloidaan kulttuurisen käytännön puitteissa. ... Pyhiinvaeltajat kokevat vain vähän sellaista, mitä he eivät jo ole odottaneet kokevansa, keskuksissa, joihin he menevät täyttääkseen odotuksensa" (Bowman 1991, 120-121). Mielestäni tässä työssä esitetyt pyhiinvaellusten tulkinnat tukevat voimakkaasti tätä väitettä. Työssäni emme ole tutustuneet tietyn paikan vaan *itse pyhiinvaelluksen* moniin merkityksiin ja prosessiin, jonka puitteissa kukin yksilö tulkitsee pyhiinvaellusta kulttuurisessa kontekstissaan tai siitä lähtien. Tämä kaikki sopii hyvin yhteen turismin antropologisen tutkimuksen havaitseman autenttisuuden rakennetun luonteen kanssa (Wang 1999, 353-356).

Mielestäni esittelemäni tapaukset täsmentävät yllä olevaa argumenttia. Olen siis pyrkinyt esittelemään tutkijoiden havaitsemaa yhteen fyysiseen paikkaan liittyvien tulkintojen kilpailua, sen rakennetta ja vaikutusmekanismia. Toisin sanoen olen pyrkinyt tuomaan esille konkreettiseen paikkaan (pyhäkköön) liittyvien pinnalle nousevien jännitteiden inhimillistä ja yksilöllistä puolta sekä näiden vuorovaikutussuhdetta erääseen merkittävään tulkintoja tuottavaan järjestöön, nykypäivän pyhiinvaellustoimistoon. Paikkoja ei pelkästään tulkita *erilaisilla, keskenään ristiriitaisilla* tavoilla. Matkailijoitamme analysoituani olen sitä mieltä, että paikkojen tulkinnan *tapakin* ansaitsee huomiota. Niin kuin olen aiemmin huomauttanut, havaintojeni perusteella matkailijamme ei etsi ja aisti tietyn paikan todellisuutta tai autenttisuutta – kuten kohdekeskeisen autenttisuuden kritiikki on jo aiemmin osoittanut (Wang 1999, 350–353). Täsmälleen oikeaan ei osu myöskään maccannellilainen näyttämölle asetetun autenttisuuden kritiikki (MacCannell 1973), koska matkailijoitamme ei häiritse tai edes kiinnosta vierailukohteen/paikan autenttisuus. Pyhiinvaeltajat käsittelevät ja verifioivat matkoillaan pikemminkin *elämyksen autenttisia olosuhteita*, vaikka he näin olisivatkin tekemisissä tutkijan tai kriitikon näkökulmasta epäautenttisten esineiden ja ilmiöiden kanssa.

Kaikki tämä on mielestäni mahdollista siksi, että nykypäivän matkailijat erottavat yllättävän rohkeasti ja itsenäisesti toisistaan *lokalityetin* ja *miljööön*, fyysisen ympäristön ja mentaalille elämyksille täydellisen tilan, tapauksessamme siis viime kädessä konkreettisen paikan ja uskonnollisen elämyksen. Yllättävää on, että matkailijat käyttäytyvät näin myös juuri silloin, kun on kyse eräästä kaikkein tarkimmin säännelystä ja kodifioidusta matkustusmuodosta, pyhiinvaelluksesta. Konkreettinen lokalityetti – turistille nähtävyys, pyhiinvaeltajalle pyhäkkö – erottautuu pyhästä paikasta. Tämä kaikki vähentää merkittävässä määrin pyhiinvaelluspaikkojen merkitystä, mihin vaikuttavat ja minkä kanssa samaan aikaan ilmenevät osin myös teologiset muutokset (aneiden henkilökohtaistuminen ja voimakas laajeneminen).

Matkailijamme pakenevat heikosti integroituvien klassisten (tapauksessamme pikemminkin alueellisten) yhteisöjen tuttuja kokemuksia tietoisena päämääränään etsiä aitoja, 'täyttymyksellisiä' elämyksiä, 'hengellistä lisäarvoa'. Nykyinen kulutusyhteiskunta tarjoaa lukuisia mahdollisuuksia elämysten hankintaan, 'täyttymykseen'. Kaikella todennäköisyydellä yksilö etsii ja valikoi itselleen sopivimman 'paikan' ja liittyy itselleen sopivaan yhteisöön aiempien kokemustensa ja mielikuviensa pohjalta. Itse elämyksen saavuttaminen ei kuitenkaan, kuten olen aiemmin osoittanut, onnistu kaikissa siihen ulkoisesti sopivissa paikoissa (tapauksessamme pyhäköissä), ainoastaan sopivassa miljöössä. Yksilö ottaa aktiivisesti osaa tähän sopivan *miljööön* rakentamiseen ja sen ylläpitämiseen. Miljööön arvostuksen kasvu ja sen tärkeys on huomattu muun muassa tutkittaessa globalisaation vaikutuksia. Sosiologian huomio kääntyi sitä tutkittaessa Max Schelerin filosofisen antropologian kehittäjän miljöö-käsitteen puoleen. Schelerin ajatusten joukosta on tässä yhteydessä erityisen tärkeä käsitys erosta 'miljöörakenteen' ja 'todellisen miljööön' välillä. Ensin mainittu tarkoittaa asennoitumista maailmaan, etäisempää suhtautumista arkipäivän tulkintaprosesseihin. Päinvastoin kuin jatkuvuutta edustava miljöö rakenne, todellinen miljöö on luonteeltaan vaihteleva, siihen sisältyvät miljööön ajankohtaiset ja tilapäiset sisällöt (Albrow et al.1997, 29–31).

Kuinka miljöön liittyy kysymykseen pientä lokaliteettia rakentavista uskon-
toturisteista? Mielestäni lukuisat tuntemani yksilöt ovat toisistaan erillään
rakentaneet samankaltaista 'miljöörakennetta' reagoidessaan ympäröivään
maailmaan. Yhteisöstään – jota tutkimuksessani tutkin – he etsivät näin
miljöörakenteen mitä tavanomaisinta toteutumista ja toteuttamista, todellista
miljöötä. Kaiken lisäksi tämä etsintä tapahtuu vapautuvassa yhteiskunnassa,
jossa oma miljöörakenne ei enää ole ajatusrikos ja jossa todellisten miljöiden
rakentaminen sopivien miljöörakenteiden mallien mukaisesti ei enää aiheuta
vainoa.

Miksi miljööstä on tullut niin keskeinen tavoite nykyihmiselle? Tämän
ymmärtääksemme meidän täytyy ennen kaikkea kiinnittää huomiota erääseen
globalisaatioon luonteenomaisesti liittyvään ilmiöön, yksityisten ihmisten
massoja 'liikkeelle sysäävään', mobilisoivaan, voimaan. Kuten Zygmunt
Bauman on tunnetusti asian ilmaissut, me, turistit ja kulkurit, "olemme kaikki
liikkeellä postmodernissa yhteiskunnassamme". Bauman tekee luonnollisesti
selväksi, ettei tätä liikettä ole ainoastaan eikä ensisijaisestikaan pidettävä
fyysisenä vaan että "kukaan meistä ei voi olla varma siitä, että on saanut
ikuisen oikeuden johonkin tiettyyn paikkaan" (Bauman 1997, 93). Kuten
useimmat muutkin globalisaation teoretikot, myös Bauman on useaan
otteeseen huomauttanut, että ajan ja paikan merkityksen supistuminen kuvaa
hyvin inhimillisen ympäristön eri näkökulmista tapahtunutta muuttumista²,
joka on johtanut myöhäismoderniin epävarmuuden tunteeseen. Bauman on
kiinnittänyt huomiotamme erityisesti siihen, että juuri mahdollisuudessa
hyödyntää paikkaa ja aikaa korostuu se, ettei globalisaatio ainoastaan sanonnan
mukaisesti yhdistä vaan toisesta näkökulmasta myös erottelee ihmisiä niihin,
joille liikkuvuus on mahdollista ja niihin, joille se ei ole. Bauman on hyvin
osuvasti osoittanut, kuinka kaikki tämä luo sellaista uutta yhteiskuntaa, jossa
köyhyyden ja rikkauden käsitteet tulkitaan uudelleen ja jossa "mobiliteetista
tulee tärkein arvo" (Bauman 2002, 16–17). Tarkastellessamme matkailijoidemme
elämyksiä voimme sanoa, että tietyissä tapauksissa turismista, baumanilaisessa
mielessä pseudomobiliteetista, on voinut tulla arvo ja identiteetin rakentaja.

Bauman on globalisaation ohella viittannut myös sen kanssa paralleelisiin
esiintyviin lokalisoiviin prosesseihin, joihin hän tosin – etäältä ja valitellen –
liittää lähes jokaisessa tapauksessa puutetta ja kykenemättömyyttä: "Toisista
meistä tulee täysin ja aidosti 'globalisoituneita', toiset taas kiinnittyvät 'lokali-
teettiinsa', joka on ei-toivottava ja sietämätön tilanne. ...Paikallisyhteisöt
menettävät tarkoitusta tuovan merkityksensä ja kykynsä näkemysten tuottami-
seen" (Bauman 2002, 17). Baumanin kritiikkiä yhteiskunnan makrotason
muutoksista kannattaakin pohtia vakavasti, mutta mielestäni hän ei ota
huomioon arkisissa lokaliteeteissa tapahtuvia prosesseja, joita hän tarkastelee
ulkopuolisesta – etten sanoisi globalisoituneesta – näkökulmasta.

Tutkimusteni perusteella nämä lokaliteetit, uudet heimo- ja fundamentalistiset
liikkeet, eivät ole arjen tasolla niinkään toivottomia paikkoja. Ne eivät ole sitä
varsinkaan silloin, kun on kyse sellaisista aktiivisesti ja vapaaehtoisesti
rakennetuista ja näin kaikkea muuta kuin puolustuskyvyttömistä lokaliteeteista
kuin yllä esittelemästäni. Nämä lokaliteetit eivät tietenkään kykene ottamaan
osaa globaaleihin diskursseihin, mutta sen sijaan ne pystyvät tuottamaan

² Eade (1997) on tehnyt tästä hyvän yhteenvedon.

tarkoitusta, tavoitteita, merkityksiä ja – mikä on kaikkein tärkeintä – rakentamaan yhteisöä silloin, kun territoriaaliset yhteisöt (asuinalueet, suuret sukuyhteisöt tai tapauksessamme seurakunnat) menettävät merkitystään, tarkemmin sanottuna virtualisoituvat.³ Matkailijamme toimivat esimerkkinä juuri siitä, että muuttamalla miljöökseen baumanilainen takapajuinen lokaliteetti voi antaa uudenlaista – kylläkin myöhäismodernia⁴ tai Baumanin uudempaa poikkeuksellisen toimivaa ilmaisua käyttäkseni notkeaa (Bauman 2001), toisin sanoen tilapäistä ja epävakaa, monesti ulkopuolelta ja ainoastaan itsepintaisilla ponnistuksilla luotavaa – *varmuutta ja turvaa*. Juuri tähän Bauman yksinkertaisesti *ei tunnu uskovan*: ”Uutta on se, että ’puitteista irtautuminen’ jatkuu loputtomiin, sitä vastoin ’uudelleen puitteistumista’ ei ole näköpiirissä ja on melko epätodennäköistä, että tulisi olemaankaan” (Bauman – Yakimova 2000). Selvyyden vuoksi on sanottava, että Baumanin globalisaatiokriittinen kehysdiagnoosi pitää suurelta osin paikkansa makroprosessien suhteen. Voimme todellakin kokea yhteisöjen ja käsitteiden, tiettyjen pisteiden irtautumista puitteistaan. Kuitenkin, kuten Milena Yakimova on huomauttanut, Baumanin ja muissa vastaavissa kriittisissä ajatusjärjestelmissä nyky-yhteiskunnan tilannetta kuvaavat käsitykset ovat valtaosin negatiivisia (Bauman – Yakimova 2000). Näissä tulkinnoissa kaikki on keskeneräistä, loppuu ja irtoaa puitteistaan; vastakkaisille prosesseille ei anneta mahdollisuutta. Jäljelle jääneet puolestaan ovat pelkästään takapajuisia lokaliteetteja ja vaarallisia uusia heimoliikkeitä. Jos ottaa huomioon tulkintaperspektiivin, tämä katkeruus ja luovuttaminen ovat tietyllä tavalla ymmärrettäviäkin.

Tutkimukseni mukaan voidaan kuitenkin havaita juuri se, että yksilö reagoi luovasti häntä ympäröiviin myöhäismoderneihin, notkeisiin ilmiöihin.⁵ Sen sijaan, että yksilö menisi mukaan katkeruuden jakamiseen tajuamatta, ettei hän – edelleenkaan – voi vaikuttaa tasa-arvoisesti keskusteluun tärkeistä kysymyksistä, hän iloitsee mahdollisuudesta ottaa osaa ulkopuolisesta melkoiselta sijaistoiminnolta vaikuttavaan ilmiöön, miljöön etsimiseen ja rakentamiseen. Yksityiskohtaiseen etnografiaan⁶ pohjautuva antropologia auttaa huomaamaan juuri tämän: yksilö rakentaa viime kädessä yhteisöjä, jotka kykenevät sopeutumaan muuttuneisiin olosuhteisiin. Nämä yhteisöt puolestaan uudistuvat,

³ Kaiken lisäksi tämä tapahtuu lukuisten lokaliteettien kohdalla ilman, että siitä olisi vaaraa koko yhteiskunnalle, mitä taas kiistatta ei voi sanoa monista vastenmielisyyttä herättävistä uusista heimoliikkeistä.

⁴ Bauman on useaan otteeseen kuvannut suhtautumistaan postmodernin, myöhäismodernin ja refleksiivisen modernin käsitteisiin. Eräässä antamassaan varsin rehellisessä haastattelussa hän on kuvannut pitkästi kielteisiä tunteitaan näitä käsitteitä kohtaan (Bauman – Yakimova 2000). Olen käyttänyt tässä tutkimuksessa käsitettä myöhäismoderni liittämällä tietoisesti kuvaamani tilanteen sitä monessa mielessä edeltävään moderniin.

⁵ Vaikka tämä työ keskittyy eräseen globalisaatiokritiikin pääviholliseen, menestyvään liikeyritykseen, ja vaikka tapauksessamme näkökulma on vapaaehtoisen jäsenyyden ja toiminnan, ei liikeyrityksen luoman ideologisen yhteisön, mielestäni olisi liiallista tehdä yksinkertaistus, että kyseessä olisi ainoastaan tapaustutkimus eräästä menestyvästä yrityksestä.

⁶ George Marcusin mukaan voisimme käyttää samasta myös nimityksiä ’realistinen’ tai ’modernistinen’ etnografia. Marcus puuttuu eräessä kirjoituksessaan yksityiskohtaisesti tämänkaltaisten etnografioiden uutuuteen ja niiden poikkeavaan lähestymistapaan (Marcus 1992). Olen yrittänyt hyödyntää edellä mainittuja lähestymistapoja tässä tutkimuksessa.

tuottavat yksilölle ainutkertaisia kokemuksia, täyttymyksen tunnetta ja autenttisuutta varsinaisissa miljöissä, onnistuneilla pyhiinvaelluksilla tai yhtä hyvin iloisilla diakuvapyhiinvaelluksilla. Prosessit, joihin olemme edellä tutustuneet, osoittavat selvästi, että *lokaliteetin, kodin rakentaminen* ei ole päinvastoin kuin yleisesti luullaan globalisaatiolle vastakkainen prosessi vaan pikemminkin eräs sen aspekti (Eade 1997, 4). Myöhäismodernit, yhteisönsä menettämässä olevat tai jo menettäneet katolilaisemme ottavat osaa juuri tällaiseen ilmiöön: he luovat ja toteuttavat vanhempaa ja Andersonin toisessa kontekstissa käyttämää mutta tässäkin pätevää termiä käyttäen ”kuviteltuja yhteisöjä”, papittomia ja liikkuvia/liikkumiskeskeisiä seurakuntia.

Älymystön edustajilla tarjoutuisi tässä harvinaislaatuinen tilaisuus jatkaa syventymistä erääseen itselleen monesti vieraaksi jäävän kaltaiseen lokaliteettiin. On kuitenkin selvintä vain hyväksyä etnografian tulos. Lähietäisyydeltä nähtynä ihminen näyttää edelleenkin kykenevältä elämään elämisen arvoisesti.

Palauttaako antropologia ihmiselle uskon ihmiseen?

Suomennos Pasi Hannonen ja Henna Mikkola

Summary in Hungarian

Vallási turisták. Autentikus élményalkotás a későmodern magyar katolicizmusban

Egyén és csoport a késő modern katolicizmusban

E dolgozat egy zarándokirodát és annak ügyfeleit, vallási turistákat vizsgálta. A kortárs társadalom egy kis 'lokalitását' illetve e lokalitás megteremtőit és használóit, végső soron 'lakóit' mutatta be. Egy olyan *teret*, amely nem keverhető össze semmilyen konkrét *hellyel* és ezen kvalitása miatt jellegzetesen a modern kor utáni. Jelen formájában e 'lokalitás' nem jöhetett volna létre lényegesen korábban, bár a tragikus kelet-közép-európai kommunista kísérlet tagadhatatlanul okozott némi fáziskésést létrejöttében. Ez az intim, mégis megengedő és elengedő lokalitás karakterisztikusan mutatja be a későmodernitás bizonyos sajátosságait, amelyek közül itt mindössze néhányat emelek ki.

Az előzőekben megismerhettük a vallási turistát, ezt a rendkívül számos és globálisan elterjedt, ugyanakkor önbevallásában nem létező, egyszóval izgalmasan ellentmondásos utazótípust. Megismerhettük, mennyire összetett *jelentést kapcsol* az európai kultúra e sajátos utazótípus 'szüleihez', turistához és zarándokhoz. Megtudhattuk, hogyan *küzdöttek* a turizmust és zarándoklatot vizsgáló tudományok ezen utazási forma sokféle kötődéséből eredő feszültségekkel, illetve hogyan jelent meg ezen küzdelmekben a kultúráról való gondolkodás némely alapvető, megfogalmazását ugyan gyakran, lényegét azonban ritkán vagy egyáltalán nem változtató kérdése. Az előzőekben először igyekeztem külsődlegesen leírni e csoport magyar tagjainak bizonyos jellemzőit. Ezután perspektívát váltva *teret* és *hangot* adtam a kutatásban eddig hallgatásra kényszerített, megtúrt, néha megtagadott, esetenként negatív ellenpontként használt 'tárgynak', az utazó e speciális variánsának, a vallási turistának. Talán túlzás nélkül állíthatom, adósságot törlesztettem. Adósságot, amelyet csak az empirikus kultúrakutatás (etnológia, antropológia) törleszthetett. A személyes hangok, a belső élmények megismerése mennyiségében, mélységében és komplexitásában úgy érzem tökéletesen ellensúlyozta az esetleg kínálkozó vagy már-már kialakuló külsődleges értelmezéseket. Híven a szerzőre ható egyik legjelentősebb és az európai társadalom kutatásában továbbra is használható megközelítéshez, az *emic* hang végső soron *dekonstruálta* a korábbi tudományos megismerés eredményeit. Ezután a felkínált tiszta lapra igyekeztem rögzíteni a - felismerve és elfogadva *emic* és *etic* kategóriák meghaladhatatlan eltéréseit, sőt izgalmas összjátékát, mondhatjuk - kortárs vallási turista *és/vagy* zarándok elképzeléseit, ahogy *megalkotja* az utazás e formájáról, a hitről, a hívó emberről való elképzeléseit. Peter Berger és Thomas Luckmann (1966) nyomán bátran tekinthetünk éppen ezen rendkívül erőteljesen értelemtelített fogalmak, szerepek és cselekvések

esetében úgy a társadalmi valóságra, mint egy értelmező folyamatok és törekvések, végső soron elképzelések nyomása alatt állandóan formálódó, soha be nem fejezett alkotásra. A zarándoklattal kapcsolatos 'tények', esetünkben az az ismerethalmaz, amely a befolyásolja a zarándoklat értelmezését, megközelítésem szerint emberi produktumok. Az előzőekben azt az értelmező környezetet mutattam be, amelyben napjainkban felépül a zarándoklat 'megalkotott valósága'. Végső soron arra próbáltam rámutatni, hogy e konstrukció *maga a jelentésadás*: az egymással kommunikáló szereplők (egyének, zarándok utazási irodák, az Egyház, kegyhelyek) közötti interszubjektív térben ölt testet a zarándok/lat jelentése. Minden szereplő természetesen részben eltérő kognitív valóságokból érkezik és értelmezi a szerepeket és formákat. Végső soron Karin Knorr-Cetina-t követve egyfajta 'empirikus konstruktivizmusként' jellemezhetném törekvésemet: a 'konstrukciós masinériák' felderítése, működésük és egymásra hatásuk bemutatása volt céloom, kiemelt figyelmet szentelve az egyénnek ebben a folyamatban (Balogh-Karácsony 1995).

A vizsgált kis lokalitás 'állandó alkotása' a későmodernitás korában történik, ez ad neki keretet. Éppen ezért e dolgot végén két alapvető kérdésre tartom fontosnak visszatérni. Úgy vélem, az e dolgotban megismertek két fontos tanulsága, az identitás-értelmezés és a hely-értelmezés újszerűsége, amely kicsi (- pusztán csak az antropológiai tradíció folytatása miatt is írhatnánk -) és szép lokalitásunkat a globális folyamatokhoz kapcsolja.

A zarándokot, zarándoklatot - ahogy erre az előzőekben többször utaltam - egy premodern jelenségnek képzelem el a kortárs nyugati kultúra. Ezért beszélünk gyakran *egyéni* zarándokokról *általában* vagy zarándokcsoportokról. Ugyanerre a premodern áthallásra vezethető vissza, miért fordul a későmodern ember nosztalgikus utazásai esetében a zarándoklathoz, mint erőt és értelmet adó képzet-halmazhoz, amikor minél pontosabban szeretné elmondani, miért is utazik. Úgy tűnik, kortársainknak a zarándoklat kínál igaz és találó, őszinte és megfelelő értelmezési keretet, ha a hétköznapinál (- a szavakkal játszva mondhatnánk, a turizmusnál -) többről akarnak szólni.¹ Ezért keresi a nyugati ember a premodern formákat ruhájában, utazási formájában, ha valamilyen spirituális célból utazik. Pontosabban ezért *reprezentálódik dominánsan ez a spirituális utazásokkal kapcsolatban*: aki mély lelki célok miatt utazik, az napjainkban premodern módon *jelenítődik meg*.

Nemcsak 'a zarándok', de 'a katolikus' képzelet is erőteljesen premodern jelentéseket hordoz - igaz a zarándokhoz képest talán kicsit többet a maradiságból, mint az autentikusságból. Premodern nemcsak konfliktusos viszonya az individualizmussal, de a katolikus identitásnak egy központból meghatározott, erősen szabályozott, nyilvánvaló vonalakkal megrajzolt, háttérétől markánsan elváló, meg nem kérdőjelezhető, az egyéni kívül definiált elképzelése is. A legutolsó, úttörő és nagykorúsító zsinat hatása

¹ Ez az ellentét természetesen csak itt áll meg, de itt igen. A turizmus ugyanis legtöbbször éppen mint a hétköznap, a munka ellentéte jelenik meg az elemzésekben.

legtöbbször nemhogy ezen identitás reprezentálódására nem hatott, de még ezen identitás hordozóira is csak elszórtan.

Mit mondhatunk 'a zarándok' és/vagy 'a katolikus' identitásról vizsgálataink alapján? Visszagondolva utasaink élményeire mindenekelőtt azt, hogy az *vizsgálat alatt van*. Ez kiemelkedően fontos tény, ahogyan Zygmunt Bauman (1996, 19) írja az identitásról szóló egyik nagyjelentőségű írásában, a *From Pilgrim to Tourist* címűben: „Az ember akkor gondolkodik identitásáról, ha nem biztos benne, hogy ő maga hova tartozik. Azaz, ha nem biztos benne, hova helyezze önmagát a viselkedési stílusok és minták nyilvánvaló sokféleségében. Illetve, hogy hogyan biztosítsa azt, hogy az őt körülvevő emberek ezt az önmeghatározást, mint helyest és megfelelőt fogadják el és így tudják, hogyan viselkedjenek vele.” Az, hogy az identitás vitatott, vizsgálat alatt van és változik, maga elvlasztja vizsgált jelenségünket (- kortárs zarándok/katolikus identitás -) a premodernitől és a modernitáshoz vagy a posztmodern korhoz kapcsolja.

E helyen nem térve ki a modern és a posztmodern viszonyáról kialakult vitára, fontosabbnak érzem rámutatni az énnel kapcsolatos bizonyos, a legtöbb teoretikus által 'poszt'- vagy 'késő'-modern illetve 'cseppfolyós'-modern (*liquid modernity*) korunk jellemzőinek tartott jelenségekre saját kutatásaim alapján. Elsőként a kvalitatív terepmunka nyomán legmarkánsabban kibontakozó és Anthony Giddens által egyenesen korunk legfontosabb jellemzőnek tartott jelenségre, a reflexivitásra hívom fel a figyelmet. Utasaim távol a lelki élmények én-változtató hatásától is *öntudatosan reflexívek*. Az identitás vitatott volta annyira markáns vonása narratíváinknak, hogy azt nemcsak a lelki élmények hatását vizslató kutató veszi észre, de az utazásaik emlékét otthonukban felidéző zarándokok maguk is. Az erős vonalakkal előrajzolt és reprezentált katolikus identitás ellenére saját identitásunkon meditáló utasaink a legtöbb teoretikus által a posztmodernre, későmodernre jellemző akciókat hajtanak végre: önreflexíven reagálnak és építkeznek, jelentős figyelmet fordítanak identitás-narratívájuk védelmére és építésére. A zarándoklat kapcsán nagy erőfeszítéssel próbálják tisztázni 'a zarándok' vagy 'a keresztény' fogalmát, azaz végső soron a számukra felkínált identitásokat. A világ készíti őket erre, amelyben élnék. S ha már e kifejezés, 'a világ', ismét felmerült, visszautalva a 'világban élni' katolikus értelmezésére, ezen a ponton érdemes kiemelni, hogy az ezen fordulattal általában jelzett ballaszt, nehézségi erő létezik, de megváltozott, ahogy erre Giddens (1996, 188) pontosan rámutat: „'A világban élni', ahol a világ a későmodernitást jelenti, számos jellegzetes ellentétet és nehézséget okoz az egyén számára. Úgy elemezhetjük ezeket, ha mint dilemmákat fogjuk fel, amelyeket ilyen vagy olyan módon meg kell oldani ahhoz, hogy az egyén megőrizhesse identitás-narratívája koherenciáját.” Mindez pedig azt jelzi, hogy az itt tárgyalt identitás-kategóriák átalakulóban (- egyesek szerint minden bizonnyal válságban -) vannak; nyilvánvaló, evidens tartalmuk és rögzítő erejük megszűnt - jól jellemezve a giddensi hagyományutáni társadalmat. Az identitásról való gondolkodás tehát - nyilván nem a tudományos eszköztárral - tagadhatatlanul megjelent kortárs zarándokaink tudatában. Giddens megállapításai rendkívül találóak utasainkra: „a társadalmi

gyakorlatok - ráadásul éppen a velük kapcsolatos új információk miatt - vizsgálat és megújítás alatt vannak, azaz állandóan változtatják jellegzetességeiket” (idézi Hall 2001, 278). Az utazás, a kortárs zarándoklat így válhat utasaink számára is viszonyítási ponttá. Az újabb és újabb utazások jelentik azt az új információt, amely az egyént állandó 'alkotó változtatásra' készíteti. Félreértések elkerülése végett, ez a változás nem azonos a keresztény tökéletességre törekvéssel, amely a katolikus értelmezés szerint a zarándoklat fontos eleme. Utasaink identitás-változásai nem valahonnan valahová tartanak, nem az esendőtől a tökéletes felé. Zarándokaink valójában a mindennapok szintjén folyamatosan *alkotják* identitásukat, e "reflexív feladatot" (Giddens 1996, 47-55).

Az éppenséggel erősen regulázott katolikus identitás karakteres változását rögzíthetjük abban, hogy az egyén számára fontos *viszonyítási és értelmezési pontok pluralizálódnak*. Zarándokaink elképzelései ezen utazási formáról nemcsak erősen eltérőek, de állandóan vitatottak is. Az elképzelések formálódására immár messze nemcsak, sőt sokszor nem is elsősorban az Egyház hat. Ernesto Laclau kifejezését esetünkre használva nemcsak a hívő identitás, de annak egy igen speciális alfaja, a zarándok identitás definiálása kapcsán is az Egyház mint definiáló intézmény központból való kikerülését tapasztalhatjuk (Hall 2001, 278). Mindezt a hívő egyén tudatosan, ennek feszültségét megérezve és felvállalva teszi. Végző soron individuumaink a felkínált értelmezésekből válogatják illetve alakítják ki a vallásról való értelmezésüket. Mindezt immár a *nil obstat* pecsétje nélkül. A tudatosság az individuum központba kerüléséből fakad, ahogy erre Stuart Hall pontosan rámutat (2001, 281): „a modern kor az *individualizmus* új és jellegzetes formájának megjelenését hozta, melynek központjában az egyén és identitása új felfogása állt. Ez nem jelenti azt, hogy az emberek nem voltak egyéniségek a premodern időkben, hanem hogy az egyéniséget másképp élték, tapasztalták és fogalmazták meg”.

Utasaink számára *az egyén történetisége* nyilvánvaló: rögzítik és értelmezik saját személyiségük változásait. Ráadásul személyiségük egykor volt *öntudatlan változásain* is elmerengenek és jelen identitásukkal kapcsolatban értelmet kapcsolnak a múlt változásaihoz. Zarándokaink nemcsak a kutató elemzésében mutatnak egyfajta töredezettséget, de azt maguk is érzékelik: számukra az egyént már átszelhetik a különböző, korábban egymást kizárónak hitt identifikációk. A későmodern identitás alkotás legfontosabb tanulságát, az identitás alakulásának *folyamat* voltát, identitás helyett *identifikáció* tettenérését, másképp megfogalmazva az identitás *befejezetlenség-érzésének*, állandó formálódásának tudatosulását rögzíthetjük utasaink élményeiben. Zarándokaink érzik a szavak és kategóriák többjelentésű voltát, feszültségként, bizonytalanságként élik meg a többféle jelentés párhuzamos létezését. Sokszor irányul törekvésük e jelentések 'zárására', rögzítésére - élménybeszámolóik alapján legtöbbször sikertelenül. Ahhoz, hogy képesek legyenek a kategóriák nyitottságának megérzésre, majd a zárás megkísérlésére valójában maguknak is 'ki kell nyitni' és kritikának kitenni ezen kategóriákat, végző soron identitásokat. Ezek pedig, ahogy erre már utaltam, rendkívül meghatározott

kategóriák, így nagy bátorságot és a körülmények mindent elsöprő hatását jelzi, hogy utasaink megkísérik e küzdelmet.

A zarándoklat kegyes utazás valamely célpont, végső soron valamilyen hely, Eliade szerint az *axis mundi*, Turner-rel szólva egy „távoli központ” felé. Kortárs utazóink gondolatai nyomán állíthatjuk, hogy az európai kultúra e fontos jelensége, a zarándoklat, e nagyon is konkrét helyre irányuló és a helyet nagyon is konkrétan elképzelő cselekvés, fogalma bomlik fel a szemünk láttára. Nem arról van szó, hogy kortárs zarándokaink elfelejtenek fontos zarándokhelyeket meglátogatni és így bizonyos helyek jelentősége csökken, azok kikerülnének a zarándokkánonból. Ilyesmire bőséggel volt példa a keresztény zarándoklatok történetében korábban is. Nem is arról, hogy nem érzik különlegesnek egyes kegyhelyek meglátogatását. Nem, hiszen a kortárs utazó is érzi a kegyhelyen tartózkodás rendkívüliségét.

A konkrét hely bizonyos leértékelődése nem teljesen új jelenség, bizonyos mértékig a kereszténység lényegéből adódik, ahogy erre Eade és Sallnow rámutatott (1991, 9): „a zarándokok számára elsődleges fontosságú az ezen helyeken történtek jelentősége és a keresztény életvezetéshez itt megismerhető tanulság. S valóban, a Jeruzsálem környéki zarándokhelyek elköltöztethetők és újraalapíthatók szakrális jelentőségük vagy tanulságuk bármely csökkenése nélkül. ... A jeruzsálemi zarándoklat értelme, legalábbis a római katolikusok számára, bizonyos értelemben sokkal inkább a szent iratok leellenőrzése és megvalósítása, a maximális tanulság levonása, semmint magának a helynek meglátogatása”. S valóban, a Szentföldi zarándoklatok középkori ellehetetlenülése nyomán, éppen a kereszténység fent pontosan bemutatott hozzáállása a konkrét helyekhez vezetett a *kegyhelyek duplikációjához*. Ahhoz, hogy a hívek az elérhetlenné vált korábbi szentföldi zarándokcélpontokat már Európában is tisztelheték, mint például Walsingham-ben vagy Loretto-ban a Szent Házat.

A klasszikus, eliadei felfogást, amely szerint a kegyhelyek „kisugárzása bennük alakul ki és jelentésük döntően előre meghatározott” (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 9) a kortárs kutatás, elsősorban a *Contesting the Sacred* című kötet komolyan megkérdőjelezte. A szerkesztők szerint „egy kegyhely ... rituális teret biztosít az elképzések és jelentések sokféleségének kifejezésére, amelyeket a zarándokok maguk visznek a kegyhelyre és alkalmaznak rá. ... egy kegyhely – néha eredendően – a számos behozott elképzés és értelmezés küzdőtere, amelyek néha alig megkülönböztethetők, bizonyos esetekben viszont radikálisan eltérnek” (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 10). Bowman egyenesen azt állítja, hogy ugyan a zarándoklatok a szent felé vezetnek, de ez a szent „nem olyan valami, ami a kultúrán kívül, sokkal inkább a kulturális gyakorlat keretei között elképzelt, meghatározott és kifejezett. ... A kegyhelyeken, ahova a zarándokok ezen elvárásaik beteljesülése végett mennek, nem nagyon találkoznak mással, mint amit eleve elképzelték” (Bowman 1991, 120-121). Úgy érzem, az e dolgozatban bemutatott zarándoklat-értelmezések nagyban alátámasztják ezt a felismerést. Dolgozatomban nem egy adott hely, de maga a *zarándoklat, mint olyan* sokféle értelmezését ismerhettük meg és azt a folyamatot, ahogy az adott egyén kulturális kontextusában illetve abból értelmezi a

zarándoklatot. Mindez nagyban összecseng az autentikusság megalkotott természetével, amelyet a turizmus antropológiai vizsgálata feltárt (Wang 1999, 353-356).

Úgy érzem, az általam bemutatott esetek pontosítják a fenti érvelést. Amit a kutatók tehát felismertek, nevezetesen a jelentések versenyét egy adott fizikai helyen, annak felépülését, hatásmechanizmusát igyekeztem bemutatni. Végző soron a konkrét hely (kegyhely) körül felszínre törő feszültségek emberi, egyéni oldalát illetve ennek kölcsönhatását az egyik jelentős jelentésgeneráló szervezettel, a kortárs zarándokirodákkal. Nemcsak a helyek értelmezése sokszínű s így vitatott, de utasainkat elemezve úgy vélem a helyek értelmezésének módja is külön figyelmet érdemel. Ahogy korábban jeleztem, megfigyeléseim szerint nem az adott hely valósága, igazsága, autentikussága az, amit utazónk keres és érzékel - ahogy ezt már a tárgy-központú autentikusság kritikája korábban kimutatta (Wang 1999, 350-353). Ilyen módon a színpadra vitt autentikusság MacCannell-i kritikája sem pontos (MacCannell 1973), hiszen utasunkat nem zavarja és nem is érdekli a meglátogatott tárgy/hely autentikussága. Sokkal inkább az *élmény autentikus körülményei* rögzültek fejében és ezt verifikálja utazása során. Teszi ezt akár a kutató vagy a kritikus számára nem-autentikus tárgyakkal és jelenségekkel kerülve is kapcsolatba.

Mindez úgy vélem úgy lehetséges, hogy a kortárs utazó megdöbbenő bátorsággal és önállósággal választja szét a *lokalitást* és a *miliót*, fizikai környezetet és a mentális élményekre tökéletes teret, itt bemutatott esetünkben végző soron a konkrét helyet és a vallási élményt. Teszi mindezt megdöbbenő módon éppen az utazás egyik leginkább szabályozott és kodifikált formájával, a zarándoklattal. A konkrét lokalitás - turistául a látnivaló, zarándokul a kegyhely - elválik a kegy-helytől. Mindez jelentős mértékben devalválja a zarándokhelyek fontosságát, amelyet részben a teológiai változások (- a búcsúnyerés személyes üggyé tétele és erőteljes kiterjesztése -) is okoznak illetve egyúttal jeleznek is.

Utasaink a csekély mértékben integráló klasszikus (esetünkben leginkább területi) közösségekben kapott megszokott élmények elől menekülve elszánt keresésre indulnak az igaz élmény, szavaikkal a 'feltöltő' élmény, a 'lelki plusz' keresésére. Számos választási lehetőséget kínál a kortárs fogyasztói társadalom az élményszerzésre, a 'feltöltődésre'. Az egyén minden bizonnyal részben előzetes ismeretei, részben elképzelései alapján keresi meg, választja ki a számára megfelelő 'helyet', csatlakozik a neki megfelelő közösséghez. Maga az élmény azonban, ahogy az előbb jeleztem, későmodern egyéneink számára már nem áll elő minden külsőre megfelelő helyen (esetünkben kegyhelyen), csak a megfelelő milióban. Az egyén aktívan részt vesz az ehhez megfelelő *milió* megalkotásában és fenntartásában. A milió felértékelődése, fontosságának felismerése többek között a globalizáció hatásának kutatásakor került elő. Ezt értelmezendő fordult a szociológia figyelme a filozófiai antropológus Max Scheler által kidolgozott milió fogalom felé. Scheler gondolatai közül számunkra itt különösen fontos, ahogyan különbséget tesz 'milió szerkezet' és 'tényleges milió' között. Az első egy a világgal kapcsolatos attitűdöt jelent, egy

a hétköznapiok értelmezési folyamataihoz távolabbról kapcsolódó hozzáállást. A milió szerkezet állandóságával szemben a tényleges milió változékony, a milió aktuális és átmeneti tartalmait jelenti (Albrow et al 1997, 29-31).

Hogyan kapcsolódik össze a milió és a kis lokalitást alkotó vallási turisták kérdése? Úgy érzem, számos általam megismert egyén egymástól elkülönülve egymáshoz hasonló 'milió szerkezetet' alakított ki reagálva az őt körülvevő világra. Az általam vizsgált közösségükben pedig nem mást keresnek, mint ennek minél gyakoribb megvalósulását, sőt megvalósítását, a tényleges miliót. Mindezt ráadásul egy szabaduló társadalomban, ahol milió szerkezetet birtokolni már nem gondolati bűn és tényleges miliót alkotni az összecsengő milió szerkezetek mintájára már nem üldözendő.

Miért válhat a milió olyan kiemelt céllá a kortárs ember számára? Ennek megértéséhez mindenekelőtt a globalizáció egyik nyilvánvaló jelenségére, az egyének tömegét 'mozgásba lendítő' mobilizáló erőre kell figyelmet fordítanunk. Ahogy Zygmunt Baumanól már hallottuk, mi, turisták és vagabondok „posztmodern társadalmunkban mind mozgásban vagyunk”. Bauman természetesen világossá teszi, hogy e mozgás nemcsak, sőt elsősorban nem fizikailag értendő, hanem hogy „egyikünk sem lehet biztos abban, hogy örökre jogot nyert egy adott helyhez” (Bauman 1997, 93). A globalizáció legtöbb teoretikusa között Bauman is több ízben rámutatott, hogy az idő és a tér összezsugorodása jól kifejezi az emberi környezet több szempontú átalakulását², ami a későmodern bizonytalanság-érzéshez vezetett. Bauman elsősorban arra irányította a figyelmünket, hogy a térhez és időhöz való hozzáférés éppen kiemeli, hogy a globalizáció messze nemcsak közmondásosan egységesít, de más síkon el is különíti emberek csoportjait: a mobilitáshoz hozzáférőkre és hozzá nem férőkre. Nagyon pontosan fejtette ki, hogy mindez olyan új társadalmat hoz létre, ami újraértelmezi szegények és gazdagok fogalmát, ahol a „mobilitás a legfontosabb értéké válik” (Bauman 2002, 16-17). Áttekintve utasaink élményeit, azt mondhatjuk, hogy bizonyos esetekben a turizmus, baumani értelemben e talmi pszeudo-mobilitás valóban értéké válhat, identitás-építő lehet.

Bauman mindemellett rámutat a globalizációval párhuzamosan megjelenő lokalizáló folyamatokra, amelyeket viszont szinte minden esetben - távolról sajnálkozva - a hiány és a tehetetlenség fogalmaival kapcsol össze: „Néhányan közülünk teljesen és ténylegesen 'globalizálttá' válnak, mások a 'lokalitásukban' rögzülnek - ami kellemetlen, nem kívánatos és elviselhetetlen helyzet... a helyi közösségek elvesztik értelmet adó és megvitató képességüket” (Bauman 2002, 17). Miközben Bauman kritikája a társadalom makrováltozásaival kapcsolatban nagyon is megfontolandó, úgy érzem, nem mutat rá a hétköznapi lokalitásokban zajló folyamatokra, némileg kívülről - ne adj' Isten, a globalizált szemszögéből? - szemléli őket.

Vizsgálataim szerint e lokalitások, új törzsi- és fundamentalista mozgalmak a mindennapok szintjén nem annyira reményvesztett helyek. Különösképpen az olyan megalkotott, cselekvő akarattal és önkéntesen

² Ezek jó összefoglalását adja Eade (1997).

létrehozott s így messze nem kiszolgáltatót lokalitások, mint amelyet a fentiekben igyekeztem bemutatni. E lokalitások ugyan valóban nem képesek a globális diskurzusközösségekben részt venni, viszont értelmet, célt, jelentést és - ami a legfontosabb - közösséget képesek biztosítani akkor, amikor a territoriális közösségek (szomszédságok, nagy családi közösségek vagy esetünkben plébániák) éppen értelmüket veszítik, pontosabban virtualizálódnak.³ Utasaink éppen arra szolgáltattak példát, hogy a baumani visszamaradt lokalitás miliővé válva *újfajta* - ugyan későmodern⁴, vagy Bauman újabb rendkívül találó kifejezésével: cseppfolyós, (Bauman 2001) azaz ideiglenes és változékony, sokszor távoli és csak akaratos erőfeszítéssel létrehozható, de - *bizonyosságot és biztonságot* tud adni. Ez az, amiben Bauman - valószínűleg egyszerűen - *nem hisz*: „Az újdonság az, hogy a 'felbomlás' vég nélküli, ám ezzel szemben az 'újraégyezés' sehol nem látható és elég valószínűtlen, hogy megjelenjen” (Bauman-Yakimova 2000). Tisztázás végett, ki kell jelteni, hogy Bauman globalizáció-kritikus keretdiagnózisa a makrofolyamatokról nagymértékben helytálló. Valóban közösségek és fogalmak, biztos pontok felbomlását tapasztalhatjuk. Ám, ahogy erre Milena Yakimova rámutatott, a baumani és rokon kritikus gondolkodási rendszerekben a jelen társadalmi helyzetet leíró fogalmak döntően negatívak (Bauman-Yakimova 2000). Ezen értelmezésben minden befejezetlen, megszűnik, felbomlik; ellentétes folyamatoknak nincs esélye. A maradványok pedig mindössze *elmaradt lokalitások és veszélyes új törzsi mozgalmak*. Az értelmező perspektívára tekintve e keserűség és lemondás némileg érthető is.

Tanulmányom szerint viszont épp azt láthatjuk, hogy az egyén a körülvevő későmodern, cseppfolyós jelenségekre kreatívan reagál.⁵ Ahelyett, hogy osztozna a keserűségben, minden bizonnyal nem véve észre, hogy nem - most sem - lehet hatással alapvetően fontos kérdések megvitatására egyenlő mértékben, helyette örömet leli egy kívülről meglehetősen pótcselekvésnek tűnő jelenségben: miliőt keres és alkot. A módszeres etnográfia⁶ alapuló antropológia épp ezt segít felfedezni: az egyén végső soron a megváltozott körülményekhez alkalmazkodó közösségeket alkot. E közösségek pedig tényleges miliókban, sikeres záródásokban vagy éppen örömteli dia-

³ Mindezt teszi számos lokalitás ráadásul úgy, hogy a társadalom egészét nem veszélyezteti, ami tagadhatatlanul nem mondható el - és okoz talán messze ható viszolygást - számos új törzsi mozgalom esetében.

⁴ Bauman számos alkalommal jellemezte hozzáállását a posztmodern, későmodern illetve a reflexív modernitás fogalmához. Egy meglehetősen őszinte interjúban hosszasan kifejti ellenérzéseit e fogalmakkal kapcsolatban (Bauman-Yakimova 2000). Ebben az írásban a későmodernitás kifejezést használtam, tudatosan kapcsolva az általam bemutatott helyzetet a sok szempontból előzményül szolgáló modernitáshoz.

⁵ Bár e dolgozat áttételesen a globalizáció-kritika egyik fő ellenségét, egy sikeres üzletet is bemutat, esetünket az üzlet mögött megjelenő baráti közösségre, önkéntes tagságra és cselekvésre, a nem az üzlet által adott ideológiai közösségre, mint alapra tekintve, azt gondolom, túlzás lenne esetünket egy sikeres üzlet esettanulmányára leegyszerűsíteni.

⁶ George Marcus nyomán mondhatjuk 'realista' vagy 'modernista' etnográfia⁶nak is. Marcus egy írásában részletesen kifejti az ilyen etnográfia⁶ újszerűségét, eltérő megközelítését (Marcus 1992). Ezeket én is megpróbáltam alkalmazni e dolgozatban.

zarándoklatokban újulnak meg, biztosítják az egyedit, feltöltöt, végső soron az autentikust az egyénnek. Az itt megismert folyamatok pontosan jelzik, hogy az itt megismert *lokalitás-termelés, otthon-termelés* nem a globalizációval ellentétes folyamat mint azt a közkeletű vélekedés tartja, hanem sokkal inkább a globalizáció egy aspektusa (Eade 1997, 4). Későmodern, közösségüket veszítő/vesztett katolikusaink éppen ilyesmivel foglalatostkodnak: egy régebbi és más kontextusban Anderson által megalkotott, de itt is helytálló fogalommal szólva 'képzelt közösségeket' hoznak létre, valósítanak meg, 'virtuális' otthonokat, papnélküli és mozgó/mozgásközpontú plébániákat teremtenek.

Az entellektüel számára sajnos legtöbbször meg nem adott játékos elmerülés hiánya ellenére el kell fogadnunk az etnográfia diktálta tanulságot. Közelről nézve az ember továbbra is életképesnek, emberhez méltó életre képesnek tűnik.

Az antropológia visszaadja a reményt az embernek, az emberben?

SOURCES

Fieldwork sources

a) *Diaries and photos*

1. Research diaries written by the researcher between the years 1999-2003, archived into the researcher's personal library.

Participant observation and/or interviews recorded during the journey to the following pilgrimage places or locations: France: Lourdes, Avignon, Italy: Milan, Monttichiari-Fontanella, Rome, Padova, Tornio, Austria: Maria Saal, Romania: Máriaradna (Radna), Csíksomlyó (Sumuleu), Hungary: Szeged, Ópusztaszer, Magyarcsanak, Máriabesnyő, Máriapócs, Vasvár, Sümeg, Máriagyüd, Búcsúszentlászló.

2. Diaries written by travellers for the researcher (8) - copies archived in the researcher's personal library.

3. Diaries written by travellers for the agency (3) - copies archived in the researcher's personal library and used here by courtesy of Macroworld.

4. Personal diaries written by travellers (4) - copies archived in the researcher's personal library and used here by courtesy of each author.

72 colour slides, 288 colour negatives, 50 digital images taken by the researcher.

102 images taken by travellers, presented to the agency. Copies archived into the researcher's personal library - used here by courtesy of Macroworld.

b) *Travellers' letters*

Circa 1000 items by single or multiply authors, in prose or in verse, varying from postcards to six page letters, addressed directly to the agency or in the form of a diary. Copies archived for the research in the researcher's personal library - used here by courtesy of Macroworld.

c) *Questionnaires*

365 questionnaires filled in 1999 and 2000, containing c. 13500 data. Surveys were shared and collected on the following trips with the number of visits shown.

Banneux - Beauring (Belgium): 1

Czestochowa (Poland): 2

Fatima (Portugal): 1

Fatima - Santiago de Compostella (Portugal-Spain): 1

Holy Land: 2

Lisieux (France): 1

Lourdes (France): 2

Mariazell (Austria): 1

Rome (Italy): 2

Roundtrips to *Lourdes – Grandabal – Santiago de Compostella – Fatima* (France-Spain-Portugal): 2

Venice - Padua (Italy): 1

The questionnaires have been entered into a database and placed in the researcher's personal library.

d) *Interviews*

Gyula Madari – owner and director of Macroworld Pilgrim Travel Agency – interviewed on several occasions during the research process.

György Ifjú – former director of Catholica 2000 Pilgrim Travel Agency, present director of Budapest Tourist Office - 21.09.1998.

Converter – 21.08.2003. – Budapest *

Diarist – retired accountant, widower - 20.08.2003. – Budapest

Ecumenical – 28.04.2001. - Lourdes

Enthusiast – 07.08.2003. – Szeged *

Eschatologist – 17.06.2003. – Budapest *

Uncle János – retired barber, widower – 01.05.2001. - Lourdes

Aunt Katica – retired – 29.04.2001. - Milano

Medium – 20.08.2003. – Budapest *

Uncle Mihály – retired head of banking department, widower – 30.04.2001. - Lourdes

Occasional – 05.08.2003. – Szeged *

Prayer – retired - 2003.08.21. – Budapest

Rigorous – retired archivist, widow - 16.06.2003. - Budapest

Seeker – 16.06.2003. – Budapest*

Spirited – 17.06.2003. – Budapest *

Suburban - 19.08.2003 - Budapest

Teacher – retired speech therapist - 21.08.2003. - Budapest

Twins – retired widowers – 18.08.2003. - Budapest

Várhegyi family – lawyers in a country town - 30.04.2001. - Lourdes

Vicar – vicar, regular leader of pilgrimages in Macroworld – 28.04.2001. - Lourdes

Mr. Zalai – head of technical dept. in security company – 30.04.2001. - Lourdes

* presented in details in the study

Several shorter 'fieldwork discussions' in different international and domestic pilgrimages.

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OBJECTV - .../OBJECTV.HTM

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history - .../ /history.html

Northern Cross

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Opera Romana Pellegrinaggi

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activity - .../attivita.shtml

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Viator

<<http://www.viator.de/reiseprogramm.htm>> [accessed 15.07.2002.]

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Appendix

Questionnaires

1. *Shared before the trip.*

Dear Guest!

I would like to ask you to fill this questionnaire. This questions will provide data for my thesis. My research, which is carried out with the support and agreement of the Agency, also helps the advancement of the Agency. Since all the information collected is treated with the utmost confidentiality, please answer the questions genuinely. However, if you would prefer not to answer any questions, please feel free to do so. All responses are voluntary and anonymous. If you are willing to respond to further questions either by letter or in person, please provide your name on the questionnaire. Thank you for your help, Bertalan Pusztai

A.

1. Year of birth
2. Sex
3. Marital status
4. Place of residence

B.

1. Education
 - less than primary school
 - primary school
 - sec. school
 - collage/university

2. Occupation

3. Language knowledge

C.

1. Have you ever been abroad?
2. Have you ever been in the place to which you are now travelling?
 - no
 - yes, once
 - yes, more than once

D.

1. With whom are you travelling now?
 - alone
 - husband/wife
 - husband/wife and children
 - friend
 - acquaintances from the parish
 - other, namely

E.

1. How did you find out about the Makrovilag Travel Agency?
 - from friends
 - from ads in the newspaper
 - from my vicar
 - from the prospectus of the Agency
 - from other travel agency
 - from TV, radio
 - other, namely

2. How did you hear first about the place to which you are now travelling?

- from the Makrovilag T. Agency
- from friends
- from my vicar
- from my family
- from Christian literature
- from TV, radio
- from scientific literature
- other, namely

F.

1. For how long have you planned this trip?

2. Which of the following items have you brought with you on the trip?

- prayer book
- hymn-book
- Bible
- travel guide (if yes, please, write down the author and the title)
- diary
- Christian literature (namely))
- other literature (namely))
- camera
- video-camera

G.

1. Of the following statements, which do you feel is most accurate?

- I am religious
 - according to the teaching of the Church
 - in my own way
- I cannot decide whether I am religious or not
- I am not religious
- I am strongly non-religious

H.

1. Please describe the three most important things that you hope for from this trip.

2. Why are you travelling?

- because of penitence
- to give thanks
- to ask for help
- to get to know other regions
- other, namely

3. How are you participating in this trip?

- as a tourist
- as a pilgrim
- as an ill person
- as helper of those who are ill
- accompanying someone
- other, namely.....

4. Please describe briefly why you have chosen this destination.

5. Why have you participated on this trip? (you can choose two)

- to pray for my health, my job or my family
- to meet religious people
- to be spiritually cleansed, to change my lifestyle
- to be in a place rich in miracles
- to pray and be with God
- to study and learn to love my brethren
- to have more strength to face the problems of life
- because of the year of the Father

- to see marvellous monuments
- to see somewhere which attracts so many people
- because of the year 2000
- to give thanks for help
- because of personal interest
- other, namely

6. How do you think will this trip change your life? (you can choose two)

- It will not change my life
- I will be better and will pray better
- I will study new prayers and use them
- I will be closer to my brethren after it
- I will be more humble to the Blessed Virgin Mary
- I will have more strength and courage
- I will be better at helping the poor
- I will clear from my sins
- I will discover the meaning of life again
- other, namely.....

I.

1. Please, indicate how important it is for you to visit the following places.

	The more				the less
	5	4	3	2	1
Museums					
Beaches					
sport events					
historical monuments					
amusement places					
restaurants					
shopping centres					
cultural events					
other, namely					

2. Please, decide on the following statements in connection with your trip.

	yes	I do not know	no
I have chosen my target because of its cultural-historical importance			
I would like to get to know other members of the group			
During a holiday the most important thing is to disengage from everyday life			
To buy souvenirs is an integral part of the trip			
I travel because in this way I can forget the weekdays and concentrate only to God			
I would like to get to know how the locals live			
Relaxation is the most important thing during my trip			
Before the trip I read about the country			
I would like to make my own way round the places I visit			
The quality of the hotel is very important			
I would like to reach my goals even if this means I will be tired			

3. If you decided to visit some place which is not included to the official program, please, mention them and the reason for your visit.

If you have any comment in connection with this questionnaire, please, mention it here.

◆◆◆

2. *Shared after the trip.*

Dear Guest!

I would like to ask you to fill this questionnaire. These questions will provide data for my thesis. My research, which is carried out with the support and agreement of the Agency, also helps the advancement of the Agency. Since I keep all the information in strict confidence, please answer the questions genuinely. If you would prefer not to answer any questions, please leave them unanswered. Your responses are voluntary and anonymous. If you are willing to respond to further questions either by letter or in person, please provide your name on the questionnaire. Thank you for your help, Bertalan Pusztai

A.

1. Year of birth
2. Sex
3. Marital status
4. Place of residence

B.

1. Did you take photos during the travel?
 - no
 - yes, ... rolls
2. Did you make a video-recording during your trip?
 - no
 - yes, ... cassettes
3. Did you send postcards during the journey?
 - to home
 - to acquaintances and relatives
 - to your workplace
 - other,
 - I did not send any.

C.

1. Did you buy any of the following during the trip?
 - rosary
 - printed religious image
 - other religious items
2. If yes, why?
 - to bring a piece of the sacred place with me
 - to bring and save the ... of the trip
 - that sacred object can aid me at home as well
 - these are more effective objects than the ones I can buy at home
 - to bring presents to my relatives, acquaintances
 - other,

D.

1. How many times have you been abroad?
 - this is the first
 - 1-5
 - 6-10
 - more than 10
2. Which countries have you visited?
3. Which Hungarian pilgrimage places have you visited?
4. Do particular pilgrimage places have any special qualities?
 - no, they are all the same

- yes,

E.

1. Please give your opinion on the following statements connected with your trip.

	yes	I do not know	no
I would like to see these places again			
I was recharged spiritually during the trip			
The mass of tourists disturbed me in the places we visited			
I became acquainted with my fellow travellers during the trip			
I became acquainted with the locals			
I came to that trip to gain indulgentia			
A real community formed in the group during the trip			
I had strong emotional feelings in the pilgrimage place			
I could pray better in the visited churches than at home			
I took confession during the trip			
I received the Blessed Sacrament during the trip			
I attended mass at the pilgrimage place			
I left written messages or requests in the visited church(es)			

F.

1. Which of the following statements best describe you?

- I am religious
 - according to the teaching of the Church
 - in my own way
- I can not decide whether I am religious or not
- I am not religious
- I am strongly non-religious

G.

1. How are you participating in this trip?

- as a tourist
- as a pilgrim
- as an ill person
- as one who helps those who are ill
- accompanying someone
- other, namely.....

2. What is the importance of pilgrimages?

- they do not have any special importance
- it could be important for the person if he asks or gives thanks for something
- to rediscover God
- to rediscover traditional prayers
- the search for peace, hope and moral values
- other, namely
- I do not know

H.

1. Please mention the three most important places (settlement, attraction, natural beauty) that you have seen during the trip.

2. Mention three good experiences.

3. Mention three bad experiences.

I.

1. Why did you choose the Makrovilag Travel Agency?