

SPRINGER BRIEFS IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES


Christian Dennys Monteiro de Oliveira

# Religious Tourism and Heritage in Brazil

 Springer

Christian Dennys Monteiro de Oliveira

# Religious Tourism and Heritage in Brazil

 Springer

Christian Dennys Monteiro de Oliveira  
Federal University of Ceará  
Fortaleza  
Brazil

ISSN 2366-763X ISSN 2366-7648 (electronic)  
SpringerBriefs in Latin American Studies  
ISBN 978-3-319-40083-9 ISBN 978-3-319-40084-6 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-40084-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016946621

© The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Religious Tourism in Decipherment</b> .....	1
1.1	From Practice to Concept... Decipher Me or... .....	1
1.2	Seeking an Identity .....	2
1.3	Pilgrimage and Tourism: Differences and Missionary Interaction .....	5
1.4	Touristic Routes and Religious Spaces: Incorporating Significance .....	7
1.5	Types of Religious Itineraries and Festivals in Brazil .....	9
1.6	From the Concept to Reflective Practice ... Rather, I Adore You! or Should I Devour You? .....	11
1.7	Religious Tourism in the Sanctuary of Aparecida (SP) .....	12
1.8	New Shrines for Different Religiosities .....	15
1.9	Observing Shrines on a Regional Scale .....	16
1.10	Religious Symbolism as a Tourist Attraction .....	22
1.11	Religious Tourism and Its Media .....	22
1.12	From Reflection to Understandable Practice... or Rather: Aim at Me or I'll Ignore You! .....	29
1.13	Sustainability of Religious Tourism: Sacred Eco-Tourism or Faith Massification? .....	30
1.14	Religious Tourism: The Visitation Model .....	32
	References .....	34
<b>2</b>	<b>Religious Heritage in Irradiation</b> .....	35
2.1	Introduction .....	35
2.2	Irradiation as a <i>Glocal</i> Tendency of Updating Faith .....	38
2.3	Marian Devotions in Irradiation: The Pedagogical Model of Conceição Aparecida .....	41
2.4	Concluding: Catholic Scenography, a Heritage Against Oblivion .....	47
	References .....	51

## Abstract

The book proposes a reflexive and didactic demonstration of the contemporary dimensions of the tourism and of the patrimony. It presents such cultural realities as attraction/repulsion poles, capable to interpret the tension and confront in the relationships among identity (us/communities) buses and collective of visitors (them/other communities). For that, it establishes that relationship through opposite pairs: memories and forgetfulness. Knowingly they are not excluded or they are opposed in practice of the representations of a place or a culture. Patrimonial (materials or not) goods are attractive tourist predisposed her products be turned with relative sustainability. As well as tourist destinies they grow the base of several conditions, pleading the inclusion of plural motivations so that in the moment, at the most opportune time one of its elements (natural and cultural) can reach the official protection, turning heritage. Permeating every work, relative subjects to the religious systems, in his/her dynamic interface with the occupation of the cultural spaces, guide the reading of the tourist and patrimonial practices in the scales national and regional of the Brazilian territory. Here is the one that she intends to focus in the two chapters of the book "Rehearsals."

**Keywords** Tourism · Shrines · Heritage · Symbolic Vectors

## Introduction

Thinking about the geographical dimensions of tourism and heritage associatively is a special challenge. It means leaving the common place which relates touristic issues to external interests (of capital, economic models, and foreign values) and the issue or heritage to internal interests (identities, ethnic and regional formation, nationalism). Tourism and heritage are hubs of attraction/repellence like contemporary boundaries of confrontation and of the interdependence of we/others. Wisely they are not self-excluding nor do they oppose each other practically in representations of a place or a culture. Goods of heritage, whether material or not, are tourist attractions ready to become products with relative sustainability. Just as touristic destinations develop a basis of diverse conditions, begging for the inclusion of plural motivations so that at the opportune moment one of their elements, natural or cultural, can be entrusted to the government's care and receive an official safeguard.

However, what these two chapters allow for, being represented here in English, is to consider the mutual involvement of tourism and heritage through religiosity in the special sphere. Religion is a field of sociocultural knowledge which connects (or reconnects) these controversial geographical dimensions. In order to allow such a reflection, without forcing any conclusive bias on it, two new subtitles were suggested for the chapters of this new version. The first is called *Deciphering Religious Tourism: Against the Sphinx of Infinite Memory*. The original format was published by Aleph in São Paulo (2004). It is nearly a didactical exposition about how religious tourism can involve, on the one hand, a series of motivations and values which have at their core the faith and the festival. On the other hand, religious tourism can involve a variety of spatial boundaries which multiply distinct sanctuary types. Using our studies on the devotional center of Our Lady of Aparecida (in São Paulo/Brazil), this first essay points to an interactive force between tourism and the pilgrimage as a religious act, rejecting a prejudiced, opposing view. Like visits, religious tourism is evidenced as a modern, sustainable *memory* of what the sacrifice of the pilgrimages and trips in the name of faith should guarantee, in modernity, the assurance of the return.

The second chapter, to the contrary and through dynamic complementation, discusses the modern problem of everyday abstractions, which even in the

interaction with the cultural values of the predominant religion, is translated into the loss of collective memory, entitled *Religious Heritage Irradiating: Against the Ephemeral Monster of Forgetfulness*. Published as an article in 2014 by the *Geograficidade* journal, the text brings the author's concerns up to date with a discussion of religious sanctuaries facing the issue of immaterial heritage of a religious nature. The study discusses the devotional aspects of the religious festivals in the formation of contemporary historical and geographical memory. The following question arises: to what extent does religious heritage renew the strength of spiritual communication as an illuminator of symbolic goods? With theoretical, methodological support of the research, the work unites investigations connected to the formation of cultural heritage and the religious, devotional practices with examples related to religious festivals in the state of Ceará. The aim is to discuss the structured hypotheses about the scientific role of the valorization of these festivals in a strategy of understanding these symbolic places.

The exposition about the models of ties between the local and global scales in manifestations which are exported to other communities, whether nearby or distant, permitted the study to conclude by affirming the capacity of the festivals (which are in transformation) to deal with the challenges of vectorial actions. This is mainly when the visibility and the geographic staging of devotion strengthens the means of containing forms of social abandonment. Here they are called means of *forgetting*. For this reason, the religious dimension, which is the base of the second essay, is found more in the selective force of relection than in the characteristic of reconnecting. Another tendency which allows us to understand the indispensable role of religiosity in the formation of present-day heritage is its interlocution with material and immaterial assets that makes the state of Ceará (where the author lives and works), a instigative storehouse for new contributions in the Geography of Tourism and Heritage.

We could not end this introduction without formalizing a special thanks to the Postgraduate Program in Geography at the Federal University of Ceará, as well as to the Coordinator's Office of Improvement of Higher Education (CAPES/MC). These two essays would not have been possible without their assistance. The Sphinxes and monsters of my reflections are grateful for that valuable support.

# Chapter 1

## Religious Tourism in Decipherment

### Against the Sphinx of Infinite Memory

#### 1.1 From Practice to Concept... Decipher Me or...

You have probably faced many enigmas. Perhaps you were led to begin this reading by one of them: Is it coherent to call a religious pilgrim a tourist? Can a traveler, fulfilling his religious obligations be confused with a consumer of landscapes, leisure, and various types of entertainment? Is it correct to classify activities related to tourism with those related to religion just because they occur in places which are highly regarded by certain faiths? If you were before the famous Sphinx of the ancient world,<sup>1</sup> at the moment when it says, "Decipher me or be devoured," would you not vigorously answer "NO" to all three questions? Why is that? It is because we believe what we see, naively, as a survival defense mechanism. We see part of the facts, not the ideas which sustain them.

To clarify this, when the monster of appearances pressures us, we respond, "of course religious tourism does not exist, after all..." *one thing is one thing and another thing is another thing; the two things are distinct and not a third thing.* You or any of us can accept these and other statements made, as a bias rather than knowledge.

We would all be in the intestines of the Sphinx, or rather, more ignorant than before, if we doubted (at least) the possibility that religious tourism identifies a specific field of very contemporary social practices. A religious person can and should travel simply because as a human being he has the right to the goods and services of a modern society. A traveler motivated by faith, if one thinks about it, does not need to give up other motivations or give up satisfying other needs. Does

---

<sup>1</sup>Monumental images mixing human and animal parts erected near the pyramids of Giza (Egypt) more than 5000 years ago; and reproduced with cultural variants in many temples of the ancient world.



faith exclude all forms of pleasure, sociability, laughter, or entertainment (not to mention the tour, lunch or shopping)? Taking a closer look, just as no one name defines everything about an object or person, why do we consider *tourism* baptized as *religious* as something which necessarily does not fit? Yes, my dear Sphinx, religious tourism does exist. But... what identify should this tourism have? How can we recognize religious tourism without any bias? Would it be a group of *journeys, including motivations and services marked by the offer of religious attractions or the demand for divinities, sacred items, or rituals*? In other words, is this expression hiding a clarifying idea? For example, it is tourism in religious areas (one hypothesis), or tourism of religious groups (another hypothesis), or tourism of cultural items with a religious character? Just to name a few. Goodness, when you admit one reality, you end up discovering many paths. It is all possible and even the Sphinx becomes a collective toy (or heritage). However, we want to think about religious tourism as a practice, with an identity, definitions, and limits. We want to understand it through its constituent elements, whether those are mystical or socio-spatial. One can see its logic by observing typical places such as centers of pilgrimages, especially those of Catholicism in Brazil. Finally, we want to point out the main tendencies by differentiating the dimension of occurrence. In this way, we will see that religious tourism can fit in just as eco-tourism or mass tourism do, since religious visits become a fundamental segment for the sustained planning of locations and of heritage assets.

So we continue our journey. Now we clearly assume a pilgrimage with less bias.

## 1.2 Seeking an Identity

Religious tourism has its origin in the contemporary exercise of pilgrimage. The religious tourist continues to be a pilgrim who merely adapts his trip to the characteristics of the touristic process. At times this is partial and in others complete, according to the socioeconomic context of the religious phenomenon at hand. In this way, it is understood that the historical relationship between pilgrimages and places considered sacred, due to a festival, ethnic tradition, penitence (individual or collective), or fulfilling a vow, and tourism ends up finding a highly revealing element in the religious modality. This multiplication of sightseeing and touristic attractions continues to have a strong symbolic component found in the word *faith*.

Faith is and will continue being, a hybrid quality of the divine and human, of the sacred and profane, which is capable of immediately justifying great journeys in search of something which transcends daily life. "Faith can move mountains" according to the popular quote, not only because it extraordinarily alters the geographical features of a place, but it also brings a possible miracle. With faith, one can go far beyond the mountains, plains, fields, and deserts. Faith can lead to the search for unlimited time-space. Thus, there is the identification of this unlimited aspect within the special, apparent limits of an image of a saint, of a temple or a sanctuary. It is not by chance, or by mere curiosity that tourism will maintain and

recreate old ecclesiastical facilities in a new cloak of visitation. Many ancient and medieval cities of the new and old world are full of cultural heritage assets that do not hide their original religious function. The Sphinx in Giza, Egypt is one of them. In Brazil, is it possible to talk of a historical city without visualizing a church?

It is important, however, to recognize that the ideas of *faith* and *sacrifice* are in the origin of the religious act which motivates a pilgrimage. What is really a *pilgrimage*? Are there means for distinguishing religious tourism just as parents can be distinguished from their children?

The act of pilgrimage tends to be, above all, a ritual of nomadic origins for human groups. One embarks on a pilgrimage in search of something more significant, in search of life that goes beyond simple survival. In this light, symbolically, the pilgrimage acts as a *journey of going back, a return*. Taking a pilgrimage is returning to the field, to the open space, to the place of origin, to the land of ancestors, to the center or navel of the world, according to Eliade (1992). Eliade recognized the mystical force of these special places. For this reason, one can directly link the pilgrimage to sacrifice (a sacred rite) and to faith.

Persons, families, and peoples embark on pilgrimages for reasons beyond their own will. Thus the pilgrimage is not the individual choice of a pilgrim, but rather a response which is manifest from the subject to the divinity (the saint) who conceded some blessing on the pilgrim. These blessings take place, most of the time, in secular places in the everyday world of work or consumption. However, its peak, its principle destination, is found in places which are especially marked by divine, sacred forces. These unusual, mystical forces require rituals commonly recognized as religious festivals. The researcher, Maria Ângela Vilhena<sup>2</sup> reminds us that a religious festival is both sacred and profane; it is

general excitement, the animus which livens the city and those who go back to it, like returning to the family home, the source of life, on the most important date. That is why pilgrimage is a celebration; an act which becomes publically famous, that which is a decisive moment in the life of a group.

This is the most important substance for identifying religious tourism with pilgrimages, while at the same time being the difference between it and other types of tourism. Religious tourism is tourism that has not lost its roots in pilgrimage and continues to be motivated by the mystical exercise of celebration. This means that the religious festival contains and explains the multiplicity of sacred places, in the various religions on the planet. In other words, religious tourism is that which is motivated by celebration.

We agree with Arminda Souza and Marcos Coimbra<sup>3</sup> when they define religious tourism as “a type of tourism motivated by religious culture, the main characteristic of which is going to places that have a strong religious connotation” or even

---

<sup>2</sup>O *peregrinar: caminhada para vida (The Pilgrimage: A Walk for Life)* in *Turismo Religioso: Ensaios Antropológicos sobre Religião e Turismo*—Campinas: Papirus, 2003, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>*Turismo: Conceitos Definições e Siglas (Tourism: Concepts, Definitions and Symbols)*—Manaus-AM: Editora Valer, 2000, p. 150.

“a group of activities which express mystical feelings or arouse faith.” The religious festival is a mystical exercise of return and a projection of the ideal world and the matrix for understanding cultural and spiritual motivations which feed religious tourism in the various belief systems.

As we will see in the following examples, the official specifics which obligate, regulate, or lead to the practice of pilgrimage do not really matter, nor does the acceptance of religious tourism, at the core of a *religion* (an official system of beliefs, a confession). We will observe that above all, the cultural links of the pilgrim, in the context of contemporary society are at different degrees of mutation. In this way, to identify religious tourism with religious dogma is almost like mixing oil and water. The identification should, rather, be founded in the devotional context by what is called *religiosity*. It is the way religious culture is experienced geographically.

In this sense, it is almost common sense to say that the act of pilgrimage can be recognized in Buddhism, Hinduism, Animism, and Judaism among others. Most readers have certainly read a paragraph about Mecca, the most holy city for Muslims, in any publication which deals with global pilgrimages. However, the harsh generalizations regarding this ritual are a hallmark in the studies which attempt to define it without a context. We can refer to the Islamic Hajj or the Hindu traditions on the banks of the Ganges River as identifying acts of pilgrimage as a worldwide custom. How do we bring these and so many other customs of pilgrims in the field of religious tourism up to date?

It is in the exercise of academic and exploratory research that we can identify the touristic transformation of such a widespread religious practice. However, we have only exercised such experiences within the limits of Christian religious culture. Thus we recommend this text as an introductory study, which is unable to be scientifically generalized to any and all religious contexts. Here we use a reference of valid conceptualizations for Western culture (Greco-Latin), marked by the Christian system of ethics and by various influences of various underlying ethnicities (American Indian and African). Thus, we improve upon the definition of religious tourism as “*a contemporary pilgrimage motivated by celebrations which are directly or indirectly related to the Christian culture.*”

It is not to discard the practice of religious tourism in other religions or cultures. It is only recognizing that Christian and Western limits have been transforming pilgrimages into tourism in order to meet the needs of the modernization of its societies, which are so marked by the notion of *secularization*. In other words, it is marked by the radical separation of political and spiritual power (Rosendahl 1999).

It is known that the majority of societies (tribal or modern) do not make such a distinction. On the contrary, many peoples and countries attribute mystical powers to their leaders and reverence their institutions in a way which is more devotional than civil. Many times when we ask *why Brazilians do not believe in their politicians*, we do not perceive that the religious expectation of the answer is related to the non-Western nature of the question. It is that in common thought, contrary to educated culture, *believing* is more important than *knowing*. Thus, a scientific approach to the definition of religious tourism is fundamental, within a core of a predefined civilizational context. Other contexts will be left to future studies.

Understanding religious tourism as a pilgrimage for a Christian celebration is also remembering that the term 'religion' (from *re-ligare* or *re-legere*) is Latin, Medieval, and originates from the Roman Catholic Church. However, we do not refer to tourism of all religions, in such a universal form, nor to the tourism of Catholic believers/priests, in such a restrictive way. We deal here with tourism done by the contemporary pilgrim, who is somewhat influenced by Christian, Western culture in the context of a peripheral society called *Brazil*.

### 1.3 Pilgrimage and Tourism: Differences and Missionary Interaction

The paths of the pilgrim, precursors of going from the profane to the sacred, are recognized in religious tourism as *Paths of Faith*. If, on the one hand, religious destinations such as hubs of convergence (altars, temples, sanctuaries and ceremonies) are responsible for the principle motivation of the pilgrim, then on the other hand, one cannot ignore the mystical force that historically has been being impressed on the most used means of access by this devoted traveler. The paths become as fundamental as the destinations. However, this touristic contextualization has only been recognized quite recently.

From this finding we have in Santiago de Compostela, with its Iberian pilgrimage routes, the most famous religious-touristic complex of the Christian world. Located in the Northeast region of Spain, this area, which has been identified since antiquity as Galicia, polarized a group of historical attributes from the Christian resistance to the Roman Emperor and of the Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. The Church's historiography registers the mystical presence of the Apostle James the Greater, in the region. This would have been the decisive force in averting the Muslim conquest of the entire peninsula.<sup>4</sup> Reports dating from the twelfth century indicate an intense movement of faithful disciples willing to follow the paths of St. James through the fields of stars (*compostelas*), in the decisive battles of the Christian faith. Finally, at the time of the Crusades, marking the beginning of the Lower Middle Ages (eleventh to fifteenth centuries), the popular notion of martyrdom as the main form of Christian sacrifice (sacred act) became fundamental. This is why it has been common for authors from the social sciences or even theologians, willing to observe the touristic development of religious locations, to affirm the differences principally between pilgrims and tourists in the search for and relationship with the sanctuary.

---

<sup>4</sup>According to the *Atlas dos Lugares Sagrados (Atlas of Sacred Places)* by Colin Wilson, in the ninth century, a hermit had a vision of a shower of stars which fell from the mount of Galicia, Spain. Sometime later, an altar was found at the location containing human bones which were attributed to the disciple James; reinforce the legend of such religious relics having been transferred from Egypt. King Ramiro helped disseminate the veneration of the place affirming that St. James had been directly responsible for the Battle of Clavijo (844) killing 60,000 Moors.

We agree with establishing differences that contribute to behavioral and historical precision. Christian pilgrimages are much more ancient and the motivations behind them are spiritual and originally they did not depend on technical or environmental techniques linked to touristic services. On the other hand, even with the modern comforts of transport and accommodation, which are accessible along the 800 km of the Route of Santiago de Compostela and so many other religious itineraries, many go on foot and sleep where God wills. This has much more to do with pilgrimage without any touristic appeal. The adventure of survival and the demands of comfort and security can establish two completely distinct parameters for sociocultural and theological investigation. How to deal with such separation in the sanctuaries themselves? Would it be possible to preserve sanctuaries and the paths of faith for the authentic pilgrim and produce replicas of these places of touristic consumption?

Aware that the separation of the sociological analysis does not extend to the geographical interpretation, we seek here to deal with the interaction between the two phenomena. The complex region of the Compostela, the field of the stars, again tends to be an example case. All the infrastructure of certification of the accommodation and the network of information which extends from Cataluña through the northern coastal regions of the Atlantic, integrating different cultures in the same symbolic proposal: to greet the saint responsible for the largest Crusade in the West. This is besides international marketing which promotes this touristic destination on all possible fronts in terms of motivation: cultural, ecological, mystical, and ethnic, to name a few (Debray 2004).

A critical reading could lead to the following questions: to what point could this approximation between *pilgrimage*  $\leftrightarrow$  *tourism* be peculiar to Galicia, given the specific aspects of the history of Hispanic religiosity? The peculiarity exists as it does in so many other European and Latin American places. However, beyond them there is the institutional direction promoted by the Church itself in political harmony with the establishment and private incentive.

It is worth remembering that ever since the Second Vatican Council, the global ecclesiastic congress held between 1962 and 1965, Christian sanctuaries are recognized as *privileged centers of evangelism* and gradually given infrastructure that is more and more compatible with the demand and general needs of pilgrims. Quoted by Alfonso Wobeto,<sup>5</sup> Pope Paulo VI called the sanctuaries of Christianity “clinics of the spirit”, in other words, technically complex places and increasingly demanding more services and facilities, to meet different variables of the perceived demand.

In light of such infrastructure and modernization requirements, how could the Church remain indifferent to the so-called *industry* of tourism, with its techniques, installations, and systems? This is the origin of a sequence of interactions which became the routes, spaces, and religious festivals, objects as sacred as they are touristic. This allowed for the practice of religious tourism by a growing, diversified

---

<sup>5</sup> Author of the book *Santuários: onde Deus se encontra com os homens*, (Sanctuaries: Where God Meets with Men) São Paulo: Loyola. 1982.

number of pilgrims. When discussing the internal reality of the sanctuaries, taking the one in Aparecida in São Paulo as an example, we will address the practical aspects of this diversification.

For now, it behooves us to remember the Catholic incentive for pilgrimages and tourism was given by the current papacy of John Paul II. Known for his long and diversified journeys, the Archbishop of Krakow (Poland), Karol Wojtyła has enormously influenced the mobility of Catholics since he became head of the Vatican. He has also done this indirectly with other faith systems, by visiting their mystical places and various events. In 25 years of his papacy he has made more than 100 trips (4 of them including stops in Brazil). Also there was an explosion of pilgrimages to the Church's headquarters, especially in the two thousandth Jubilee of Jesus' birth, according to the Church's official calendar, which is used by most people on the planet. So, the model for touristic development of the sanctuaries has been brought up to date by a convergence of technical factors which include the pastoral perspective of leaders in the Christian church (mainly the Catholic hierarchy). The marketing strategies: promotion, creation of demand, meeting the customer's needs, which were so well discussed by Campos (1997) regarding neo-Pentecostals, have been molded to the competitiveness among religions, which fight to conserve or broaden their space in the contemporary world.

It is for this reason that the spread of information about sanctuaries and mystical trails, according to the parameters of Santiago, becomes an instrument for spreading the specifics of the promoting institution. In this way, not only is everyday faith guaranteed, but also its extraordinary principle; its capacity for overcoming normality, which is so problematic. There the pilgrim can become a missionary like the current Pope. Also, from this perspective one can be a tourist without the weight of sinful physical pleasure without any deeper significance.

Nowadays the differentiation between pilgrimage and tourism is more historical and didactical than strategic. On the contrary, the two processes have exercised a strong technical partnership, thus the primary recognition of their missionary interaction. Religious tourism, in the sense of mission, withdraws from pure pleasure and becomes closer to a business trip, the business of faith.

#### **1.4 Touristic Routes and Religious Spaces: Incorporating Significance**

The incentive for the development of places on the socioeconomic and environmental level through touristic planning usually involves some religious aspects in the composition of the attractions. This demarcation can even exclude an important center of pilgrimage, such as the Circuit of Waters in São Paulo, or a route along the coastal beaches of Sergipe and Alagoas or a boat trip along the Amazon River. However, it will be difficult to ignore the symbolic force of a chapel, of a saint's festival or the mystical aspects present in most of these itineraries, even though they are not often recognized as such.

Religious spaces, by force of the separation established by Catholic agents or scholars of religion, are verbally disqualified from their touristic role. Instead of having the international value of Jerusalem, Rome, Lourdes or Fatima, an infinity of Brazilian religious spaces are deprived of their touristic importance just because of a culture of prejudice which connects tourism with the profane.

Religious tourism when conceptually renewed can serve as an instrument to correct this connection. First, one must remember that the action of *profaning* an object is only possible in the context of religious intolerance, the person who attacks as well as he who is attacked and made profane. In this way, all profane acts are a *sacrilege*. Christian dogmas are a sacrilege to Judaism; Islamic and Spiritist values are profane to Christianity. Tourism would only provoke (another word which is sister to profane) successive war among all the religions. Religious tourism is a non-explicit to religious intolerance.

This is not the only consideration. Religious tourism reaffirms that faith, as the main motive of this type of trip, is capable of building and stimulating the aesthetics of spaces, making them materially religious. This would permit an inverse association: *tourism as a means of making something sacred*. The multiplication of access to religious spaces, as itineraries of faith, may be the greatest contemporary proof of this dynamic.

The religious spaces being made sacred in their central places (the sanctuaries) are spaces of enlightenment and constitute zones of influence. They are true networks of cultivating faith. All religious spaces, therefore, are submitted to the same complexity of organization of the contemporary world, but with a mystical difference. The trajectory through these spaces is generally more important than reaching one's final destination, which often includes an overvaluation of the return, as we will see later.

In order to facilitate the understanding of this predominance of the path over the destination, we do not need to think of the 800 km of the Caminho de Santiago or the journeys that the seven images of Fatima make through the continents all year long. It is enough to imagine the pleasure contained in the pilgrimage, no matter how much sacrifice seems to be required. Of course, this imagination becomes more accessible through the belief of the person imagining. However, one must not confuse the notions of *belief* and *faith*. Without entering into a theological discussion, which would be totally unnecessary here, we can simplify the understanding through the following approach: belief restricts itself only to the justifiable or explicable dimension of faith. In this way, sharing the same belief can mean obtaining verification at the same time.

Often belief, sustained in a discriminatory ratio of good versus evil, allows for the rejection of different religious practices, which are found at the core of the same religion. Thus, one speaks of types of Catholicism: a *practicing Catholic, popular Catholicism, regional, official, charismatic or liberation*, as if we were referring to systems of distinct beliefs. In the same way, the divergences in Christian Protestantism or in Afro-Brazilian systems can serve as one more barrier to understanding these itineraries. Thus the idea is reinforced that the construction of the motivations and of the attractions of religious tourism does not depend on any

dogmatic demand of religion. It is a product which is more coherent with the religiosity of the faithful; religiosity founded in the cultural practice of the religion; and not in its formal link.<sup>6</sup> It seems to be a subtlety that is often ignored by other scholars of religious tourism. However, such a detail, when not revealed, feeds the poor understanding of this type of tourism, which has not widely been considered. We will use another example to reinforce this distinction.

In Islam, we have the only global religious system which makes the pilgrimage to the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, an obligatory practice for every adherent, at least one time in his life. We could affirm that it is the greatest global movement of religious tourism, if it were not for this detail: the same rationality which obliges the adherent to visit Mecca impedes the infidel (all non-Muslims) from making the trip. Within this logic there is neither tolerance nor a prior constitution of a religious space. No touristic itinerary will be feasible which gives access to this religious culture (religiosity). Also, in an environment closed to any alteration (any participation of the other and the different) there is no tourism. There is only invasion. We return to the Western universe to observe how the inverse is guaranteed in the more tolerant religious spaces.

## 1.5 Types of Religious Itineraries and Festivals in Brazil

We can recognize three broad types of touristic itineraries inside religious culture. The first type sets the pattern for the exchange between the most profane place (common and usual to the pilgrim) and that of greater sacredness: the dwelling of the divinity or of the patron saint. We call this the *Standard Itinerary*. Preparation for and execution of this route presupposes minimum conditions of access for the pilgrim in a time-space which is not in harmony with the sacredness of the sought after destination. Thus the standardization: through the fields, the etymological root of the word *pilgrim*, the supernatural space is reached (the divinity or its dwelling). We observe this type of itinerary in various places in Brazil. From the small pilgrimage centers devoted to the more popular saints such as Our Lady, the Good Jesus, the Divine Holy Spirit, to the great sanctuaries such as Our Lady of Aparecida in São Paulo.

A second type of itinerary with a symbolic ritual nature is represented by processions, parades, and small trails followed around or inside the sanctuary, which centralize the religious space. We can call this a *Ritual Itinerary*, in other words, it is capable of recognizing that the sacredness of a place depends on the symbolic staging of the pilgrim's movement. Possibly being in the *Círio de Nazaré*

---

<sup>6</sup>Concerning these declared religious links and their dynamics in the urban-industrial context one sees the research of Ceris, *Desafios do Catolicismo na Cidade: Pesquisa em regiões Metropolitanas Brasileiras* (Challenges of Catholicism in the City: a Study in Metropolitan Brazilian regions), published by Editora Paulus, 2002.



(Procession of Our Lady of Nazareth) in October in Belem, PA is the most well laid out national itinerary of this type.

The other type, less common and more open to creative innovations is the itinerary established with an explicit touristic intention. It is capable of involving other places and other manifestations which are not necessarily religious but which are permeated in religiosity. These are the *Itineraries of the Spectacle*, with a strong artistic, economic, and cultural appeal. This third type of itinerary favors the environmental and heritage revitalization constituted in the prior two types. However, its market and aesthetic advantage can serve to totally uncharacterize the religious links of that manifestation of faith. It can, on the other hand, build connections where this religious motivation has never existed. The national adaptation of the Caminho de Santiago, for example, in the *Passos de Anchieta* (Steps of Anchieta) in Espírito Santo between Anchieta and Vitória, lasting three days, shows the entrepreneurial capacity of these itineraries throughout an entire region.

The three types of itineraries can be recognized in the institutional efforts of Embratur (Brazilian Institute of Tourism) which in 2000 organized the first manual of religious tourism as a pioneer initiative for the registration of destinations and attractions with this motive in mind. The following table composed of events registered in the Itineraries of the Catholic Faith in Brazil, reconstructs a chart of the religious attractions in the states. Although it is very incomplete, it is useful in the observation of this fundamental aspect in the understanding of religious tourism: A journey moved by faith has its climax in a sacred-profane festival. *Is the Tourism of Faith a type of Festival Tourism?* (Table 1.1)

Three conceptions of itineraries in religious tourism lead the motivation of these journeys to a similar social, transcendental expression: the realization of the *manifestation*—realization of a festival created by many objective, divine hands. Truly, it is a motivation articulated by the external imitation of the deeper meanings of the visit.

The realization of a festival is, as a rule, as old as the collective devotion to a divinity. Its explication is found among the original interpretations of Emile Durkheim who, in his classic *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1996) interprets a function of identity of religious worship services in the construction of common links of a people and a nationality. The festival in this sense manifests the encounter which only the sacred can provide. By holding the festival its profane side is made sacred while at the same time, the sensation of abstract motives (untouched = *Sanctus*) is removed from its sacred side. Thus, it is celebrating, as well as anticipating, the obtaining of an expected blessing or consolidating its most significant dimensions. This is immediate and didactic proof (accessible to all) that every sacrifice is worth it.

In the Standard Itinerary, the festival is general and a dichotomy, or rather, it is differentiated in the sacred part (ceremonies) and the profane (dances, presentations, parades, and competitions) held within certain marginality.

In the Ritual Itinerary, the force of syncretism and the incorporation of customs by the need of the divinity to leave its fixed space, provides for a mixture of the sacred and profane polarity. There is also a prolonging of the time needed for the

**Table 1.1** Types of events

Type of events	Events (By state)
Standard	Our Lady of the Glory (AC), St Joseph (AP), Good Death (BA), Conception of the Beach (BA), St Anthony (BA), St Francis of Canindé (CE), Our Lady of Grace (PE), Our Lady of Carmel (PE), Mr. Savior of the World (PE), Our Lady of Carmel (SE), Our Lady of Suffering (PI), Our Lady of the Glory of Outeiro (RJ), Good Jesus of Matosinhos (RJ), St Francis of the Order (PR), Our Lady of the Pillar (PR), Day of our Lady of the Apparition (DF), Vinde e Vede Prayer Encounters (MT)
Ritual	Our Lady of Nazareth (AC), St. Antônio de Borba (AM), Our Lady of Carmo (AM), Our Lady of the Conception (AM), Fluvial Procession of St Peter (AM), Procession of (Our Lady of) Nazareth (PA), Our Lady of Carmel (TO), Lord of the Good End (TO), Good Jesus of the Sailors (AL), Good Jesus of Lapa (BA), Lord of the Good End (BA), Our Lady of the Presentation (RN), St. Joseph of Ribamar (MA), St. Cruz of Miracles (PI), Corpus Christi (ES), St Sebastian (RJ), Our Lady of the Penha (RJ), Divino (RJ), Our Lady of the Achirópita (SP), Our Lady or the Appearance (SP), Pilgrimage of Fatima (RS), Mother Paulina (SC), Divine Eternal Father (GO),
Spectacle	Çairé (PA), The Man of Nazareth (RO), Father Cicero (CE), St John of Caruaru (PE), St John of C. Grande (PB), Passion of Christ (PE), Passion of Christ (RN), St John (SE), Holy Week of Araxá (MG), Holy Path of Nhá Chica (MG), Holy Week of BH (MG), Passion of Christ (RJ), Holy Week of Paraty (RJ), Gramado Alleluia (RS), Cavalry Procession of Corumbá (GO), Procession of Fogaréu (GO), Via Sacra of Sobradinho (DF), Cavalry Procession of Pirenópolis (GO), Banho of St John (MS).

Source Developed by Author (2003)

realization of the whole ceremony (with different phrases and places). This is what contributes to the enriching the cultural possibilities of manifestation in the interior of the same sanctuary.

Continuing on this cumulative trajectory where the festival can become more important than even the religious space which gave it origin, observe the Itinerary of Spectacles.

## 1.6 From the Concept to Reflective Practice ... Rather, I Adore You! or Should I Devour You?

When we get close enough to the Sphinx, we have this exact sensation. After all, what is its real intention? Did we hear its threat clearly? Or are we taken up by a momentary fear which does not remove our reason? In the detail of a pronunciation there could be great semantic confusion. This is why we continue to study religious tourism, far from any danger of making it fit it into common sense. It is the same danger of not perceiving that the Sphinx, above all, feigns an attack for the mere pleasure of challenging our very existence proportionally to our wisdom.

The *adoration which devours* will be dealt with in this second part of our text as a case study. We will take a didactic journey to the best example of a touristic religious destination in Brazil: the sanctuary of Aparecida in the interior of the state of São Paulo. From its historical and urbanistic panorama, we will explore the possibility of practicing religious tourism to destinations which are not classified as religious in the unfolding of other cultural and symbolic motivations in the perspective of the two modes of tourism which fire the debate on sustainable tourism in a region—Eco-tourism and Tourism of the Masses.

### 1.7 Religious Tourism in the Sanctuary of Aparecida (SP)

Those who drive on the busiest highway in the country, President Dutra Highway which connects the two major metropolitan centers of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, never imagine that the monumental construction in the Valley of the Paraíba River represents another Brazilian record. Aparecida, commonly called 'of the North' and its sanctuary also form a major center for pilgrimages, penitence, religious trips, and events in the country. It is therefore, the largest receptive hub of national religious tourism, for the most diverse reasons, specifically related to this type of tourism.

José Vicente de Andrade, in his *Turismo: Fundamentos e Dimensões (Tourism: Fundamentals and Dimensions)* (1997), assigns religious tourism the following definition:

The group of activities which fully or partially uses facilities and the realization of visits which express mystical sentiments or which revive faith, hope and charity to Christians or people connected to religions (Andrade 1997, p. 77).

In Aparecida we can observe the constant overcoming of such a classification, as the strategic location of the sanctuary-city has been being renewed throughout nearly three centuries. Ever since the miraculous fishing catch of the image of Our Lady of the Conception of the Appearing (Aparecida) in the Paraíba of the South River, which began the traditional devotion, certain geographical advantages have been observed which are capable of overcoming these specific *mystical sentiments*.

Later in the text, Vicente de Andrade adds a distinction of proposals between the three types of possible journeys: Trips in larger groups (visits without evident pretensions), Pilgrimages (visits to fulfill promises) and Penitence (visit with the purpose of atonement for sins committed). Do not forget that just like Aparecida, there are

... many other places which are important receptive nuclei in terms of faith and consequently in terms of tourism, the dimensions of which through commercials and marketing are overridden by manifestations of faith and the very religious motives themselves (Andrade 1997, p. 79).

In this way, we can recognize a socio-spatial foundation to connect the religious assets to a group of material values of the society in question.

We study the city-sanctuary of Aparecida (SP) based on this contextualization. Through the short report which follows we begin by saying that we did not find any proof that religious tourism causes a distortion or misrepresentation of the popular religiosity which marks Brazilian Catholicism. To the contrary, we saw that the adaptation of the ecclesiastical facilities to everyday needs has been stimulated by Church leaders themselves, with a firm resolve to widen the pastoral efficiency of that sacred place. This is not a characteristic which is only true of the sanctuary in Aparecida. Many other Brazilian and international sanctuaries have improved their touristic quality much beyond the religious demands (Abumanssur 2003; Dias and Silveira 2003).

The origin of the people's devotion to Our Lady of Aparecida is found in the beginning of the seventeenth century, more precisely in 1717 when three fisherman, Domingos Martins Garcia, João Alves, and Felipe Pedroso, had been summoned to catch a large quantity of fish in the Paraíba of the South River in order to feed the entourage of the Count of Assumar who was on route to Minas Gerais. The story detailing the events which took place in the occurrence of the *miraculous catch* of the statue is given by historian, Julio Brustonloni in his book *A Senhora da Conceição Aparecida: história da Imagem, da Capela e das Romarias (The Lady of the Conception Appearance: history of the statue, the chapel and the Pilgrimages)* (1993, pp. 30–78). The author reminds us of other miraculous episodes which prove the divine intervention of Mary, known in Catholicism as the Mother of God. Incidents included candles which blew out and lit themselves in the house of Felipe Pedroso (where the statue stayed for 15 years); a slave being freed from the oppressing chains; besides all the blessings which faithful followers received each year reinforcing the sacredness of the statue and the place.

What is most important for our reflection is to point out that the miraculous strength of the phenomenon, in and of itself, would not guarantee the national flow of pilgrims and devoted followers of the saint which was manifest there. This is so, because first, there are many locations which presented and continue to present identical manifestations of faith in the whole Catholic world. This to some extent depreciates the importance of this specific sanctuary which was consolidated at the halfway point of the main urban highway of the country. To the contrary, throughout the nineteenth century and especially the second half of the twentieth century, the representativeness of Aparecida demanded the creation of physical conditions to realize that devotion, until it became a national devotion in official terms but without efficacy.

Some of the important steps for such an effectuation to take place had been taken from the turn of the century. In 1994, the Redemptionist missionaries (a religious order of German origin) took over the ecclesiastical running of the sanctuary, installing professional standards of administration. In 1904, the first pilgrimages were organized by train, leaving the Federal Capital (at the time Rio de Janeiro) and the city of São Paulo (the archdiocesan headquarters of the sanctuary). It was the festival of the coronation of Our Lady of Aparecida as the *Queen of Brazil*. In 1931, another fundamental manifestation to nationalize the devotion happened during the visit of the statue, now officially the Patron Saint of Brazil, as per the government.

However, a decisive condition for justifying such titles and propitiating the ostensive national participation of the faithful believers was found in the campaign to build the new basilica, projected by the architect, Benedito Calixto Netto in the 1940s which was built between 1955 and 1980. The monumental temple raised on the hill next to the Hill of the Coconut Trees (location of the ancient mother church) covered an area of 18,000 m<sup>2</sup> and held 32,000 people—the entire population of the city of Aparecida.

In our doctoral thesis regarding the symbolic and geographical role of this building (de Oliveira 2001), we discuss the weight of the urban-industrial development of the region and the metropolization of São Paulo in terms of the technical feasibility of construction of a basilica of this size. We show how the radio transmissions (from 1954 on), the marketing of the visit of the statue to more than 800 Brazilian municipalities and principally the creation of diverse services inside the building, all provided the decisive elements for the sanctuary's densification as the receptive hub of religious tourism. From the 1970s, it was possible to accelerate the construction work, and at the same time, set a volume of millions of visitors per year.

Aparecida is a model of a Brazilian religious-touristic endeavor. However, due to the conceptual barriers already mentioned, the religious dimension was widened without the participation of other nonreligious workers, denoting the danger and inefficiency of a monopoly. Regarding touristic planning, the nonstrategic vision only permitted for the overlap of projects, which generated a city with 116 hotels and no travel agency, until 1999. In other words, the city-sanctuary de Aparecida is as Catholic an attraction as any other large Brazilian city. It truly is the *repulsive which attracts*. Only religiosity, dense with meanings can explain its importance in a growing and sustainable manner.

Today we have a national basilica which receives approximately 7 million visitors per year. The weekends between September and December are the peak season when 60 % of these visitors are present. In order to deal with these visitors, the sanctuary has an administrative tower of 20 floors which includes a museum and an outlook point. In the basement there is a huge room of vows (objects showing vows taken and items showing thankfulness). There are also stores, book stores, and confessionaries as well as a large area for relaxing, entertainment, and parking. There is also a mall with 700 stores (Support Center for the Pilgrim) which has a food court, gift shops (religious and others) as well as all different types of regional products sold by informal retailers. Thus we have a *sanctuary-city* capable of having a wide range of urban services in it.

The consolidation of this structure at the end of the 1990s, faced the contemporary religious competitiveness that was well documented by Prandi and Pieruchi in *a Realidade Social das Religiões no Brasil (The Social Reality of Religions in Brazil)* (1996). This work allowed us to ask an incisive question about the nature of religiosity which fit those urban investments that were so contradictory in their immediate appearance. Were we watching the validity of a growing sector of *touristic religiosity*, in which the visitation and caring strategies for the pilgrims done, necessarily, through the offer of facilities for leisure and well-being?

While the pilgrim himself is deepening his devotion, do the touristic services become more accessible to his culture and level of income?

The model of Aparecida has been presented as an example of this religiousness permeated with being a tourist. Following in the steps of other international sanctuaries, religious tourism gains more and more structural importance on various fronts. There is the strengthening of the security schemes, improvement of systems of sign posting and information, in the detailed value of aesthetic lines, to name a few. Various work groups and commissions cooperate at the sanctuary to guarantee quality when meeting people's needs. However, as in other models, there is a lack of a holistic vision and the regional perspective is only slightly developed to maturity. There is even the lack of observing other sanctuaries which *hide and concentrate* parallel religiosities. We will understand how and why that is.

## 1.8 New Shrines for Different Religiosities

It is important to keep in mind a coherent concept of this symbolic and contemporary territory called the *shrines*. It is a distinct place of searching for the "Sacred", with a spiritual, mystical, and supernatural dimension of existence. However, sanctuaries are not necessarily sacred; but rather only one more privileged location in which to experience this sacredness. In other words, Shrines are the meditation of the Sacred.

The synthesis composed by this phrase allows for much clarification. On one hand, one can recognize the diversity of elements and facilities which compose the traditional shrines. These mark privileged spaces within each type of religious profession. This includes a variety of Catholic pilgrimage centers where the ecclesial orientation responsible for the standards of the rituals is presented in a very diverse form. Any pilgrim or tourist can see the marked differences in the ceremonies (worship services and celebrations) in Bom Jesus da Lapa in the countryside of Bahia state and the Bom Jesus de Iguape on the coast of São Paulo. This is the same holy to two completely different shrines.

On the other hand we have the popular religiosity impregnated in all of Brazilian society. In this sense, the *cultural cement*, can be considered as a motive force for the creation and recreation of new sanctuaries, or rather, new privileged places to bring the mediation of searching for the sacred up to date. What new places would these be? Using a geographical criterion, it relates the rural area as a privileged habitat<sup>7</sup> for the construction of the most traditional religious universe. It is well to remember here that human society becomes sedentary in the conquest of the

---

<sup>7</sup>According to the geographer Maximilien Sorre, in his classic *Migrações e Mobilidade no Ecúmeno* (Migrations and mobility in the Ecumen) (Paris: Flammarion, 1955), habitat defines the space of human geography in its possibilities of conservation (when adjusted to the balance of the surroundings) and mobility, when, due to imbalance of the resource, migrations are stimulated to other areas.

agricultural revolution. The meaning of the word *pilgrimage* indicates this very movement of its members through the fields. Thus, the sanctuaries which are not traditional for Christendom would be represented by three other alternative habitats in the rural setting: (a) the *Natural Setting* identified as the most original habitat for the formation of sanctuaries connected to the mystical reverence of the forces and the element of nature. It thus allows for establishing the most primitive introspective acts of worship. However, they are brought more up to date by the emergence of contemporary ecological environmentalism and there *Natural Shrines* rise or resurge; (b) the *Urban-Industrial Setting* is identified with the more artificial habitat built farther away from the natural elements. It is a setting which is strictly connected to the mystical reverence of technological power, provided by the industrial revolution. It thus allows for the planned reconstruction of the traditional and natural sanctuaries in projects which are adjusted to the urban fabric. For example, all the large cities have ecological parks and centers of spiritual convergence, with a mystical-religious appeal. We call these *Metropolitan Shrines*; (c) the *Symbolic Ritual Setting*, is not directly identified with a habitat but with the collective behavior idealized for any of these settings. Thus it would be a type of ideal setting, partially utopian, with its fundamental variable being found in the dimension of time. *These Ritualistic (or Festive) Shrines* are marked by festivals and ceremonial events, and associated with a particular time.

In any of the four shrines, which we examine below, religious tourism can function as an instrument with socio-environmental value. However, the strong link of pilgrimages with the rural setting and with the predominant religion of the society, ends up determining a type of estrangement when one observes the possibility of religious tourism in places which are not immediately perceived as religious.

Perhaps this is the moment to check our feelings in order to understand the challenge of the Sphinx. Religious tourism, and this is essential, is not of the faithful followers or of religion. It is tourism motivated by religiosity; by religious culture. Thus, wherever this culture can manifest itself, whether in the rural, natural or urban setting, whether in everyday life or festive moments, there can be religious tourism (with or without professional agents).

## 1.9 Observing Shrines on a Regional Scale

The following chart brings four sanctuaries together and allows for the comparison of their characteristics, since we will concentrate our analysis on religious tourism in the dynamic of the urban-industrial setting. So, instead of observing the hub of convergence of religious tourism we will look into the network of cities and various territorial facilities, or rather a regional, urban network (Fig. 1.1).

We will not allow ourselves to be diverted by the impact of the figure. Just like the Sphinx, it can impose a challenge; at the least, one that is interesting and at most one that is creative. What we need to understand about is the so-called regional

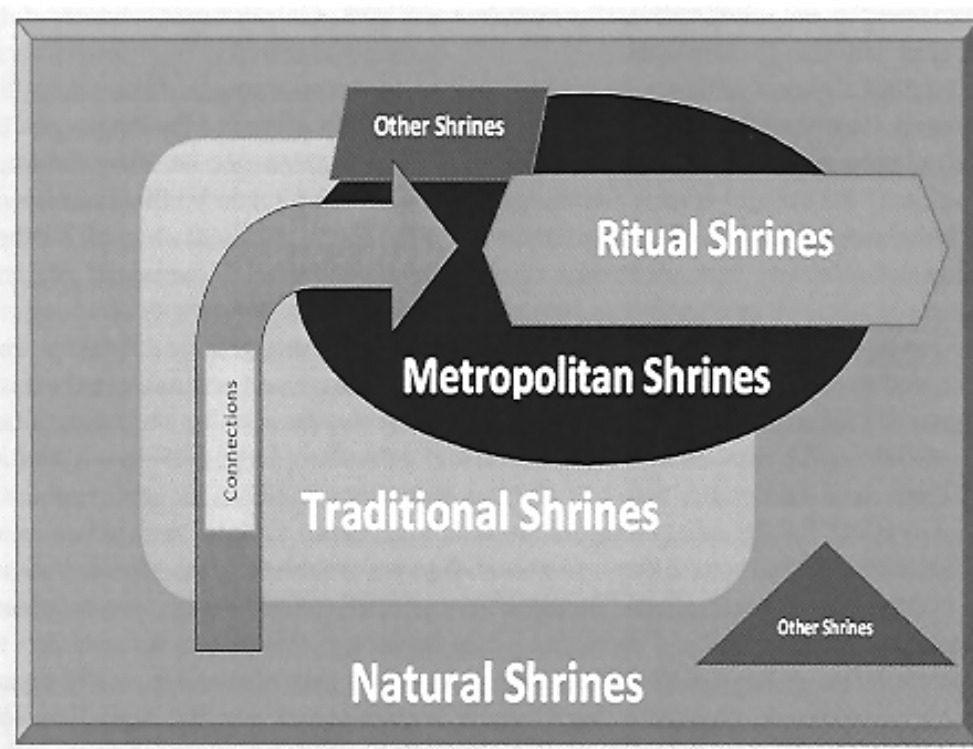


Fig. 1.1 Models of shrines. *Source* developed by Author (2004)

schedule of distribution of different types of sanctuaries. In order to facilitate the work we will take a natural region which is immediately recognized by any reader—the mountainous and coastal areas of the state of São Paulo, the area of the Atlantic Forest.

The first quadrant, shown as a dotted line corresponds to the natural sanctuaries of this greater shrine, which is the Atlantic Forest itself. The coastal formations, the islands such as Anchieta and São Sebastião on the northern coast, the mangrove forest, the steep slopes of the extension of the Serra do Mar State Park and the Serra da Bocaina National Park, the springs and high river beds of the Paraitinga, Paraibuna and Tietê Rivers, the shape of the valleys of the bustling Iguape Stream or the flattest terrain, like the Paraíba do Sul Valley, to the shapes and elevations of the Mantiqueira and Cantareira and the variations and re-adaptations of plants along with the most diversified fauna of the continent. Here is an open, natural shrine.

However, like all the other shrines, it only becomes accessible to the tourist, including the religious tourist, through a contemporary process of setting boundaries, control, monitoring, and direct publicity. In general, natural sanctuaries are strengthened as the natural space broadens the risks of extinction of these landscapes. Thus, all the awareness and environmental education which collaborated to amplify the defense of these few remaining areas of Atlantic Forest, find in religious tourism a strategy which is compatible with the defense of these environments. In this way, the conservationist instructions for the practice of eco-tourism end up



sedimenting a religious posture for convenience sake. Only tourists who are duly prepared can visit these places.

A politically and technically correct visit to these protected natural areas: the ecological seasons like that of Juréia-Itatins, biological reserves of Paranapiacaba or even urban ecological parks with the Jaraguá, is limited on one hand by the load capacity of the conservation units themselves and on the other by the exercise of symbolic interiorization of the reverence for this direct representation of Mother Nature. Paganism and Animism and other systems of worship of the goddess-mother-nature, find their contemporary fulfillment in these reverences.

What is interesting as one continues the reflection about a graphic scheme is that we can observe that while being at the same time primitive and postmodern the base of natural sanctuaries serves as support and contextualization for the other sanctuaries. Just as the rural spaces (woodlands and palisades), large and small cities in São Paulo and the popular festivals all have a common regional *locus*: they are all social versions of the occupation of the Atlantic Forest. Of course this is a generalization which is more difficult to accept than preconceived ideas affirmed about the occupation of other areas. This is true especially when we involve religious aspects in the geographical complex of a landscape. However, it is easier to associate Islam to the desert and connect indigenous acts of worship to the equatorial forests than to recognize that all the Christian temples in the capital of São Paulo occupy an area of the Atlantic Forest which has been transformed. It is, at the core, accepting the game proposed by the Sphinx, as a dangerous path but also a rational to the understanding.

The traditional shrines in the scheme overlap the natural ones, but are ostensibly overlapped by the metropolitan ones. What does this mean? On one hand, the locations which are significant to the religious-touristic heritage of the region, such as the Bom Jesus complexes (in Iguape, Pirapora, Tremembé and Perdões) and the other patron saints, continue to be linked to the natural landscapes which gave them origin. Until recently a procession/pilgrimage was held on the last weekend before the Bom Jesus feast (on August 6th), in Iguape, crossing the Juréia-Itatins Ecological Station, as a ritual that for more than 350 years has repeated the transport of the statue to the location where it is kept. It is as if nature itself has to take a direct part in another edition of the devotion to the saint.

Up to a certain point, the rural setting still visible in small cities permits this more tranquil association between the traditional sanctuaries and the elements of nature. This is due to the fact that the metaphors of behavior and manipulation of Nature's beings are in the origin of the mythologies of all peoples and religions (even Christianity).

On the other hand, this also means that the means of communication and transport are gradually getting closer to meeting the urban demands of organization of these traditional centers which even incorporate characteristics of metropolitan sanctuaries through the urbanization of the surrounding rural areas. In this case, the pattern of the transformations in Aparecida is, as we have stated, a clear example of reclassification. It goes from a traditional sanctuary to a metropolitan one, through

the construction of the new basilica which modifies the extension of the characteristic profile of pilgrims to tourists.

In characterizing traditional shrine, it is still important to highlight some patterns of organization, which clearly facilitate the popular recognition of divinity, of leadership, of the community of the faithful and of the most deeply rooted regional customs. The devotional practice of popular Catholicism is born in the positioning and setting of the statue of the Saint, which can be seen inside and outside the temple. Frequently it can be touched, giving a type of intimacy to the devotion. The shrine of Santa Cabeça, on the road that goes from Cruzeiro to Silveira is a perfect example of this accessible proximity in the rural model.

By extension, the residence and places which remind us of a religious leader can be associated in reverence or gain autonomy of devotion. Such is the case of Antônio de Sant'Anna Galvão (1739–1822), known as Friar Galvão of Guaratinguetá, beatified by the Vatican in 1998 and one of the four Brazilian religious leaders who have reached this state in their sanctification.<sup>8</sup> His popularity, however, is associated with the distribution of *curing pills*, small pieces of paper containing messages. These have served as the main proof of his miracles.

Without official sanctification, popular veneration creates innumerable saints in many places, showing that this cultural movement of religiosity is much more dynamic than the offer of behavioral images approved by the Church.

In a similar manner, a room for ex-voto (suscepto), the objects given in an offering to the saints, is much richer and diversified than any of the other internal sectors of the temple/sanctuary (chapels, confessionary, sale of religious articles) or the external ones. The greatest density of religious values is shown there, and seems to be capable of projecting, in the field of faith, the most significant aspects of material life.

These rooms have such a huge expressiveness that the Biannual of Commemorative Art of the 500 years of the Discovery of Brazil, set up a room of ex-votos as a central part of the theme of Popular Art.

Following on the same tone, we can remember the external dimension of this culture, in the traditional sanctuaries, proportioned by the parish bazaars. This parish fair or public bazaar, gives excitement to the sanctuary, as a space for lively commemoration and the sale of the widest variety of products. *It is the profane side of the authentic sanctuary.* It is because this external element absorbs two dynamics of the modernization of these places: (a) increase the political weight of the other urban elements, making the city begin to contain the shrine and the regional influence; (b) promote the centrality of the marginal feast, so that its

---

<sup>8</sup>In order to make a Saint official, the Vatican authorizes the opening of an investigative process for the veracity of miracles attributed to the venerated person. The beatification is the first confirmation of holiness; the second "is given in the canonization of the blessed, thus and only then, becoming an official saint." This happened with Mother Paulina, on May 19, 2002 after a 37-year process. She is considered to be the first Brazilian saint, although she was born in Trento, Italy.

occurrence almost becomes an autonomous event being more important than the place where it originated.

Although rooted in the traditions of the sanctuary, the development of religious tourism for places which rapidly absorb these two modernizations can create the other types of sanctuaries: the metropolitan or the ritual. Where can we see them in a full, significant form in the Atlantic Forest region?

The standard metropolitan sanctuary is, at heart, a complex of sanctuaries: a metropolis in São Paulo, home to an infinite number of parks, religious temples, and laical constructions, even though they are loaded with mystical symbolism such as monuments, stadiums, historical buildings, and business centers. The Ibirapuera Park, the most important of the city, the hub of commemorations of the fourth centenary, rarely receives any ecumenical services. However, it attracts willing visitors daily to the most specific rituals of meditation and prayer. While on Paulista Avenue, Pacaembu Stadium and the Campo de Marte, the widest variety of religious communities converge, undoing the immediate association of cosmopolitanism with merely rational practices with no appeal to beliefs or faith.

In order to involve the metropolis as sanctuary, it is enough to look to the religious side, strictly speaking. It is impossible to go through downtown and certain well-known areas without observing the various styles of churches and other temples, besides the extensive calendar of ancient patron saints (Our Lady of Achiropita, Our Lady of Penha, Our Lady of Ó, Our Lady of the Rosary, São Francisco, Saint Edwige, St Genaro, St Vito) or new ones (St Judas Tadeu, Our Lady of Fatima and St Expedito) among others. It is difficult to imagine that such worship services are restricted to some areas (even those originally for immigrants) when the dynamic of exchanges and population movements has made the city grow 5 times bigger in the last 50 years, besides the explosion of the outskirts with 38 interconnected municipalities, all, of course with their own religious centers.

The overlap of Ritual Shrines can gain specific forms in ceremonies and festivals in the big metropolis. Since this fourth model of a sanctuary can occur simultaneously with all the other three, keeping the characteristics of reverence for the sacred, we opted for three examples to make the characterization: a more religious one, the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit; a more profane one, the Festival of Carnival; and a third which represents the contemporary religious values, New Year's Eve.

In recognizing a ritual sanctuary, we have the advantage of the collective visibility of devotion, as long as we can identify the religious symbol with a certain degree of evidence. We go back to the traditional aspects of Catholicism and we will not have major difficulties in discriminating the elements which symbolize the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit.

Etzel (1995) reminds us, however, that this is a festival which is eminently popular and related to the Church in a complementary manner, depending more on the local conditions than on any official support. He adds that this festival does not have a direct link with the day of Pentecost (of the Holy Spirit), but with the idea of

plenty and harvest. The festival of the divine does have an evident connotation with agricultural work. There are four basic elements, according to the same author, which are (1) theater, (2) the celebration, (3) eating well, (4) the objective—the Holy Spirit (Etzet 1995, p. 57). For the last one, an empire is instituted (with a headquarters, the court and the procession) and simple, didactic iconography represented by the figure of a dove impressed on a flag, the Flag of the Divine.

São Luiz do Paraitinga, just like Cunha, Santa Isabel, Itanhaem, Santana do Parnaíba, is one among many other municipalities in São Paulo and Brazil which hold an adaptation of the complete ritual of this traditional festival of popular Catholicism. What is often not revealed in this indisputable act of faith is the degree of similarity to Carnival, in its more contemporary Brazilian version. It is a festival which is considered pagan, (but not less religious) with basic elements which are quite similar. If not, we shall see.

In both festivals, (1) popular interests override official ones, (2) they reach a large number of locations, (3) marking dates follows the same liturgical/ecclesial calendar, (4) abundance and exaggeration are the fundamental elements, (5) a provisional empire is created—court of the Divine/court of Momo, (6) the flag, the pavilion or the banner have the central place in the ritual. Above all these similarities, we can observe one aspect which is directly related to the center of our definition of ritual sanctuary. The touristic development of the two processions demands the incorporation of new identities, regional exchanges and dealing with a variety of folkloric elements. Even in São Luiz do Paraitinga, one of the dead cities of Monteiro Lobato, the resurrection partying of Carnival and of the Divine do not depend only on presentations of local groups. Each of the events begins a place for fraternizing with different kinds or merry-making, revering the same sacred force: the Miracle of Life.

The ritual sanctuary is, therefore, a decisive sanctuary for the symbolic and technical renovation of religious tourism. Besides rebuilding itself on the privileged areas of the other three, it directly collaborates to the configuration of the third type of routine which was classified earlier as the *Routine of Spectacle*. In it, religious tourism tends to be diluted in other denominations which are better adjusted to an attractive appearance. On the other hand, in order to understand the success of the festival event, it is more and more important to highlight the aspects of religiosity which the sanctuary reedits.

To end this part, we remember the ritual strength that the day of Universal Confraternization. (New Year's) has gained in recent times, as the most important in the Christmas Cycle. The privileged scene for its rites in Brazil, is the sea front of the coastal cities. The manifestation brings together thousands of visitors on the beaches, accompanying acts of worship of Spiritism, of the Afro-Brazilian systems (Candomblé and Umbanda) and the innumerable sects aligned with the *New Age* movement. So it is difficult to convince ourselves that this collective effort of requests for a better year is not in perfect harmony with the religiosity latent in the majority of Brazilians.

### 1.10 Religious Symbolism as a Tourist Attraction

The symbol is, in itself, a mythological construction (Campbell 1990). There cannot be religious tourism without the perception of symbolic elements which point to the divine. To have faith is the same as believing in the symbol. It is belief in that force of the condensation of opposing energies, which, depending on the right ritual, will vibrate according to the designs of a god. Does the symbol contain the icon (or image) or any icon which reproduces an enormous quantity of symbolisms?

The answer to this apparently dense and philosophical question is reduced to an elementary administrative problem. Who controls the mediation of the symbol? Is it the Society Religion or the faith of each person? In religious tourism, the second alternative has predominated over the first. This is due to the fact that the *religion of the society* is only a frame of reference to measure how far social diversity allows one to move away from the norm. This makes symbolism a permanent act of creativity.

The means of gauging this creativity are strengthened by the information network. In order to deal with the strength of symbolism for religious tourism, let us go back to the most relevant aspects of media strategies.

Initially, we will mention the ostensive presence of religious events in electronic media. Then we will examine some journalistic headlines which express the current religious phenomenon, parallel to its instability as a mediator of contemporary problems. To end this part, some icons will be listed which are universal as tourist attractions, without losing the religious appeal which can be reedited at any moment.

### 1.11 Religious Tourism and Its Media

Before debating the presence of religious attractions in the means of mass communication, it is necessary to clarify some specific behaviors of a religious journey as part of a professional touristic program. In Brazil there are few agencies which are specialized in religious tourism, duly registered with Embratur (Brazilian Institute of Tourism) and with ABAV (Brazilian Association of Travel Agents). In an online survey, it was possible to identify about ten agencies with a national structure which truly specialized in this type of tourism. All work predominantly with emissive international tourism, establishing itineraries in the historic Christian sanctuaries (between Europe and the Middle East). In national terms, on the other hand, the action of these agents is almost nil. On one hand because the product of religious tourism continues to be restricted by the conceptual problems which have been mentioned. Those who operate this type of tourism are not travel agents and the agent ends up confusing culture and religious beliefs. The result: it is believed that religious tourism does not exist in Brazil because our receivers (the various sanctuaries) dispense with mediation.

However, the same agencies which operate internationally admit that to provide a serious, professional service to a group of tourists with a professed religious motivation, having two leaders, a tourist guide and a spiritual guide is indispensable. This observation is representative of the weight of the mediation that religious symbolism will require; especially due to the demands promoted by the touristic system. On one hand, the training of professional guides should require a high degree of specialization in order to deal with a group of such complex attractions. On the other hand, the experience of religious tourism in Brazil should overcome the barriers established by spontaneous religiosity, or rather, that religiosity which affirms faith as an innate, absolute gift. For many, having faith or not is unrelated to experience and education.

For the movements of religious renewal, whether Catholic or Protestant, faith should be cultivated in high and efficient productivity. The electronic churches (of radio, television and other mass media) are proof of this. Look what has happened in the disputes in the religious field over the recruitment of new followers. The medieval strategy of creating objects and statutes of saints has been overtaken by the modern strength of written communication associated with the postmodernity of electronic access. Masses, worship services, therapies, and sermons on radio waves or TV screens, all these rituals have spread over the last 20 years. It would be difficult to find a more efficient structure for growth of religious motives to *do* tourism.

A news article in the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper on August 20, 1999, had the following headline: *Churches take advantage of the crisis on the radio*. The emphasis was in documenting twenty radio stations in the region of Greater São Paulo (15 AM and 5 FM) which, at the time, were under the auspices of Christian churches and ecumenical entities. The article reminded the reader of the regional "contempt" for lower cost radio compared to TV, which had led churches to snag this slice of the market, where at peak times the audience reaches about 5 million. Considering that the expansion in modulated frequencies and on the Internet could be the tone of the last 5 year, this tendency to fill up the spaces of mass communication could not be ignored.

While travel agents are unable to promote travel packages to the Brazilian sanctuaries for religious tourism, baptism caravans, mass celebrated outdoors or in stadiums and national manifestations continued associating mediations of strength and faith. It is certainly an apparent paradox. How can a society value religious faith so much and ignore the mediations that it requires? It was by deepening this dissonance that religious organizations adapted to the new media, by continuing to optimize the use of those better known, simple means.

It is in this sense that the case of the RCC (Catholic Charismatic Renewal) deserves to be pointed out as an example of updating religious symbolism on behalf of tourism. It was a movement which originated at the end of the 1960s, after the transformation of the Catholic Church's liturgy, after the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). That is when the RCC was born in the USA and expanded to Brazil during the papacy of John Paul II. Reginaldo Prandi and

André Ricardo de Souza<sup>9</sup> highlight that prayer groups are the base of this movement. The weekly group encounters offer the participants' spiritual renewal through the gifts or *charisma* of the Holy Spirit. There are a total of nine gifts, divided into three groups: (a) gifts of the word, (b) gifts of power, and (c) gifts of revelation. They all prove the thesis that the advance of Pentecostal services is the foundation of all contemporary Christianity (being more or less tolerant).

The authors also remind us that

the charismatics also meet in large annual encounters, the cenacle, which take place in public high-visibility places, normally in gymnasiums or stadiums. In the city of São Paulo, simulating the big Pentecostal churches, the RCC rents the Morumbi Stadium in order to show its strength; the cenacle is a demonstration of power, as were the old processions. (Prandi and Souza; Pierucci and Prandi 1996, p. 66).

The upper room or cenacle is a symbolism of the place of the Eucharist meal, the foundation of the Christian Church. As a great religious-touristic event, the upper room meal allows different groups to fraternize and absorbs the result of the everyday interventions that accumulated over a cycle of worship services, prayers, and religious manifestations. All these were guaranteed by the convergence of different means of communication.

The charismatic movement, on the same path as the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (IURD) founded its own metropolitan sanctuaries and rituals, which converged in an ever more meaningful pilgrimage. The Life TV Network, the New Song Convention center in Cachoeira Paulista (SP), the mass-shows of Father Marcelo (besides the videos, CD's, CDROMS, websites and cinema), compose a scheme of religious promotion, ordering a symbolism on two points. One inside point reaches the religious consumer in his or her domestic routine while the other outer point is capable of mobilizing the consumer in various touristic behaviors.

This consumption of symbolic goods of religiosity (Bourdieu 1989) can only serve as a pretext for momentary social recognition. The community of the faithful, facing the barriers of social ascension (or even risk to their existence) would represent the last stronghold of hope in times of multiple crises. Evaluating the effect of the publicity of the imaginary, the geographer Adyr Rodrigues reminds us that "tourism introduces new cultural codes and proposes new systems of symbols based on images that substitute reality and lead to judgments according to the codes imposed by the media" (Rodrigues 1997, p. 27). As religious leaders manipulate this power, the touristic religious imaginary becomes radically virtual: there is no place on the planet where contact with reality can destroy it. Besides this, all religious destinations are only a means of access to deeper destinations and are never directly accessible.

---

<sup>9</sup>Authors of the text *A Carismática despolíticação da Igreja Católica*, (The Charismatic De-politization of the Catholic Church) published in the collection of articles *A Realidade Social das Religiões no Brasil* (The Social Reality of Religions in Brazil) (Pierucci and Prandi 1996, pp. 59–91).

This list of headlines is from the *Veja* and *Isto é* magazines which, over the last eight years have dedicated their covers to religious themes, showing the variety of thematic highlights on the subject. However, instead of this variety serving to broaden the constructive criticism of the readers, it increases the confusion of the tendencies, leading to *reverence* certain news items and the *rejection* of others as heresy. It is the media acting as a type of test, as the consumer likes it; the elements to subsidize the arguments of a sterile, more productive debate were missing. The same social and existential conflicts are fertile ground for all the manifestations of faith. However, the choice of the most appropriate path is absolutely mediated by the symbolic efficiency of the means of communication. It is not by the consumer's freedom or autonomy, as the articles lead one to believe.

Farther along we will observe a certain concentration of these news reports in the last 3 years. What could be explained by empathy between this type of literature and the perspective of closing a temporal cycle?

We highlight, before closing the motivations for religious tourism in the news of contemporary religiosity, the evaluation given by the *Folha de São Paulo*, in a special section of November 26, 1999 with a total of 16 pages of subject matter (Table 1.2, Fig. 1.2).

**Table 1.2** List of headlines

Date	Publication	Headline	Topic
28/May/2003	Isto é	<i>Spiritual Medicine</i>	Research encounter about the spiritual treatment of diseases
01/Oct/2003	Isto é	<i>Buddhism leaves the Temple</i>	Expansion of Buddhism in Brazil
25/Dec/2002	Veja	<i>What He has to say today</i>	Reflections on religion today, the figure of Jesus and His message
03/July/2002	Veja	<i>An Evangelistic Nation</i>	Growth of Evangelicals
10/July/2002	Isto é	<i>The country of Spiritism</i>	The death of Chico Xavier and the representivity of Spiritism
24/Apr/2002	Veja	<i>The Calvary of the Church</i>	Problems in the Vatican due to sexual scandals
06/Mar/2002	Isto é	<i>Our Saint</i>	Canonization of Mother Paulina
19/Dec/2001	Veja	<i>The Faith that moves Brazil</i>	Study on general religiosity and the links between faith and science
25/July/2001	Isto é	<i>Mary Superstar</i>	Expression of adoration to Mary in Catholicism
20/Dec/2000	Isto é	<i>2000 years of Christ</i>	Analysis of the figure of Christ
15/Dec/2000	Veja	<i>Jesus, year 2000</i>	Christianity and the new millennium
04/Nov/1998	Veja	<i>The Phenomenon</i>	Father Marcelo Rossi as a rising celebrity.
15/July/1998	Veja	<i>Faith against Crime</i>	Missionary action of evangelicals in prisons

(continued)



**Table 1.2** (continued)

Date	Publication	Headline	Topic
08/Apr/1998	Veja	<i>The Resurrection of Faith</i>	Reaction of Catholics to the evangelical growth
01/Oct/1997	Isto é	<i>Science and God</i>	Approximation between religions and scientific knowledge
02/July/1997	Veja	<i>Evangelicals</i>	On the theology of prosperity, in the growth of evangelical groups.
02/Apr/1997	Veja	<i>Believe in God: what is that today</i>	Analysis of the permanence of religious values and the idea of paradise

Source Elaborated by Author (2013)

**In the beggining of 2000's, mankind seek new faith alternatives to solve their everyday problems; Religions aware of this growing demand, employ marketing to attract more faithful (Newspaper FSP, 12/26/2000).**

**Fig. 1.2** Space of faith in media. Source newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* (Brazil 2000)

The photos displayed on the first issue of the section, on the first page show the Procession of (Our Lady) of Nazareth, a *filha de santo* (female devotee) at a Candomblé gathering and a life-size image of Father Cicero. All of them, however, contradict the opening paragraph of the text which stated the following:

Religion is increasingly an option, a choice which can be altered during one's lifetime. The not so faithful change their beliefs without the dramatic social or cultural rupture that this decision carried with it until recently. Transformed into a type of consumer, the believer is disputed over by religions that have learned to deal with marketing strategies to reach followers, who previously were out of the reach of their message.

Later, this same introduction of the articles will justify the presence of *inadequate images* as the exercise of a symbolic offering of the mixture or of syncretism, for the composition of a symbolic religion of the individual.

...While religions reorganize themselves, an anything-goes salvation gains strength with the proximity of the new millennium. There is an increasing number of New Age followers, a label that joins together millennial doctrines, oriental philosophy and techniques for the integration of man with nature. It is the individualistic alternative in this huge, multi-faceted search for faith.

This is a crucial point in the understanding of this religious symbolism which is more open to so many kinds of intervention. Terrin (1996) clarifies that this term, *religion of the individual*, is the visualization of the new religiosities in which individuals have the intuitive and transcendental systems of faith; systems which are still the monopoly of religions in modernity. Thanks to information technology, in contemporary postmodernity, these systems are open and hybrids. It appears, however, that it is not a case of the *religion of the individual*, but rather a religious symbolism which develops an identity (individual and collective) and which is more coherent with the explosive crisis of old problems and new values.

Terrin, in the same work, allows us to visualize some symbolic fields which have frequently operated in the dynamism of this new religiosity, thus cooperating to the effervescent growth of religious tourism.

The first symbolism is in the idea of the absorption of a holistic concept of God. In this sense, contrary to traditional Judaism, all the forms and all the names can point to divinity, without punishment for heretical behavior (against religion). Thus the cross, the star, the folded hands or a smile, carry a multiplicity of meanings, the function of which is to permit the totality of the divine in the diversity of forms and contents. However, the author warns

The search for the divine is made easier in the new era, in which all is under the signet of the God who acts freely, through nature, the spirits, the angels and all reality. However, instead of God, one may have only an idol in his hands. (Terrin 1996, p. 101).

In this way, religious tourism can be an authentic expression of spirituality.

A second symbolic field appears in the super valorization of therapeutic practices, which are not systematized by traditional knowledge but are highly disseminated as a type of *Elixir of long life*. All the oriental techniques of physical/philosophical exercises of such as Tai Chi and Yoga, the Martial Arts, such as Judo and Kung Fu and the forms of meditation and directed introspection compose a spring of alternatives and cooperative symbols. However, the therapeutic universe passes through astrology, magic, Kabbalah and all the possible oracles, even to the action of a mediator/healer that Aldo Terrin identifies in Shamanism, defined by him as a "journey in the afterlife and the art of knowing how to cure." Regardless of the process of differentiation between the *ecstasy* peculiar to the mystics and the *trance* experienced by the shamans, in this case, the whole group of symbols facilitates the direct dialogue between health as a motivation and religious tourism.

Finally, the symbolism of the feminine dimension in religiosity, which is more and more transparent in the valorization of nature, earth, the festivals, and the cultural identities of different peoples. The representation of the goddess, traditionally rejected by the great monotheistic systems, (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) or treated as inferior by the majority of religions, gets a strategic highlight according to the growth of some global demands: the ecological crisis, the fight for peace and tolerance, the alliance of states in international blocks and especially the growing presence of women in the various sectors of economy and politics. For Terrin, the ecological awareness (focused on limits) as well as the technological

revolution (focused on potential) make this symbolic strength of the feminine effective in the new religiosity.<sup>10</sup>

This expansion of the feminine religious symbolism is in accordance with two contemporary, ritual highlights of Christianity: the valorization of Pentecostal worship services and in Catholicism, the divine reverence for Mary/Our Lady. In the former, we perceive how much the third person of the holy trinity (according to Christian dogma) is the least masculine or macho representation. This is exactly why its religious identification ends up being a bird (a dove or the dove of the Divine). In the latter, the Marian movement of unrestricted devotion to Our lady, strategic for Catholic organizations, including the aforementioned RCC, is presented in harmony with the values of Ecology and Technology, as if Mary was the religious person responsible for the teachings of Nature and the Sciences. At this point in the text, the insistent, curious reader, who stops for a breath, could ask, "what do these three religious symbolisms have to do with the media and religious tourism?" Is this discussion about the symbols truly essential? We remember the beginning of the text where the Sphinx appears to make a joke, "Will I adore you or devour you?" The crux of the question is found in the different meanings which religious tourism can assume, exactly because it does not admit to being religious. My goodness! Another trick? No, it is a general clarification.

Symbols as the objects of study in semiotics and other human sciences cannot be ignored in any reflection about tourism, especially when the challenge focuses on religious motivation. Concerning symbols, Isaac (1986) says:

They reveal the secrets of the unconscious, lead to action by paths which at times are not completely clear.... The 'meaning' of a symbol overflows the boundaries of the rational, as they reach the deepest layers of the human psyche. (Isaac 1986, p. 66/67).

Later this author reminds us of four attributes of the symbol: (a) is in the place of something; (b) refers to the two objects in an articulated form; (c) contains fact as well as fiction; (d) has a double fit. In the sum of these we note the characteristic strength of *ambiguity*. This ambiguous pattern, in turn, justifies the *something more* which is led by religious symbolism.

This clarification is completed as one perceives contemporary religiosity as a promoter of successive media. Each means of communication on behalf of religiosity, conveys a new means of communication; from the profane to the sacred and vice versa, while the *search for faith* lasts.

As an indirect and symbolic search the religious journey can present itself as: 1. **Missionary Journey** (which seeks interior spiritual identities); 2. **Health or Cure Journey** (which seeks functional solutions for the woes of life); 3. **Contemplative Journey** (which seeks conviviality with the alterity of the feminine, in the past still present in nature or in the present which is future in technology). All this symbolism

<sup>10</sup>It deals with a reflection which has been developed by other scholars in the religious field, such as theologian Leonardo Boff (*O Rosto materno de Deus—The Maternal Face of God*) the psychoanalyst, Erich Neuman (*A Grande Mãe—The Great Mother*) and the mythologist Josef Campbell (*A dádiva da Deusa em O Poder do Mito—The Gift of the Goddess in The Power of Myth*).

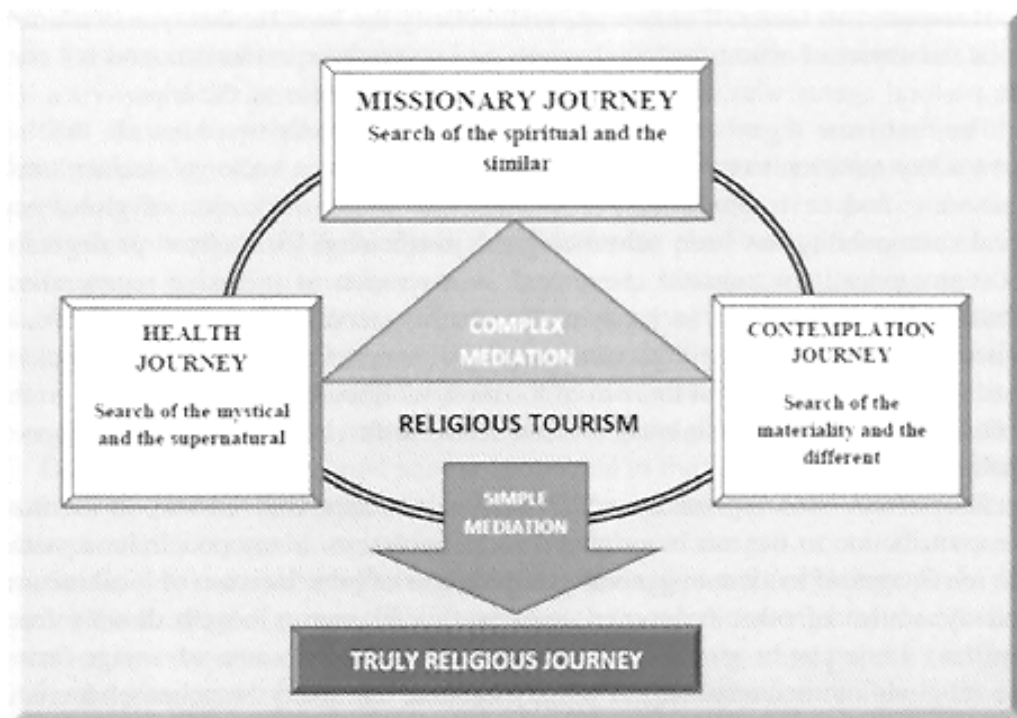


Fig. 1.3 Types of journey. *Source* developed by Author (2013)

can, in an ambiguous exercise, reveal and hide religiosity which is latent in the motivation that and leads groups or individuals to practice religious tourism. If the unconscious side (individual and collective) ends up predominating the realization of religious tourism, planners as well as travel agents cannot continue to ignore these dimensions. They are complex dimensions but are rich for the reordering of the symbolic territories (sanctuaries) in their receptive capacity (Fig. 1.3).

We end this chapter with a graphic demonstration of the three symbolisms in order to reinforce the idea of *multiple mediations* which religious tourism provides. Religious tourism depends on the many types of media and symbols. Perhaps that is why, when carried out, *adore or devour* can mean the same thing, or something beyond that.

## 1.12 From Reflection to Understandable Practice... or Rather: Aim at Me or I'll Ignore You!

The Sphinx now becomes a type of commitment, objective, or destination. The reflection shows us that religious tourism is based in the construction of sanctuaries and the projection of symbolisms. We outlined a broad argument about the possibility of seeing motivations for it beyond churches and explicit demonstrations of faith. It was shown that religious tourism without confessional ties is possible, which is what we pointed out in the first part of the text.

However, two issues, if answered, would clarify the need for this type of tourism to be the object of action for travel agents and researchers in tourism; and not only the pastoral agents who are dedicated to the spiritual sense of the trips.

The first issue regards the sustainability of religious tourism. After all, this has been a key question to position contemporary tourism as a vector of sociocultural, economic, and environmental development. The whole discussion of global and local sustainability has been subsidizing the justification for stagnant or degraded locations to call for touristic investment as a weapon of inclusive regeneration. Could religious tourism, in its symbolic density serve this end? How? Would selective tourism organize high class pilgrims for *religious eco-tourism*? Could it modify the load capacity of tourism of the masses? Should we give ourselves to the debate of sustainable (religious) tourism if we understand it professionally as a challenge for planning?

The second issue regards the educational role of religious tourism, in terms of the contribution to the much acclaimed social inclusion. Many people have stated the advantages of tourism in general as a generator of jobs, increase of local income and dynamism of other economic areas (in this 52 sectors benefit directly from tourism). Little can be guaranteed, however, regarding this same advantage facing the religious motivations. This is simply because the many branches of touristic trade may not be activated when religiosity influences the journey's destination. So, is religious tourism less responsible for social inclusion because of this? Does it have a more negative or impacting variable? We bring the perspective of *visitation* to this question. It is a key concept to translate the originality of this type of tourism; and, who knows, maybe it has the capacity to influence other touristic segments.

Now let us move to the debate of the overall practice. We begin by observing the pilgrimages to Aparecida, under a new focus, the touristic innovation.<sup>11</sup>

### **1.13 Sustainability of Religious Tourism: Sacred Eco-Tourism or Faith Massification?**

The discussion about the sustainability of tourism and of the touristic region has become the most efficient mechanism to recognize the importance of the sector. In general it is common to accept the search of the *vocation of the place* as a decisive stage of one's touristic planning. In this direction, tourism is sustainable as long as its attractions optimize various development fronts; especially the economic vector with the due conservation of the natural environment. Our first challenge is to try to

---

<sup>11</sup>In the work, *Globalização do Turismo* (Globalization of Tourism) (São Paulo, Aleph, 2003), Mario Beni reminds us that even though it is contested by some authors, innovation today encompasses the global concept of the product, marketing, administration and personnel management, among other business factors. This is what makes new strategies to stimulate the entrepreneur spirit in the communities multiply.

transfer this valorization of sustainable development to the field of religious tourism. To what extent do pilgrims, moving toward the many varied sanctuaries, allow for activity which is truly sustainable?

One answer may follow the conversationalist perspective. It would affirm that the sustainability of religious tourism depends on the authenticity of the cultural and environmental aspect of each. For this, mechanisms capable of impeding the limitless multiplication of pilgrims and alteration in the place surrounding the sacred space must exist. Sustainability, from this angle, stimulates something such as sacred eco-tourism. Considering the natural sanctuary as the most convenient model of religious attraction for tourism, one sees sustainability in function of the *maximum preservation of the original forms*. It is an interesting path; however, it is exaggerated as the majority of the sanctuaries have already been overly modified.

On the other hand, a second answer is directed to the socioeconomic field which outlines the profile of this type of tourism. It is characterized as low income tourism, little per capita consumption, and great participation of the grassroots. This type of tourism is only sustainable when it mobilizes growing amounts of visitors. From that comes the strategy of progressively renewing the symbolic strength of the blessing received by everyone who goes to that holy place. Thus, the more popularized faith is for the masses, the better the sustainability of religious tourism will be.

We understand these two lines of argument to be logical and pertinent, but we recognize that the sustainability of tourism (or any of its motivations) will not go beyond an ideological discussion. In this sense, we follow the thinking of Maria Tereza Luchiarri in her important study on touristic urbanization, where the author denounces the social emptying and naturalistic misrepresentation of this concept. It only collaborates to

put at risk the seriousness or credibility of planning. The ideology of sustainability is limited by the market economy itself. Good urban and regional planning does not need to include this incorrect discussion to legitimize and put territorial reordering and regional economic development into practice.

(Luchiarri 2000, pp. 127–128).

It was exactly the intention to reach this open planning, in overcoming the ideology of sustainability which was mentioned on December 22, 2002, by the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper writing about the implantation of a religious-touristic route between two Brazilian states. The headline read, “The Church will make the “Path of St James’ official in the country.” This was clarified as follows: “The route of the Path of Faith has 415 km and will connect Tambaú to the sanctuary in Aparecida, the largest in Brazil.”

The report by Maércio Santamarina, told of the close collaboration of 16 municipalities, 16 parishes, and 3 dioceses with the proposal of the retired income tax inspector, Almiro Grings. The pilgrim, after taking the path of Santiago de Compostela twice, presented the project and together with SCORP (Community Society of Renewal and Progress) an NGO in Águas da Prata (SP), defined the group of cities which would compose the trail. The only thing missing was the mystical, motivating aspect to confirm the place of departure. This was facilitated by the presence of a popular saint in the city of

Tambaú, known as Father Donizetti. There are more than 700 miracles attributed to him and the request for his beatification has been in the Vatican since 1961. The fact that the Father was also a devout follower of Our Lady of Aparecida only reinforced the Church's support of the regional project of religious tourism.

This example of making a route, partly original and partly reproduced from an exterior format, is significantly representative of how religious tourism becomes sustainable as tourism for the masses as well as eco-tourism. What determines the quality of its development is not the ecological or economic discrimination of its nature or vocation. While understanding that the idea of *vocation*, quite in vogue with tourism, is directly related to religion, it does not associate the destination of Aparecida with the final point of an ecological walk, or sport adventure. However, such associations can and should be made, in order to add regional value to the touristic potential as well as recover this myth of origin of the sanctuaries in religious mysticism. In order to better understand the intensity of this dynamic, it is enough to remember the case of Brasilia. It is a World Heritage Site due to the modernistic expressivity of its urban whole; but in terms of attraction, it always needs reinforcement for its multiple mystical itineraries.<sup>12</sup>

Due to this, one should question how religious tourism is inserted in regional sustainability and not whether its development is more sustainable for pilgrims or for tourist. This is not only an unsustainable discussion but also an irresponsible one. According to Magalhães (2002), the path to combine tourism and development is found in responsibility and not in sustainability. The same is true for religious tourism.

### 1.14 Religious Tourism: The Visitation Model

The idea put forth in this new understanding of the challenge of the Sphinx—*Aim at me or I'll ignore you*—is nothing more than a reminder of something which enhances every type of tourism. For religious tourism it becomes absolutely relevant. It is that the movement of going can correspond to a return. In other words, it is clearly perceived that the visit to the majority of sanctuaries represents a gesture of retribution. To visit the sacred place is to return to the divinity, the origins, and the center of the world.

Mircea Eliade, author of many works about mythology and religion, organized the idea of sacred space as *unique mythical geography* which is effectively real. That which contains the center of the world because, in some way, the world was created in that place. Visiting this center symbolically remembers this creation, (Eliade 1996, p 48). However, as a tourist with religious motivation, would one be remembering a sanctuary (a cosmic origin) in a place where one has never been?

<sup>12</sup>The Mystical Tourist Guide of Brasília, called *Portal da Terra Prometida* (Portal of the Promised Land) shows 4 itineraries—of Peace, of Cure, of the Pyramids and of the Crystals—as a way of showing that the new headquarters of political Power is the effective fulfillment of a mythic-religious prophesy.

In principle, such a concept of return only is valid for the pilgrim who returns many times to the same sanctuary. This would answer the quantification of the touristic movement but not its qualification. In this case, there is an understanding that the religious tourist, in potential, was symbolically visited by a divinity, there in his profane world of conflicts. In order to repay this special visit, he fulfills his pilgrimage or retreat. It is in this sense that *going* to a sanctuary *equals returning*, it is returning to the most meaningful reality.

Religious tourism is a visit of retribution with some spiritual significance. This synthesis directly assists our understanding of the why, metaphorically, of the threatening phrase of the Sphinx, *decipher me or I'll devour you!* is transformed by the spatial experience of religiosity in a subtle appeal. It is a type of selective invitation, "aim at me or I'll ignore you"! It is what tourism has in and of itself; a universal model of permanent visitation.

The role of tourist allows each human being to have access to all the other places in the world, as if one was at home, regardless of the distances. It is a condition of comfort which is much superior to the historic exercises of humanity's travel. The situation of a nomad, an exile or a migrant, which are movements of invasion, cannot give the traveler the pleasant sensation of being well received. This is the only way the pilgrim is similar to the tourist; both are welcome to the holy place of destination. It is as if it were the return of a long awaited son...

This familiar idea uniting visitor and host in religious tourism also provides the explanation for the high frequency of trips to sanctuaries. In this sense the religious tourist makes so many visits that he does not feel like a tourist but rather at home. It is just like the divinity, through statues, prayers, thought, who also is not a stranger to the everyday spaces of this tourist.

Visitation, however, makes the idea that tourism is an extraordinarily one-way movement disappear once and for all. It is the exchanges and inversion between emissive and receptive spaces which make tourism take place. When the tourist goes it is because something has already come to him. In fact, the community which is best prepared to permanently receive the tourist will be the one which has sent its own tourists to other communities, whether it is because leaders grew in experience or through the increase of income of the inhabitants. What cannot continue is the belief that touristic development of a place only depends on the flow or *foreign* tourists into the city. The essential element is exchange. This is exactly the greatest contribution of religious tourism to the understanding of contemporary tourism.

A deep meaning of contemporary touristic activity is found in this model of visitation. Much more than a free exercise, without any social commitment, of seeking the exotic or superficial consumption, tourism can be revealed as a system of symbolic exchanges. In the same way that we consider a legitimate act of leisure, visiting friends and family can establish between the tourist and the local community a legitimate exchange of knowledge. Perhaps this explains why the great metropolises and most developed countries on the planet are also the greatest hubs of senders and receivers of tourists. Certainly, this idea of visitation in religious tourism is the sustainable base to expand and integrate development.



In conclusion, it would be interesting to revisit many topics of ideas, concepts, and positions which we had to consider so that Sphinx would not devour us, or adore us or even ignore us. The list is immense, temples, pilgrimages, faith, festivals, routes, sanctuaries, religiosities, symbols, visitation, the list goes on. All this and much more is part of religious tourism. You, the careful reader, will not fall to the Story of the Sphinx, if you, besides broadening your reading (see the bibliography) are able to visit the sanctuaries, always remembering the mediations. Look at the lyrics by composer, Chico César in *Reprocissão* (Recorded on the CD—*Beleza Mano*, 1997 <https://www.letras.mus.br/chico-cesar/206032/>) and, with that warning, have a good trip.

Don't be fooled, friend/Manna won't fall from the sky/Neither will bread or fish or salty pastries/But send a postcard soon/When you arrive in Nirvana/The land that Jesus promised/He has pain, who gives of the sweat of our brow/One must dance ballet on a single foot/Try to take a rock to the foothills/And watch it roll down the mountain/Fly/only winged or enchanted/by the snake which slithers on the ground...

Don't be fooled, friend/Next week God will give/The time of a week to go by/And the bird that says what friend is/in a trance in the bowels of the earth/Fly/only winged or enchanted/by the snake that slithers on the ground...

## References

- Abumanssur ES (Org) (2003) *Turismo Religioso: Ensaio Antropológico sobre Religião e Turismo*. Papirus, Campinas
- Bordieu P (1989) *O Poder Simbólico*. Difel, Lisboa
- Campbell J (1990) *O Poder do Mito*. Palas Athena, São Paulo
- Campos LS (1997) *Teatro, Templo e Mercado: Organização e Marketing de um empreendimento Neopentecostal—Petrópolis: Vozes*. Simpósio Editora e Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, São Paulo
- Debray R (2004) *Deus, um itinerário*. Companhia das Letras, São Paulo
- Dias R, Silveira EJS (Orgs) (2003) *Turismo Religioso: Ensaio e Reflexões*. Alinea, Campinas
- Durkheim E (1996) *As formas elementares da vida religiosa*. Martins Fontes, São Paulo
- Eliade M (1996) *Imagens e Símbolos: Ensaio sobre o simbolismo mágico-religioso*. Martins Fontes, São Paulo
- Eliade M (1992) *O Sagrado e o Profano: A Essência das Religiões*. Martins Fontes, São Paulo
- Etzel E (1995) *Divino: Simbolismo no folclore e na Arte Popular*. Giordano, São Paulo, Kosmos, Rio de Janeiro
- Isaac E (1986) *O Signo*. Ática, São Paulo
- Magalhães CF (2002) *Diretrizes para o Turismo sustentável em Municípios*. Rocca, São Paulo
- de Oliveira CDM (2001) *Basilica de Aparecida: Um templo para a Cidade-Mãe*. Olho D'água, São Paulo
- Pierucci AF, Prandi R (1996) *A Realidade Social das Religiões no Brasil*. Hucitec, São Paulo
- Rodrigues AB (1997) *Turismo e Espaço: Rumo a um Conhecimento Transdisciplinar*. Hucitec, São Paulo
- Rosendahl Z (1999) *Hierópolis: o Sagrado e o Urbano*. EdUERJ, Rio de Janeiro
- Serrano C, Bruhns HT, Luchiani MTDP (Orgs) (2000) *Olhares Contemporâneos sobre o Turismo*. Campinas, Papirus
- Terrin AN (1996) *Nova Era: A religiosidade do Pós-moderno*. Edições Loyola, São Paulo

## Chapter 2

# Religious Heritage in Irradiation

### Against the Monster of Oblivion

*A belief in a linear, continuous, and irreversible progress that develops according to a model in all societies almost does not exist anymore. A history that does not dominate the future is confronted with beliefs that are going through a great revival nowadays: prophecies, general catastrophic vision of the end of the world or, on the contrary, enlightened revolutions, like those invoked by millennialism both in sects in western societies and in some Third World societies. It is the return of eschatology.*

(Le Goff 1990)

#### 2.1 Introduction

The historian Jaques Le Goff's concern with the *future*, as a time, could be extended to another *future* in terms of a spatial dimension. A Geography of Culture, open to the reality of heritage behaves to a certain extent like other *noncultural* Geographies: it turns a blind eye to the logic of the complex design of future territories and places. By adamantly refusing any prophetic tone, it transforms itself into easy prey to the eschatological reasoning of an environmental neo-determinism and the lunatic discourse where we are drowning in a world of unprecedented crises.

Of course all this could and would be a palpable fact in the experience of those who deal with everyday practice in the current religious world and see the growing explosion of apocalyptic signs in the general geography of the horrors in the media. This is when a Christian and Catholic frame of reference is the basis for comprehending things, but when the religious practice is from a non-Christian religious matrix (neither by similarity or protection), we can affirm that the future also has a visionary optimism. After all, there has never been so much religiosity propagated from any medium in such an *unnecessarily* religious world. Like other religions,

Catholicism has begun to coexist with unfair competition from postmodern science. What leads a system of human knowledge to become eschatological (cultivator of the end of times), precisely for having developed the best method of attack against eschatology and determinism? (Neumann 1999)

Gaston Bachelard would answer “by the continual seduction of the first mistakes”. Carl Gustav Jung adds “and even the rectifications [or second mistakes] can make us succeed at distancing ourselves from ourselves!” This suggests the need for knowledge (contextually scientific) capable of *dialoguing*, and not *overcoming*, the human paradoxes of coexistence. On the contrary, we practice the strong exorcist tendency of concluding that the best solutions to human problems will emerge with the extinction of humanity!

Our task herein is to explicate this possibility of reasoning to reason with the fluidity and geographicity that the issue of heritage allows. That level of complex identification of human beings with *their places of projection, of searching, of dreams and collective construction*, that according to Edward Relph (Marandola et al. 2012, pp. 17–32), scares away the indolence of the static earth identities; an easy and fragile target for the industrial *handicraft* of capitalist typologies.

Much of what we consider first is selected afterwards and like legal and competitive refinements, is included on the list of protected assets, a heritage, born from this *artisanal* fragility and developed in the artifices of cultural technology (Fontal 2003). It is increasingly more cybercultural and confluent of the totalitarianism of the speed of the media (Trivinho 2007). However, the modern patrimonial issue with its brave potentiality offers us the possibility of starting the process, not for the rarefied, curious of exotic object in the landscape. Is not that logical to prioritize, in a policy of protecting heritage, the exclusive conservation of what is being lost. After all, this has been the referential criteria used to register humanity’s immaterial goods, knowledge, and values, according to the UNESCO Convention signed in Paris in 2003. The referential is found in communities’ capacity to *convince* the greater collective that the *parts*, in their essential specificity, are profoundly representative of the *whole*. It is in this particular convention that a cultural reality (di)ferentiates itself to (re)ference the sociocultural condition of a region or nationality (Cabral 2011).

In the Brazilian example, the first assets registered as a World Heritage Site, the Samba Circle from Bahia and the *kusiwa* body art of the Wajãpi in Amapá, portray ancestral (and mythical) forms of communication from generalized ethnic sources in the country, as “Amerindian” and “Afro-Brazilian”. Cultural groups that have not *won* the struggle for national hegemony, but that in the process are *convincing* the most representative political, national, and international forums that their specific cultural values deserve, through legal compensation or articulated wisdom, to symbolize the nation. This symbology, close or far as it may be, finds a safe harbor in the religious expression of its formation. To what extent does a peoples’ *religious heritage* reinvigorate the strength of spiritual communication as an irradiator of

symbolic assets? Does this irradiation demonstrate that contemporaneity gives rise to a human paradox: our courageous combat against forgetting essential values?

We start with this hypothesis—*achieving heritage status has revealed itself as the best contemporary strategy to erect monuments (material or immaterial) in the struggle against entropy and oblivion*—to discuss three theses in this brief essay that are committed to describe the texture and structure of cultural space. This hypothesis, open to the most diverse cultural aspects of the heritage process, focuses specifically on the field of the religious imaginary, in order to make the theses interchangeable in the branch of science (Geography) in which we operate: research in the political geography of religion. Below are three articulating forms of this branch (Claval 1999; Hervieu-Léger 2008).

First: The *religious irradiation of faith is intrinsically glocal*, that is, simultaneously open to conquer new locations and sufficiently closed to make each place-world an original devotional experience. We will closely observe the forms of devotion to the patron saints of popular Catholicism in this first thesis. As a consequence we will consider virtual technology as a parameter of religion's political space.

Second: *The Catholic model of Marian devotion concentrates a strong identification with the environmental and economic challenges of sustainability*, both on a national and a planetary scale. This allows a methodological, unexpected, and synchronized approximation, with the form of an "environmental conscience". Therefore the thesis advocates that Marian symbology brings a telluric dimension of the need for conservation in a materialized form in this political religious space. This will be examined in the devotion to Our Lady of Conceição Aparecida.

Third: To complete/conclude the triad, we affirm *the fluidity of sacred-profane festivities as a more elaborate indicator of the ways of facing the blackouts of the collective memory*. However, this cannot be done without reworking the singularly theatrical idea that spectacles of faith are not postmodern excrescences. On the contrary, they are a tendency of what we call communicational vectors of geographic space—the mythical, the mundane and the media-driven—to project our symbolic complexity as the maximum achievement of human existence on Earth. Then consider the creation of a spectacle as a moving monument; an indispensable enactment (Pereira 2013; Oliveira 2007; Oliveira 2012).

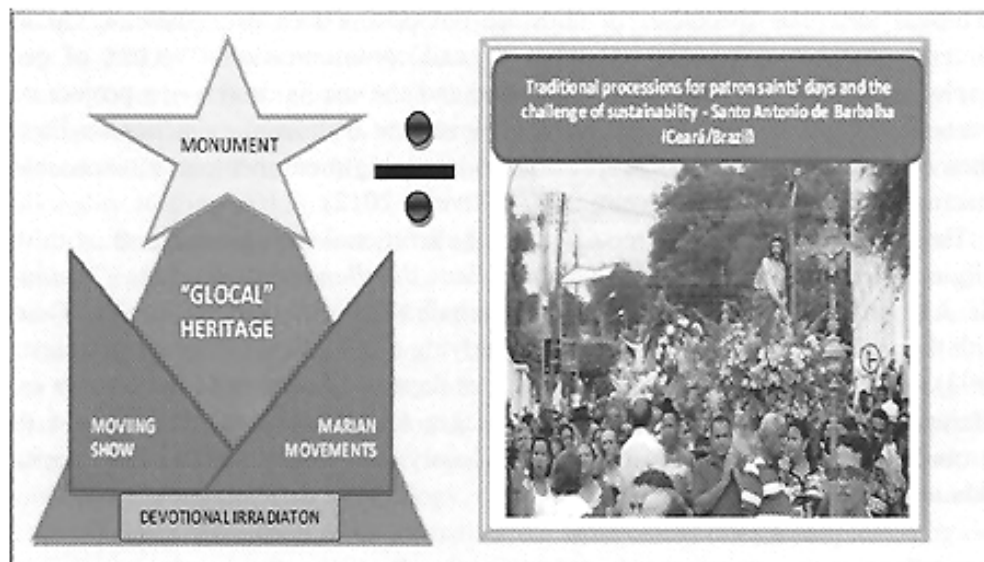
The concepts examined here will hold a bidirectional dialogic exercise: with the religious heritage of the *Festival do Pau da Bandeira de Santo Antônio* (St. Anthony's Flagpole) in the town of Barbalha/CE (observed in June 2013) and with the preliminary data from a project studying the Political Geography (Rafestin 1993) of the Marian devotion in Brazil. Feast days and Sanctuaries, here taken as a reference in characterizing religious heritage, forge two *acts* of denial of the symbolic forgetting and prepares a third... only suggested in provocative topics. This will be seen below.

## 2.2 Irradiation as a *Glocal* Tendency of Updating Faith

The following figure (table summary) favors the exploration of the theses, as well as inviting a critical reading of their gaps. For now, the main thing is to associate it to the words of the researcher Josier Ferreira da Silva, of the Regional University of Cariri, in an excerpt of an article published in the *Diario do Nordeste* newspaper (*Carderno 3*, 09/06/2013).

The equation intended in the table summary (Fig. 2.1) correlates the structuring of religious heritage on a *glocal* scale (Trivinho 2007), that is, a set of scales that represent the simultaneous nature of global and local dimensions through the force of monumentality—with the challenges in an environmental context signaled by the researcher in the excerpt from his article. Therefore, when we chose the division sign to suggest the processing of the synthesis, we induce the reader to continue the reflection in a divergent direction than the one that automatizes the link between heritage and memory. This requires actions (mass processions, rites and pilgrimages) motivated by the symbolic renewal of *faith in feast* (Wobeto 1982).

It is with difficulty that the thinking that characterizes local identity recognizes the communicative strength of the place, taking its universality into account. A methodological dominance exists and resists for the differentiating specificity in the trajectory of the analyses. In a geography guided by religion's political space, such a predominance should only constitute a characterizing phase of the situation; that is, the momentary immobility of the site of reference that displaces its center from one point of the perimeter to another, seeking to demonstrate that the differential is constituted and vanishes in the logic of the vital circulation of the Earth itself.



**Fig. 2.1** Image Summary to begin the exposition of the theses. *Source* Elaborated by the Author (2013)

Thus, this political space is a representation of the astronomical exterior (and the interior symbolical psyche) that makes us simultaneously terrestrial and celestial beings during all the feasts. According to this formulation, there is no reason to continue to use a characterization to identify what is absolutely unique and different. The originality of the location agglutinates doses of imitation from everywhere as the reach and projection of a vehicle of irradiation (Gil Filho 2008). Through this prism, creative imitation has the best reach of any strategy, a methodology of reflecting and projecting the radiant light of hodiernal origins, in spite of everything.

We take as a reference the example of the *Festa de Santo Antônio de Barbalha* to capture these three acts in understanding immaterial religious heritage (Cabral 2011). This feast day in the town of Barbalha (560 km to the south of the capital of the state of Ceará, Fortaleza) has been engendering controversy and thought-provoking qualities, which are indispensable to the reflections proposed here. Both for what it reveals—the maintenance of a hundred traditional signs of popular Catholicism—and for what it hides: a universality that is indispensable to the visualization of how much the standardizing modeling of the spectacles is not reduced to the industrial codes of globalized massification (Filoramo and Prandi 1999).

Starting with the divisions and synchronicities between official and popular Catholicism and the religious forms of the subordinate ethnic groups (African and Amerindian), in the introduction to the book *Sentidos da Devoção* (Meanings of Devotion) (IPHAN 2013), José Clerton de Oliveira Martins presents this popular ritual feast as a whole implicated in the geographic space of religious culture.

The space is part of a religious culture, when it permits the recognition of these densely significant places by the mass of the population, mainly represented by sanctuaries that are locations for the identification of symbols and saints. Thus the action of giving significance to times and places is an act of creation and is singular and unique to humanity, which uses the imagination and fantasies to find physical and mental health (Martins 2013, p. 33).

Continuing this spatial vision, the researchers Juciêdo Alexandre, Ocêlio Teixeira Souza and Sandra Bezerra, question the popular characteristics of the feast day in the *cultural circularity* of the erudite and popular arrangements proposed by Carlo Ginzburg. Considering the foundational act of these festivities (Vainfas 2003) specifically found in the incorporation of a sacrificial rite involving a mass popular act: the felling and carrying on St. Anthony's flagpole.

It was popular throughout Brazil during the festivities on the feast day of the patron saints for a flagpole to be raised flying their flag as a sign that place was celebrating. Barbalha was no different, there was also the popular custom of displaying the flags of the saints being honored and on occasions of revivals [...] The practice happened on the feast days of the patron saint of Barbalha, however it took on a new connotation from 1928 onwards, when José Correia Lima, the parish priest at the time instituted the procession of the *Pau da Bandeira* as the official opening of the celebrations dedicated to St. Anthony. After this date the men of the town would cut down a huge tree on the foothills of the Chapada do Araripe and carry it on their shoulders to the front of the Church of St. Anthony, whose effigy is raised annually (Alexandre et al. 2013, p. 62).

The institutionalization of the festivities of the flagpole (felling, rest and transport) to begin the religious *trezena* will absorb a significant contingent of profane rites. However, in the process of maturing and the innovative repetition of the decades, there will be a convergence of motivations sufficient to make from the multiple fragmented repetitions a consistent renovation capable of irradiating a model of an immaterial heritage. What we refer to here as *religious* and not linked to a specific confession, but welcoming the religious condition of the peoples as a vehicle for the spiritual needs of cultural communication. Something that, if geographical-anthropological traditions received full scientific recognition, would permit public policies to be guided give more potential to religious knowledge and sociability. While the authorities exempt churches from paying tax and do not demand a legal counterpart for the freedom of worship, all the cultural irradiation of devotions remains distant from territorial planning. Which ends up amplifying political and environmental conflicts in Barbalha, as a result of the felling of large trees in the São Joaquim and Flores farms in the foothills of the of Chapada do Araripe.

The researchers Antônio Igor Cardozo and Josier Ferreira da Silva (in the aforementioned IPHAN publication) remind us that it is not possible to make progress in environmental and territorial planning without taking into consideration that *the feast day should be perceived as the simultaneous involvement of culture with nature, implying a humanization of nature in favor of devotion to the saint* (Cardozo and Silva 2013, p. 151). Without advocating a cultural and communicational religious policy, this could sound like a counterintuitive contemporary position. Given that for most postmodern social movements (be they alternative environmental or committed to the status quo) nature is a phenomenon that is independent of the sociocultural values of the visitor or inhabitant. On the contrary, it is understood herein that the factors of devotional irradiation of these types of events—similar to many other festivities in agrarian, urban or frontier-like environments—delimit the game of *glocality*, in the growing contexture of local specificities with the (more or less efficient) selectivity of universalized or global brands.

Like Barbalha, the other 183 municipalities in the state of Ceará and the 5,600 Brazilian municipalities have their own patron saints, more or less situated as symbolical references of the Catholic religiosity of the place. All this is multiplied several times if we consider the cycles of the most common festivals in Brazil (Christmas, Carnival, Lent/Easter, Pentecost and Corpus Christi), added to the best known saints and our ladies. Regarding St. Anthony more specifically, to illustrate the articulated irradiation of this glocality, we can think of Quixeramobim (CE), Borba (AM), Mulungu (PB), Campo Grande (MS), Santo Antonio Leverger (MT), Campo Maior (PI), Brejo (MA), Paratinga (BA), Patos de Minas and Abaeté (MG), Osasco and Caraguatatuba (SP), and Sombrio (SC), among others. So, this is to think of synchronies and ways of absorbing and reworking the symbolism of the ancient and distant metropolis of colonial times; Lisbon reinvented with all the particularities of cultural communication: the irradiation materializes innumerable forms of reflection.

In addition, the folkloric associations with their main links of protection (patron saint of amputees, the sterile, horses, travelers, the poor, sailors, pregnant women, fishermen, and agriculturalists) and the popularity of the celebrations in June facilitated St. Anthony's African and Amerindian syncretism (with the African gods Ogun and Exu and the entity Zé Pilantra). Therefore, this is just one example of the multiple possibilities of updated understanding of a symbolic process that has not been lost in the progress of a society desacralized by the postmodern institutional crisis. On the contrary, it is articulated in a location (Barbalha/CE) that is only one modeling version of cultural reality, able to translate itself as an immaterial heritage. This is the formation of *glocality*, which can be best understood by the second thesis: the symbolic devotional projection of the feminine in an infinite number of Mary of Nazareth.

### 2.3 Marian Devotions in Irradiation: The Pedagogical Model of *Conceição Aparecida*

At this point, we shift the specific focus from a local patron saint to outline the national scale of irradiation in the strategic holiness of the most widespread Marian devotion in Brazil: the tradition of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception of *Aparecida* (Steil et al. 2003). To this end, we dedicate the lines below to the reflection on a proposal for an investigation that emerged after an analysis of the regionalist force of a Spanish devotion with strong anthropological and ecological territorial implications. In this case, we studied the recent conflicted valorization process of the feast of Pentecost for *Virgen del Rocío*<sup>1</sup> (Community of Andalusia, southern Spain). By expanding the second theses, we intend to demonstrate the complex variations of the Luso-Brazilian Marian model in multiple patrimonial references.

Such an investigation, in these mystical-religious spaces, considers the articulation of a series of sociocultural and environmental representations as fundamental in the contemporary educational experience. It involves using "thick description" (Geertz 1989), a secular phenomenon, but extremely technical in its political capacity to reconcile the sacred and profane dimensions of ecclesial action. Greatly valued after the pastoral guidance of the Second Vatican Council and its continental conferences (CELAM); and *criticized* for the strong consumerism of its current appeals to the affirmation of identity.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Geopatrimony of the Andalusian Sanctuaries was financed by CAPES (BRA)/Carolina Foundation (SPA, as a postdoctoral study in Human and Regional Geography, at the University of Seville (2010/2011). Transformed into a book—*Caminhos da Festa ao Patrimônio Geoeducacional: Como Educar sem Encenar Geografia?* (Fortaleza: EDUFC, 2012)—nowadays this work structures a large part of the reflections that place the theatrical dynamic as an indispensable parameter in understanding the immaterial heritage of religious feasts.



The demarcation of the network of places being studied, city pole and municipality sanctuaries, are inspired by a phenomenological approach to cultural representations in Geography (Rezende 1990). Such demarcations help select festive contexts to develop the concept of immaterial heritage as a spatial representation. This representation incorporates official Catholicism's diocesan regionalization as a historical expression of the imaginary permanencies and updates of the civilizing actions of the Christian expansion. Therefore its theoretical foundations aim to recognize, in the symbolic relationships, the referential place of the temple (open or closed space) and its rural-urban surroundings, recording the necessary adaptations to the demands of postmodern daily life (Mafesoli 2007); be it on metropolitan territory (Archdiocese of Aparecida), in the micro regional ambit (Vale do Paraíba do Sul in SP, MG and RJ); in the macro regional ambit (capitals and interiors of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Paraná and Rio de Janeiro, which are the origin of the most frequent medium and long distance pilgrimages); and the *trans*-regional ambit (marked by the continental distances in the Brazilian territory).

It is the conflicted and solidary encounter of multiple devotional practices in contemporary times, which externalizes faith in overcoming these distances as a spectacle. This allows the questioning of the planning of these neighborhoods or cities from the emerging political representations of the sanctuary: the local legislative apparatus, image production (studies, documents and leaflets) and the visibility of the main transmitter (in this case the Sanctuary of Aparecida/SP). Following the formation of a new *geographicity* (imaginary and lived), according to Bachelard (2004) and Dardel (2011), we have to consider devotional irradiation as an inter-subjective process, whose demonstration demands simultaneities (Durand 2008). Inquiring *how far do Brazilian sanctuaries project an image of cultural assets of patrimonial-political communication?* It involves the simultaneous observation of possible answers in the locality and the transmission center of irradiation.

The methodological referral of the research provides for the systematic examination of representations (irradiation, flow, density, participation in festivities, etc.) in the surrounding region of the selected municipalities when carrying out the survey (see methodology).

We already have preliminary of the feast days and sanctuaries in the territory of the state of Ceará<sup>2</sup>, collected in the prior project and bibliographical support of studies on the history of heritage in the West (Poulot 2009), their implications regarding the protection and registration of the *immaterial* (Cabral 2011), without ignoring the educational appeal both inside and outside of the school environment (Fontal 2003; Horta 1999; Cuenca López 2002). A transversal path to the communications of heritage is provided by Moscovici's (SA 1996) theory of social

---

<sup>2</sup>The research projects entitled *Os projetos de pesquisa Representações do Patrimônio Imaterial (festivo e turístico religioso)* IN *Geografia Acadêmica* (under my coordination and ongoing) and *Dimensões Territoriais das Festas Populares e Turismo: Estudo comparativo do patrimônio imaterial nos estados de GO, CE e SE* (2009–2012), give micro regional visibility to 10 sanctuaries.

representations, which redraws the potential of a geographical, ambiguous and identifying imaginary (Ruiz 2003), thus providing the symbolic plots of every location researched. In the end, the spatial and temporal phenomenology of religiosity (Martelli 1995; Bello 1998) teaches us to perceive the touristic and festive interior appeal. This is why these big ritual spectacles project themselves as transmitters and receptors of the renewal of faith (de Oliveira 2004); as well as facilitating connections with other nonreligious networks; including academic ones, which are generally unprepared for this challenge.

To carry out this survey, we initiated a predominantly qualitative project aimed at explaining the operational management of the architectural-urban and liturgical planning of the rites of Our Lady of Conceição and/or Aparecida. This is the way to decode the participation of the communities (townspeople and visitors) in constituting the immaterial heritage. In view of the detailed contribution of Portuguese geographer Santos (2006), in her doctoral thesis—*Espiritualidade, Território e Turismo: um estudo do Santuário de Fátima* (Spirituality, Territory and Tourism: a study of the Sanctuary of Fatima), we believe that this study will promote a deeper knowledge of the new fronts for planning heritage policies.

The characterization of the forms of renewing the imaginary in Christian religiosity is constituted here by the sense of place that the municipality represents. It is a condition of expanding and deepening the communicational niches (religious orders, Catholic radio stations, charitable associations, etc.) that conserve the religious field as a privileged sphere of political power. The study assumes that the composition of spatial fixes and flows, with significant religious significance, has expanded the dynamism of urban areas, either in the immediate surroundings of the villages and neighboring cities; or the farthest regional projection. Its main brand of renewal is in the creation of *symbolic places* (temples, surroundings and their religious festivities) that are permanently structured arenas where the sacred/profane knowledge of the communities involved takes place. Here too the metaphor of *faith moving mountains* begs the question: *moves it where?*

Hence, the importance of contextualizing these rituals as regional and local representations, in different states and municipalities of the Federation, to enable the projective view of a political and cultural phenomenon that expands through the country in international harmony is done. Considering the force of the UNESCO treaty, in adopting the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage as a Convention (2003, Paris-France) by member countries (including Brazil), the degree of difficulty in absorbing Christian demonstrations in an evaluative articulation of these records and their management is interesting. The term *naturalist* describes the governmental expectation to maintain both the process of built assets and the safeguarding of the social practices of religiosity at an inoperable distance from planning. All the day-to-day geographicity of the sanctuary «» municipality interactions and their communities, in the (temporal-spatial) vicinity of the festivities, marking these (sacred/profane and mundane) realities, tend to attract the attention of visitors, entrepreneurs, and media agents, since the festivities energize a multi-territorialism of identities (Haesbaert 2005). However, urban and municipal planning has not welcomed this irradiation, wasting the role of the (co)strategy.

Which to a certain extent repeats the limitations perceived in the local geography of Barbalha (previous item), although this incongruence has not been commented on.

The whole market of religious events has become the promising tool of spatial reorganization, which has allowed a proactive ecclesial action of the institutional actors of Brazilian Catholicism (on an *intra* and *extra* metropolitan scale), designing some diversification of interests for new devotional spaces. Especially those planned in advance to play the role of *sanctuaries*. To investigate the relevance of this composition, going beyond capital, in view of the Marian religiosity as promoted in recent decades, is a fundamental challenge in interpreting the political geography of religion. The epigraph is in the verification of the complexities of the cultural landscapes that connect scattered places (Silva and Galeno 2004). The research intends to explore the characterization of the devotional symbols involved in municipal imagery promoted by media outlets.

Therefore it will be essential to check the data and information (written and visual) concerning the virtual representation of each of the municipalities shown in Table 2.1, preselected from the Marian name with the greatest devotional appeal in the country: Imaculada Conceição Aparecida. This means that the fundamental feast days in these municipality sanctuaries require a complementary verification, basing this certification on the patrimonial representativity of this irradiation. To this end, the events and consultation strategies need to pass the stages (phases) that will be verified in the methodology.

Situating the buildings and interactions of temples, orders, movements, and communities, in the spatial logic of the sanctuaries, from a devotional locus has been constituted through the representation of material and symbolic weight, linked to the modernization of urban life.

The selection in Table 2.2 groups together municipalities in a network of unforeseen geographical analysis. Therefore, diverting from the mechanistic assumption that the geographical and religious field is merely rugosity from pre-industrial society, this work takes on the analytical reference of geographical complexity. It presents evidence to show religious diversity as a condition of planned urbanization overtaking modernity (García Canclini 2003). To avoid restricting the study to a territorial exception policy, the importance of a correlative survey of Marian devotion at a more fragmentary or local level has also been considered. In accordance with Catholic canons, we could call it *parochial*. This is the correlation point with urban and municipal development; we also find a marked proportion of parishes and cities *patronized* by Mary, with an emphasis on the invocation of Conceição Aparecida.

The survey designed for the nine diocese in Ceará—a state not included in Table 2.1 due to the absence of shrine of Conceição Aparecida—indicates that in a total of 336 Parishes, almost half are Marian (Table 2.2); in this strong representation of the devotion to Imaculada Conceição.

One of the specificities that allows the generalization is precisely the characterization of Marian religiosity in its connections with postmodernity (representation of women, ecology, the terrestrial). Marian sanctuaries in general and those of

**Table 2.1** Municipalities-Shrine linked to the devotion of our lady Conceição Aparecida

State	Shrines	Municipality	Address
SP	Nac. O.L. C. Aparecida	Aparecida	Av. Dr. Julio Prestes s/n—Ponte Alta 12570000
SP	O.L.Conc. Montesina	Aparec. do Monte Alto	Rua Dr. Bento Manuel de Siqueira, 001—Centro—15915000
MT	O.L. Aparecida	Aparecida do Taboado	Rua D. Aquino Correa, 1328—Centro—79570000
SE	O.L. Aparecida	Aracaju	Praça Ver. Osvaldo Mendonça, 370—Bugio—49090300
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Barra Bonita	Av. Arthur Balsi, s/n—Cohab 17340000
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Bauru	Praça Washington Luis, 4-51—Seabra (Centro)—17010210
MG	O.L. da Conceição	Belo Horizonte	Rua Além Paraíba, 152, Lagoinha— 31210120
SC	O.L. Aparecida	Blumenau	Rua Paris, 150—Itoupava Norte—89052510
SP	Imaculada Conceição	Caconde	Praça Ranieri Mazilli, 22—Centro— 13770000
PR	O.L. Aparecida	Campo Mourão	Av. Jorge Walter, 2301—Vila Urupes—86300000
MG	O.L. Aparecida	Campos Altos	Rua Pratinha, 245—38970000
RJ	M.J. Praga e I. Conceição	Campos de Goytacazes	Praça do Santuário s/n—28175000
MG	O.L. da Conceição	Conc. da Barra de Minas	Praça Cônego João B. Trindade, 497—Bom Pastor 35500000
MG	O.L. da Conceição	Conceição do Pará	Praça do Santuário, s/n—Santuário— 35668000
MG	O.L. Aparecida	Divinópolis	Rua Iguatama, 497—Bom Pastor— 35500189
SC	O.L.I. Conceiç da Lagoa	Florianópolis	Rua Francisca Luiza Vieira, 277—Lagoa da Conceição—88062140
PR	O.L. Aparecida	Guarapuava	Rua Alípio Marcondes, 2012—85055180
SP	O.L. Aparecida do Sul	Itapetininga	Praça N.S. Aparecida, s/n—Vila Aparecida —18201520
BA	Imaculada Conceição	Jequié	Rua Cônego Jacinto H. Sanches, 118—Campo do América—45203000
PB	O.L. da Conceição	João Pessoa	Rua Arquiteto Hermenegildo di Lascio, 632—Tambauzinho—58042140
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Jundiaí	Rua Cica, 1862—Vila Rami—13206001
PR	O.L. Aparecida	Londrina	Rua Grajaú, 245—Vila Nona—86025420
SC	O.L. Aparecida	Mafra	Av. Coronel José Severino Maia, 998—Centro 89300000
RS	O.L. Conceição Aparecida	Nova Prata	Rua Cônego Peres, 800—Centro— 95320000
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Olimpia	Praça N. S. Aparecida, 183—Centro—15400000

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

State	Shrines	Municipality	Address
MG	O.L. Aparecida	Oliveira	Praça Miguel Madeira, 85—Aparecida—35540000
SP	O.L. Ap.Vagão Queimado	Ourinhos	Av. Gastão Vidigal, 369—Vila Moraes (Jd. Matilde)—19901010
MG	O.L. da Conceição	Ouro Preto	Praça Antônio Dias, 9—35400000
RS	O.L. Aparecida	Passo Fundo	Rodovia RST-153 km <sup>2</sup> —99001970
PB	O.L. da Conceição	Pedras de Fogo	Praça João Ursulo, s/n 58328000
RS	O.L. Aparecida	Porto Alegre	Praça Senador Alberto Pasqualini, 120—Ipanema—91760520
RO	O.L. Conceição Aparecida	Porto Velho	Rua Amador Reis, 2810—Conjunto J. Kubitschek—76829422
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Ribeirão Preto	Rua Guimarães Passos, 412—Vila Seixas—14020070
MA	O.L. da Conceição	São Luís	Av. Getúlio Vargas, 2655—Monte Castelo—65020000
SP	O.L. Aparecida S. Manoel	São Manuel	Rua Pe. Ronsine, s/n—Centro—18655000
SP	O.L. Conc. Aparecida	Sorocaba	Rua Antônio J. Silva, s/n—Aparecidinha—18087250
SP	O.L. Aparecida	Tambaú	Praça Donizetti, 9—13710000
MG	O.L. Aparecida	Teófilo Otoni	Rua Tristão da Cunha, s/n—Taquara—39800000
<b>Brazil—Total</b>		<b>38 Municipalities—Shrine of Our Lady of Conceição Aparecida</b>	

Source Catholic Yearbook 2009–2010 at CERIS/PROMOCAT (2012)

**Table 2.2** Marian representation in the dioceses of Ceará

Dioceses region NE I/CE	Marian	Total No. of parishes	%
Fortaleza	51	121	42
Itapipoca	11	26	42
Crato	18	50	36
Cratús	6	15	40
Iguatu	16	25	64
Limociro Norte	13	25	52
Quixada	11	22	50
Sobral	20	37	54
Tiangua	6	15	40
Total	152	336	45

Source Catholic Yearbook 2009–2010 at CERIS/PROMOCAT (2012)

Our Lady Conceição Aparecida in particular, forge fixed (alter identity) and (virtual) flows of interregional communication.

Political challenges for modernization and sustainability, on the territorial development agenda of the group of municipalities, require a certain detachment from the images and devotional values. Internally, the tensions between religious fundamentalism (more closed) and mystical ecumenism (more open) could reflect the strategies for dealing with this practice. Externally, there are those who settle for a clear adaptation of the Christian faith to the logic of today's environmental development (which allows for heritage education to be read as an improvement of environmental education).

There are also the emerging rationalities that help recover the concept of Dardel's *geograficity* (2011) from a phenomenological perspective: the metropolitan culture expands like the mystical-religious experience of places. In Gaston Bachelard's epistemological assumptions (2004, 2008) it forges scientific obstacles to reduce the man-nature relationship to a strictly virtual and therefore spectacular project. In this direction, new sanctuaries also make up a *society of spectacle*, which is also religious, parodying Debord (1997) and referring to the constitution of many earthly paradises: Celestial Rome needs a mundane scale so that its sustainability—Marian in the Catholic ambit and prophetic in other religions and confessions—acquires a symbolic consistency in the postmodern context.

From a more applied point of view, this survey stems from the general cartography of Christian religiosity and the syncretism in its devotional reality. It moves on to a systematic research of the geograficity in each of the three models of events that we delimited by the forms of spectacularization that was identified in research in the area: touristic, carnivalesque, and media-driven. Each of these, more associated with the communication and cultural vectors with which the analyses were developed (mystical, media-ecosystemic and secular). Discovering if these forms reinforce or attenuate the fundamentalist tendencies of contemporary religiosity would also be a provocative means of referring a resolution of the initial equation

#### **2.4 Concluding: Catholic Scenography, a Heritage Against Oblivion**

The religious festivities of the new twenty-first century are abundant and spectacular. Contrary to an apparent expectation of a retrocession, popular religiosity has conferred perfectly with cybernetic languages; perfecting what photographic records and television have been doing for decades: the more *hidden* or esoteric rituals become accessible to any television viewer. Their connections in networks are linked both to religious and nonreligious interests. Hence the emergence of a global dynamic multiplies the historical production of events and commemorative celebrations. Postmodern ephemerides demarcate the monumentality of oblivion.

Maybe that is why the essay reflects the chain of memory and collective oblivion through religious heritage.

Such abundant Latin American landmarks do not end in the ephemeris of the large or small cycles of feast days; nor in the Marian invocations on a national level (Argentinian Lujan, Paraguayan Caacupé, Coromoto Venezuelan, the Thirty-three Uruguayan, Colombian Chiquinquirá, Ecuadorian El Quinche, Bolivian Copacabana, Mexican Guadalupe, Honduran Suyapa, and Nicaraguan Purisima, among many others). They are actually found in the updated composition of theatrical recreation (virtual and concrete) of devotional phenomena that compile and combine fragments of assets and values like an alchemy of fractals. This leads to the conception of the third thesis—through a paradoxical factoring of three communicational vectors—in a *Theory of Geographic Staging* as a growing need to convert the *religious* into *heritage*. Briefly, the thesis-theory states: *The issue of contemporary heritage projects the religious necessity of being on Earth; however, it does so in sacred-profane flows of apparently nonreligious collective experiences.*

This game of trends and occultation is essential when thinking about the staging process. What would cause geographers to think about shrines, festivals and museums with the equivalent attitude with which they observe the political-military centers of command and war? If in these centuries geographical Cartography shaped such important evidence, we find ourselves on the threshold of a similar call for the aesthetics of theatricality: scenography needs to become geographical in order for religious heritage to continue being studied and exit the mediocre level of thematic exorcism, interesting only to some cultural geographers. This mediocrity precludes a memorial reading, it only favors decorative spelling and oblivion.

The memorial reading of contemporary heritage needs to find strategies for institutional valuation. However, the official collective memory deepens privileged places for the fight against *collective forgetting*, naming museological equipment as the most appropriate locus for the general communication process of cultural heritage. Considering its limits and demonstrating how the experience of the Educational Museum of the Rural Federal University of Pernambuco shows another way, Ricardo Pacheco synthesizes a formula so that temples do not become *mere museums*.

[...] unfortunately museums are usually conceived of as locations for exhibitions and not for the production of knowledge by a community of researchers. These places end up being seen as locations for passive visits and not for interaction on the part of the public [...] The action of the historian in the field of heritage and in the space of the museum, therefore, is not limited to a theoretical and technically coherent discourse about the past. This version must also be articulated with the versions and demands with which the communities desire to legitimate their past, about the memory that they want for themselves (Pacheco 2010: 146).

In this case, simplified in museums means ignoring that phenomenologically the commitment to the past causes a double commitment to the future: *the future of the present*, an effective and contradictory executor of all the possibilities accrued to perpetrate life and existence; and prevent the majority from deciding on desistence

(collective extermination); and *the future of a future* that elects a spiritual dimension in the archetypal dreams of a collectivity. That is, re-connecting or reelecting, it is the future that shapes religion. It does so as it stages the spectacles of faith (the sacred-profane cult of Flagpoles of Patron Saints or through a devotional approach to the Virgin), fluidity and human mobility, on all geographical scales.

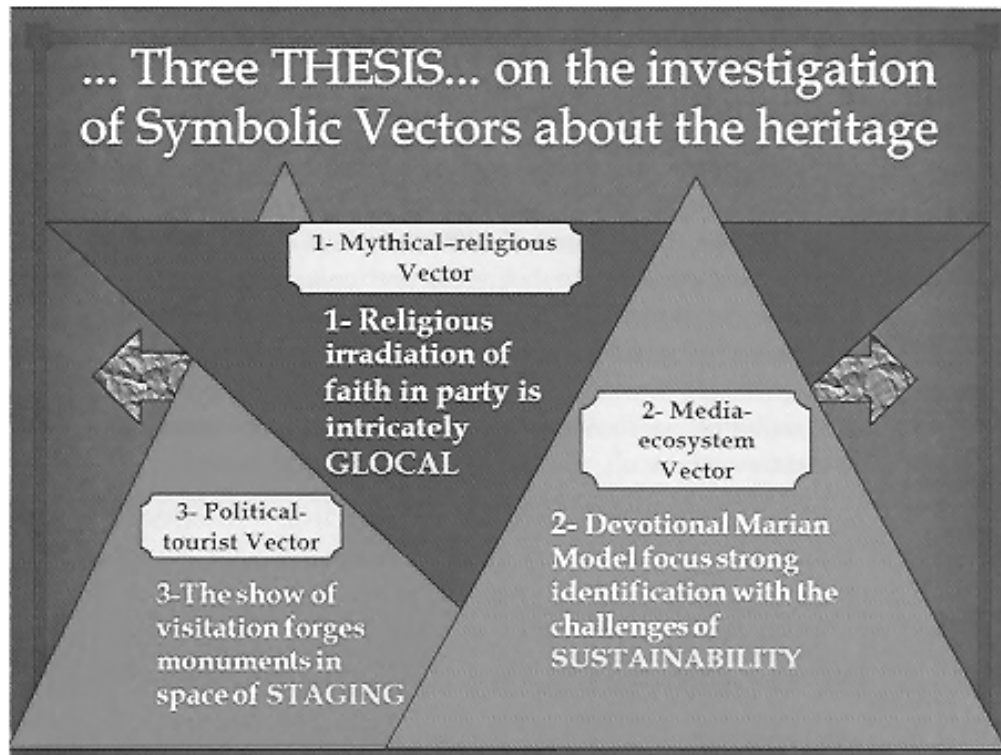
Some points for this staging of the future have become indispensable here; even if it is so we do not forget the monumental links of these Catholic manifestations. After all, for some traditionalists the historical and cultural improvement of the festivities suggests praise of the origins and the *childhood* of the rituals. This only rules out the possibility of inclusive and complex planning of policies that value religious heritage.

The staging of mobility—or movement for both these futures—demands ways of considering the vector actions:

- (a) In the mythical religious trajectory, every collectively absorbed ritual and custom should be considered in a game of dialogues with the religious or anti-religious imagery developed over the years. Father Correia in Barbalha used the *Pau da Bandeira* procession to make the Feast of St. Anthony a rite of purification of rural workers and a means of evangelizing them in the process;
- (b) In the media-ecosystemic trajectory, we remember that exceeding the limits of the cultural industry (radio, television, film and video) in the interactivity of such means by the vehicles of cyber culture is not restricted to secular reality. Inside the religious universe, almost everything currently operates and demands virtual co-participation. An attentive visit to the portals of the great Marian shrines or the religious congregations that promote them, allows us to understand how and why devotional practices cultivate a network of messages, rosaries, holy cards, and *network* promises. The actual celebration of mass rarely misses an opportunity to promote their virtual addresses as a basis for their economic or environmental sustainability;
- (c) Finally there are the fluid identities of simultaneous values in the secular-touristic trajectory. This requires a complex pragmatism at the moment of operationalizing ideal distinctions. In metaphorical practice, never has so much wheat behaved like chaff or demonstrated how inopportune simple fundamentalism is to distinguish between them. The secular vector, in demanding an unending touristic behavior—or permanent visitors before multiple realities—radicalizes the continuing need for negotiations because it trivializes the rotten notion that an ethical life is defined by principles. Life in the world is lived by coexistence, in the collective act, the aesthetic of sense.

The three symbolic vectors correlated with the religious heritage of Marian faith can be observed in the diagrammed configuration below. The diagram (Fig. 2.2) shows that while the downward verticality of the mythical vector projects glocal festivities, the power of the media vector reacts more frontally, favoring or confronting the sustainability of those events. Sometimes hidden, sometimes explicit,





**Fig. 2.2** Summary table to complete the theses. *Source* Developed by Author (2013)

the scenic forms of the feast days emerge as hosting the secular vector. The devotional feasts for Saints and Our Lady, triangulate the game of these spaces in a projection that only fits with tension and overlap.

Two stories illustrate the contrast the vectors face in the construction/reconstruction of festive, touristic, and media space. Both follow up a response or mitigation of an unstable period of democratic consolidation in the country: the collective protests called the *June Days*—two trajectories of the occupation of religious space made the news and were experienced socially through the mass perspective of the irradiation of faith.

In the everyday forgetfulness of harsh reality, an existential automatism makes us believe—even scientifically—that the references of religious practice only recall the past splendor of Christianity. But unlike this *obscuring clarity* the geographical expression of contemporary Catholicism holds scenographic events of all sizes, and allows us to consider this monumental exercise of permanent patrimonization. Therefore, when considering Fig. 2.3, which illustrates the close of this essay—the image as a scenic spectacle for religious ecstasy (Photo 01) and the image left due to bad weather and wasteful policies (Photo 02)—we recall the approach owed to the maturation of the theory of staging: the irradiation movement of religious heritage can simultaneously absorb the energy of contemporary symbolic vectors and overcome its obstacles with the sacrificial dimension of faith.

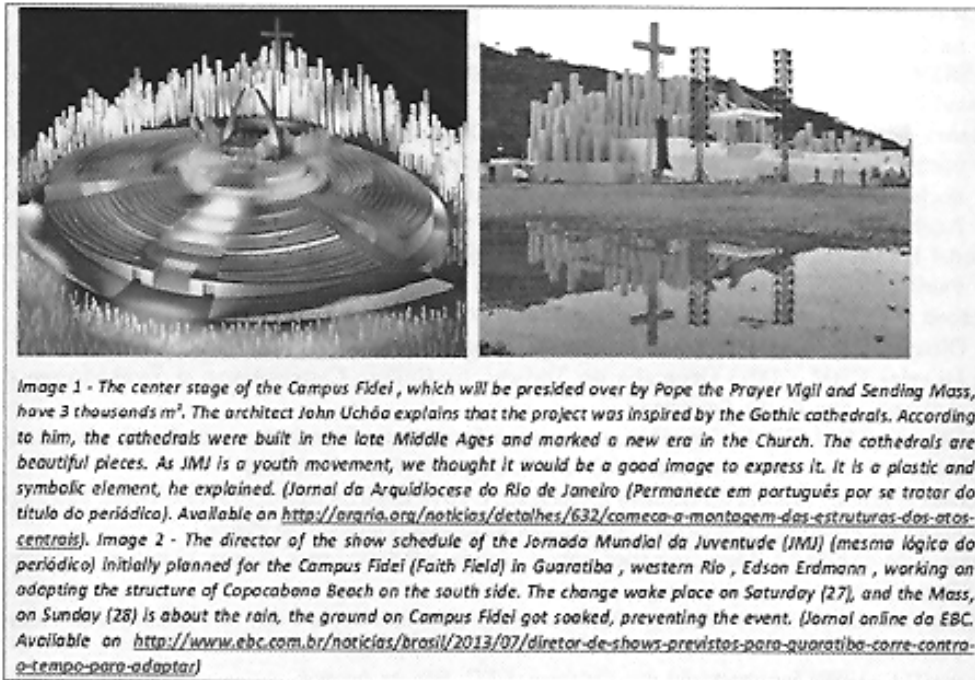


Fig. 2.3 Images of the *Campus Fidei* in Guaratiba - Rio de Janeiro. Source Author's adaptation (2013)

In face of the massive political and geographical upset caused by transferring the stage for the closing of World Youth Day, we ask: Is it still possible to deal with patrimonial memory without a global appeal to immateriality (read as spiritual) of the festive monuments? The result of this theatrical equation, suggested the game plan/praxis, Guaratiba in Copacabana has indicated that is not. But it is essential to address memory and heritage from unlikely but possible associations.

## References

- Alexandre JF, Souza OT, Bezerra SNRF (2013) Festa de Santo Antônio de Barbalha: patrimônio de fé, devoção e carnavalização. In: Soares IM, Silva IBM (Orgs.) Sentidos da Devoção. IPHAN-CE, Fortaleza
- Bachelard G (2004) A Formação do Espírito Científico. São Paulo, Contraponto
- Bachelard G (2008) Estudos. Contraponto, São Paulo
- Bello A (1998) Culturas e Religiões: Uma leitura fenomenológica. Edusc, Bauru
- Cabral CB (2011) Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial: convenção da UNESCO e seus contextos. Arte & Comunicação 98. Lisboa
- Cardozo AID, Silva JF (2013) Pau da Bandeira de Santo Antônio de Barbalha: A intervenção cultural na Natureza Mediada pela Fé. In: SOARES I, de M, Silva IBM Sentidos da Devoção: Festa e Carregamento em Barbalha. IPHAN-CE, Fortaleza
- CERIS (2002) Desafios do catolicismo na cidade. Pesquisa em r. metropolitanas brasileiras. Paulus, S Paulo

- CERIS-Centro de Estatísticas Religiosas e Investigações Sociais (2002) *Desafios do Catolicismo na Cidade: Pesquisa em regiões Metropolitanas Brasileiras*. Paulus, São Paulo
- CERIS-CRB-CNBB (2012) *Anuário Católico do Brasil—2012*. Promocat. São Paulo.
- Claval P (1999) *Geografia cultural*. Florianópolis, EDUSC
- Cuenca López JM (2002) *El patrimonio en la didáctica de las ciencias sociales: análisis de concepciones, dificultades y obstáculos para su integración en la enseñanza obligatoria*. Tesis doctoral. UHU. Disponível em <http://rabida.uhu.es/dspace/handle/10272/2648?show=full>. Acesso em 25 fev 2013
- Dardel E (2011) *O Homem e a Terra: Natureza da Realidade Geográfica*. Ed. Perspectiva, São Paulo
- Debord G (1997) *A sociedade do espetáculo*. Contraponto, São Paulo
- de Oliveira CDM (2004) *Turismo Religioso*. Aleph, São Paulo
- de Oliveira CDM (2007) *Geografia do Turismo na Cultura Carnavalesca: o Sambódromo do Anhembi*. São Paulo, Paulistana
- de Oliveira CDM (2012) *Caminhos da Festa ao Patrimônio Geoeducacional: Como educar sem encenar Geografia?* Editora da UFC, 2012. Disponível em, Fortaleza
- Durand G (2008) *Ciência do Homem e Tradição: o novo Espírito Antropológico*. Trion, São Paulo
- Filoramo G, Prandi C (1999) *As Ciências das Religiões*. Paulus, São Paulo
- Fontal OM (2003) *La Educación Patrimonial: Teoría y Práctica para el aula, el museo e Internet*. Trea, Gijón
- García Canclini N (2003) *Culturas Híbridas: Estratégias para entrar e sair da Modernidade*. Edusp, São Paulo
- Geertz CA (1989) *Interpretação das Culturas*. LTC, Rio de Janeiro
- Gil Filho SF (2008) *Sylvio Fausto. Espaço Sagrado, estudos em Geografia da Religião*. IBPEX, Curitiba
- Haesbaert R (2005) *Da Desterritorialização à Multiterritorialidade*. Anais do X Encontro de Geógrafos da América Latina. EGAL, São Paulo 2005: 1–19. Disponível em [http://www.planificacion.geoamerica.org/textos/haesbaert\\_multi.pdf](http://www.planificacion.geoamerica.org/textos/haesbaert_multi.pdf). Acessado 31 Mar 2012
- Hervieu-Léger D (2008) *O Peregrino e o Convertido: a religião em movimento*. Vozes, Petrópolis
- Horta M (1999) de Lourdes Parreira, et alli. *Guia Básico de Educação Patrimonial*. IPHAN/ Museu Imperial, Brasília
- Mafesoli M (2007) *O ritmo a vida: variações sobre o imaginário pós-moderno*. Record, Rio de Janeiro
- Marandola E, Holzer W, Oliveira L de (org) (2012) *Qual o Espaço do Lugar?* Ed. Perspectiva, São Paulo
- Martelli S (1995) *A Religião na Sociedade Pós-Moderna*. Paulinas, São Paulo
- Martins JCO (2013) *Festa de Santo Antônio de Barbalha-Ceará: sagrado e profano em circularidades de significados*. In: Soares IM, Silva IBM (Orgs.) *Sentidos da Devoção*. IPHAN – CE, Fortaleza
- Neumann EA (1999) *Grande Mãe*. Cultrix, São Paulo
- Pacheco R (2010) *Educação, memória e patrimônio: ações educativas em museu e o ensino de história*. *Revista Brasileira de História*. São Paulo 30(60): 143–154. Disponível em <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbh/v30n60/a08v3060.pdf>. Acesso em 31 de maio de 2013
- Pereira JCA (2013) *Linguagem do Corpo na Devoção Popular do Catolicismo*. In: REVER. *Revista de Estudos da Religião* N° 3 / 2003 / pp. 67-98. ISSN 1677-1222, Disponível em [http://www.pucsp.br/rever/rv3\\_2003/p\\_pereira.pdf](http://www.pucsp.br/rever/rv3_2003/p_pereira.pdf). Acesso em 07 de maio de 2013
- Poulot D (2009) *Uma história do patrimônio no Ocidente, séculos XVIII a XXI*. Estação Liberdade, São Paulo
- Rafestin C (1993) *Por uma Geografia do Poder*. São Paulo, Ática
- Ruiz (2003) *Castor Bartolomé. Os paradoxos do Imaginário*. Editora Unisinos. São Leopoldo-RS
- SÁ, Celso Pereira de (1996) *Núcleo Central das Representações Sociais*. Ed. Vozes, Petrópolis
- Santos, MGMP (2006) *Espiritualidade, Turismo e Território: Estudo Geográfico de Fátima*. Principia, Estoril
- Silva A, Galeno A (org) (2004) *Geografia: ciência do complexus*. Porto Alegre, Sulina

- Steil CA, Mariz CL, Reensink ML. (2003) *Maria entre os Vivos: Reflexões teóricas sobre as aparições marianas no Brasil*. Editora da UFRGS, Porto Alegre
- Trivinho E (2007) *A dromocracia cibercultural: Lógica da vida humana na civilização mediática avançada*. Paulus, São Paulo
- Vainfas R (2003) Santo Antônio na América Portuguesa: religiosidade e política. *REVISTA USP*, São Paulo 57: 28–37, março/maio 2003. Disponível em <http://www.usp.br/revistausp/57/02-ronaldo.pdf> Acesso em 15 de junho de 2013
- Wobeto A (1982) *Santuários: onde Deus se encontra com os homens*. Loyola, São Paulo

**SPRINGER BRIEFS IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES**  
*SERIES EDITORS:* JORGE RABASSA · EUSTOGIO WANDERLEY  
CORREIA DANTAS · ANDREW SLUYTER

Christian Dennys Monteiro de Oliveira

**Religious Tourism and Heritage in Brazil**

Geography

ISBN 978-3-319-40083-9



► [springer.com](http://springer.com)