



# Peace Journeys

A New Direction in Religious Tourism  
and Pilgrimage Research

Edited by Ian S. McIntosh, Nour Farra Haddad and Dane Munro



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Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



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This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-4151-7

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4151-1

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## CHAPTER 14

# A PAULINE PROGRESS: PROTESTANT POST-PILGRIMAGE REFLECTIONS

DANE MUNRO

### **Abstract**

Over the years, Protestant outlook on pilgrimage has changed dramatically from a total dissolution from the institution of Roman Catholic pilgrimage due to irreconcilable differences in the practice of religion and Biblical interpretation, to a careful understanding of certain aspects of faith-travel and finding common ground. Important differences will always remain between Roman-Catholicism and Protestantism, although the Maltese Islands have witnessed some remarkable encounters regarding the pilgrim's progress toward reconciliation. This chapter provides an account of convergence and divergence along the footsteps of St Paul, spanning 15 years of monitoring this change in attitude on the Maltese archipelago, a site of major Pauline interest. Malta, in view of its 8,200 years religious cultural heritage, may be called a sacred island, where the Mater Magna and the Classical Pantheon of old merge with St Paul, St John and the Holy Virgin. Although Martin Luther prohibited pilgrimage, the idea of pilgrimage lingered as the purpose of life—the journey to heaven equating to a pilgrimage. This is in sharp contrast with the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches that upheld a continuous tradition of pilgrimage. At present, Protestant Churches are rediscovering what has been lost. However, since it is a tradition not confirmed in the Scriptures, it is not easy for everyone to understand why pilgrimage tradition is now such a popular topic. In Malta and elsewhere, a Protestant reconciliation can be noticed with both pilgrimage and the word pilgrimage itself, without losing Protestant values. The point of departure in this chapter is Protestant faith-travel measured against post-pilgrimage values.

## Introduction

To understand the initial criticism, resentment and resistance towards pilgrimage as an act, and the word pilgrimage itself, in the Protestant world, it is useful to go back to the earliest travel motivation of Christians. Christians had, as an aspect of acculturation and pagan tradition, engaged in long-distance pilgrimage to experience Biblical sites in the Holy Land so as to re-live the empathetic aspect, a participative experience of the life and suffering of Christ. Then appeared a novel idea to preserve the memory of the martyrs, those who gave their lives for the sake of Christ and Christianity. This led to the practice of visiting cemeteries and the development of the concept of relic worship. Another motivation, extended from the past, was to travel to a place for healing and to seek what the future may bring or possibly discover hidden knowledge. Popular places were springs, wells, cemeteries or seasonal festivals at selected sites (Webb 2002).

The beginning of criticism towards pilgrimage may have begun when martyrs were transformed into popular dispensers of miracles, which caused an increase in pilgrimage, turning it into a mass event where its initial purity was lost. Some contemporary church authorities in early Christianity started to condemn pilgrimage. Bitton-Ashkelony (2005) reviews the attitude towards pilgrimage of St Gregory of Nyssa (c. 331-395) who, in his second letter (2.3, composed c. 380), writes that when the Lord called the chosen ones to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven [Matt. 25:34] he did not include the journey to Jerusalem among the good deeds. Rather, St Gregory of Nyssa emphasized that in the New Testament there is no mention of pilgrimage. He nearly condemns pilgrimage here and his opinion fueled the later disputes between the Reformation and Catholic theologians regarding the religious significance and usefulness of pilgrimage, notwithstanding that the Old Testament requires of the believers to appear to the Lord and to undertake a pilgrimage to the Temple (Exod. 23:17, 34:23; Deut. 16:16).

Gregory's position probably arose from personal experience, for around the year 380 many pilgrims to Jerusalem enjoyed on a large scale all the sins and vices the city had to offer. A contemporary, Gregory of Nazianzus, frequently had to remind his followers that drunkenness, gluttony, debauchery and dancing did not belong to the celebrations. Basil of Caesarea strongly criticized those who set up stall for selling souvenirs and had turned the site into a fair for business. Despite this criticism, Christian pilgrimage to the Holy land was in full swing in the fourth century (Webb 2002).



Sumption (2003) further quotes Jacques de Vitry (1180-1240) who remarks that: “light-minded and inquisitive persons go on pilgrimages, not out of devotion, but out of mere curiosity and love of novelty.” On the other hand, Karlsaune (2002) states that pilgrimage in the medieval ages was the only form of travel available for people in Europe’s feudal society, where mobility was restricted for most. As Ure (2006) describes it, pilgrimage was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. No small wonder then that persons, coming from a very restricted environment found themselves totally bewildered in big cosmopolitan places like Rome or Jerusalem. Although they initially left home as a pilgrim, they slowly turned into tourists, acquiring new experiences, insights and fulfilment. Inevitably, many of them succumbed to the worldly opportunities and temptations that tourism has to offer. It is not unimaginable that when Marten Luther arrived at Rome in 1511, having peregrinated from Wittenberg, he was equally in shock and awe. He soon judged this holy city as a den of sin. When Luther produced his Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, a sincere critique on the selling of indulgences, he was not intending to split the Church. However, Luther’s Reformation ended the way that the medieval Church went about some of its practices, including pilgrimage (Elton 1985).

The abovementioned St Gregory of Nyssa had a great influence on the Reformers who interpreted Gregory’s critique on pilgrimage as a condemnation of the practice (Karlsaune 2002). Later in the sixteenth century, the Reformers went much further than St Gregory of Nyssa. Critical writers such as Erasmus simply ridiculed pilgrimage, as one can read in the latter’s provocative dialogue *A Pilgrimage for Religion’s Sake* (1997 [1526]).

Briefly, the following issues, known as *Sola Scriptura*, caused protestation against the Roman Catholic church and led to the divide: the applicability and authority embedded in the Scriptures in view of unwritten Roman Catholic traditions, and a questioning of the role and authority of the papacy. The Protestant ruling principle was that Christians could only reach salvation when they are justified by grace through faith. Matters like good works and / or moral sincerity were no longer meeting the benchmark of salvation, since the philosophy was that faith was divine but good works, such as pilgrimages, were human.

Protestants had noted that pilgrimage and indulgences were among the worst abuses of the Catholic Church. In the work *The Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (Melancthon 1530), pilgrimage was ridiculed as one of the most stupid practices of the Catholic Church. How could one gain salvation by travelling either in armour or barefooted, the *Apology* asked. Accordingly, the writers of the *Apology* (article 22.13), regarded pilgrimages and rosaries as the most foolish observances, because they did

not contain the word of God. In the *Schmalkaldic Articles* of 1536 (The Lutheran Confessions), pilgrimages and the relics of saints were classified as the lies of “evil papists.” The third article held that remission of sins and the Grace of God were sought through pilgrimages, concluding that at the time of writing it had become certain that pilgrimages could be left out without danger or fear of committing sin. Why should people leave their home, parish, work, and family to go on a dangerous journey with uncertain result? This was now regarded as unnecessary. In the fifth part, relics are regarded as blatant falsehoods. In short, pilgrims, saints and relics were “without the word of God” and therefore useless. It is further remarked that for the Lutheran Protestants, the element of healing related to a pilgrimage appears to be outside their mental framework (Karlsaune 2002). Needless to say, Maraval (2002, 74) concludes that neither of the arguments of the early Church fathers such as St Jerome or St Gregory of Nyssa, nor those of the Protestant philosophers, have impeded the development of pilgrimage or, as a subsequent development, religious tourism.

### **Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage**

The spectacular development of religious tourism destinations over the past thirty years has allowed pilgrimages to regain the prominence they enjoyed in the past, making it possible for religious gatherings to attract hundreds of millions of persons and for pilgrimage routes and religious itineraries to once again play a role as links among peoples and nations. However, lifestyles have changed, and many modern pilgrimages are now motivated by secular (education and culture) and touristic purposes (UNWTO 2007). Pilgrimage is no longer regarded as belonging exclusively to the realm of religion and in clear contrast to the past, faith is no longer required of the pilgrim or the un-churched traveler (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 153). Modern “post-pilgrims” (Munro 2017) have rid themselves of their bad conscience when pilgrims did other things than what pilgrims were expected to do. Nonetheless, what St Jerome had regarded as despicable, pilgrims behaving like tourists, has today become the norm. In principle, a pilgrim has always been a tourist, as there was a consumer side to it. All pilgrims had to buy food, drink, transport, shelter and other amenities, or beg for it. Invariably, they bought a souvenir encompassing all their memories of that remarkable voyage, serving them for a lifetime after they returned home.

## Post-Pilgrimage

In this chapter, I am referring to the term post-pilgrimage as a key concept in the theory of pilgrimage from a Western Christian point of view. In a post-modern world in which post-tourism and post-secularism are well-known models in the theoretical field of tourism research, the idea of post-pilgrimage is overdue. Post-tourism relates to consumers who accept that tourism is an illusion carefully arranged by commercial interests (Smith, Macleod and Robertson 2010). Post-pilgrimage belongs to the era of individualism and experiential travel and, to a certain degree, of secularism, revealing a paradigm shift from travelling to seek God to travelling to seek one's self. Emphasis is placed on the reality of the illusion, *i.e.* the memory the experience leaves behind, carefully arranged by spiritual interests, but also acknowledging that commercial interests belong to pilgrimage as much as they do to any other kind of tourism. Post-pilgrimage may also be regarded as a self-healing tool, because only when the self is fixed, one may be able to discover the further fulfilment offered by pilgrimage (Munro 2017).

In post-pilgrimage, the situation is quite different from the medieval form of pilgrimage, which has strongly influenced Western normative thinking about pilgrimage, especially the idea of the “pure” pilgrim. Medieval Western-Christian pilgrims set out on their travels to pay their debt to God and the arrival would be the apex of the whole undertaking. At this site, they acquired their indulgences, having paid their debt to God, with or without the help of patron saints, both by arriving and by making a financial sacrifice. Released of their burden, they could return home and would often be celebrated for having survived the ordeal (Reader 2015; Sumption 2003; Ure 2006; Web 2002).

## Reconciliation

In some Protestant academic literature (Gaventa and Rigby 2002; Perry 2006), a trend is noticed of reconciliation with Roman Catholicism, which is no longer regarded as the theological enemy, although the vast majority of Protestants simply prefer the Christ-centered scriptural approach to religion. Within this debate, there are common grounds regarding, for instance, St Paul, as belief and continuation of the Apostle Paul as an exemplary figure in the Protestant world is undisputable. However, the Protestant world prefers to address the saint simply as Paul, stripping away the divine aspect and emphasizing his humanity. This trend is not something that has come from the top and disseminated quickly throughout Protestantism.

In the *Year of Luther* in 2017, many itineraries to places connected with Martin Luther were established. Further, judging by the large number of religious group travels to cultural heritage destinations worldwide and Protestant faith-tours arriving at Malta in the last few years, the resistance to *de facto* pilgrimage seems to have been reduced and the acknowledgement of spiritual benefits has increased. Nonetheless, there remain pockets of resistance against the Roman Catholic way of artistic exuberance *e.g.* the Baroque churches in Malta with their festive church decorations and their many statues. A German Evangelical visitor in 2005 said to me that, of all the churches she had seen in Malta, she loved the ones of Mosta (Neo-Classical) and Ta' Pinu (Neo-Romanesque), because they were simple and more appealing to her taste. "All that baroque is wasted on Evangelicals," she said. "I instead receive my fulfilment from reading the Bible and discussing with others about its meaning." Her artistic expression was mostly in singing and sacred music. She came to Malta for the Apostle Paul because he was important to her as a teacher. All the saints she regards as important, learning from them, but not in an intercessory manner. As an Evangelical, she did not need intermediaries between God and herself.

### Paul's Progress

St Paul's presence on Malta is one of the strongest selling points of Roman Catholic pilgrimages and Protestant faith-travel to Malta. Many people arrive in Malta booked on an "in the footsteps of St Paul" program. For both Roman Catholics and Protestants, St Paul is of great significance. Many Roman Catholics commented on how they experienced fulfilment by being and praying at the sites dedicated to St Paul and of having prayed through him to God on behalf of the souls of the deceased. Protestant motivations included following in the footsteps of Paul, learning from his adoration to God and, through the experience of being at Pauline sites, intensifying their understanding of the Scriptures. Reader (2015) warns that such "footstep trails" are not always historically grounded and that a certain element of interpretation is inevitable. However, this is one of the instances where reconciliation becomes possible, through different interpretations of the same sacred figure at the same sacred place. Since the exact places where St Paul sojourned in Malta are neither exactly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles 27 and 28, nor archaeologically proven, it is tradition that has provided the localization of the Pauline beliefs in Malta, turning the footsteps of St Paul into something acceptable for the Protestant progress along this path. Through this localization and interpretative exercise, the Maltese tradition has acted as its own authenticator of the Pauline event,

influencing the way visitors look at St Paul/Paul. Following the opinion of Badone (2004), through interpretation and enhancement according to local taste, the authenticity of the Apostle Paul is regarded not as an absolute value but as a situated ideal, which the visitors may or may not accept as an accurate, credible and authenticated interpretation of historical and cultural facts. This is also a great step towards reconciliation of the concept of tradition, since tradition, especially the Roman Catholic one, was taboo for Protestants for a very long time.

Not everyone is ready to embrace this mode of reconciliation or to accept that this local Maltese tradition is a valid and acceptable authenticator. The motivation to come to Malta for a German Lutheran woman in 2010 was the *Acts of the Apostles* where St Paul's shipwreck and stay on the island of Melite (Malta) is described. She found her visit to St Paul's Island (a small island enclosing St Paul's Bay) very touching and she enjoyed the landscape and the seascape. At the island, her group read the related passages from Acts. At St Paul's Grotto in Rabat (just outside the walls of the town of Mdina), she felt a deep continuance with people who had come before her and prayed there. What she did not like at the Grotto was that everywhere she saw images and statues of St Paul. She said that she could do without them, even if they were from Bernini. Just the space alone or the Grotto would have been enough for her to contemplate on St Paul's passages in the New Testament. She commented on the commoditized state of St Paul's Grotto and argued that 1,950 years ago it would have looked quite different. On the topic of armchair-pilgrimage, she commented:

You may think it strange, but I do not agree with Luther's idea that a pilgrimage could be made from an armchair. You need to be here to understand the intensity of the shipwreck. One cannot get close to Paul at St Paul's Island while sitting...at home and reading about it.

She had experienced great fulfilment while being on St Paul's island, in her mind reliving the shipwreck. Closer than that she could not get to the Scriptures, she quipped. It was a living scriptural experience, allowing her to feel really close to God, guided by Paul. However, her Lutheran group did not call this trip a pilgrimage. Rather, it was a journey of reflection because they did not actively seek salvation. They regard salvation to be in the hands of God alone.

A few years earlier, in 2008, an Austrian Evangelical group spoke about the difference of reading about the shipwreck in the Acts, and being at the actual site. Reading the Acts while actually standing on those shores of Malta, at sea level, in a storm, gave an unsurpassed fulfilment of a lived Biblical experience. Earlier that day, they had crossed a stretch of open sea

from one harbor to another in a relatively small boat (an open *luzzu*) when the wind picked up and they were tossed about on the open sea for ten minutes. It made a great Pauline impression on them!

A Dutch Protestant minister traveling with his wife and elderly congregation (22 people) to Malta, in 2017 had been meeting for two years to get this trip organized. The theme of their travel was The Last Chapter of Paul and the aim was to experience and re-live his final days. Before dinner, they habitually retreated to the hotel's meeting room for a sermon, prayer and song, finding strength in being together. As observed, their evening rituals and prayer times were very important for them, it gave them guidance, structure and fulfilment. The minister was well versed and well prepared. At St Paul's Grotto, the adherents read from the Acts of the Apostles 28: 7-1 and sang *Laudate omnes gentes*. Some prayed or tried meditating at the Grotto itself, not very easy in this small and often crowded space. Although Protestantism is not a denomination overtly fond of visual arts, they felt comfortable with the statue of Paul in the Grotto, appreciating it is from the school of Bernini. When they were informed that Roman Catholic pilgrims from *e.g.* Poland, stand in a circle and hold hands with the statue of St Paul, while they sing and pray, some giggled, some snorted in derision, but others understood. When they left the Grotto, some stayed behind to touch the statue. Afterwards, one of the women said that she had always been curious about the attraction of statues, but never had the time to think about it properly. Rather than downright rejecting sacred art, she now understood better the use of art in religion and also why their Protestant way of doing religion, the word of the Scriptures only, cuts them off from the senses and the experiential sensation. As one group member said:

The sensation of the sacredness of this place cannot be put in words. We are losing out by denying it. Being with statues can be sensiferous, as it transferred a sensation to my body and head. I felt a deep piety and connection to God and Paul while at the same time I got goose-pimples. Oh my Lord, I did not know this was possible and that I could allow myself to do this. I am so excited.

Later on, the same lady said that after she had calmed down, she started thinking about why Protestants do not want to encourage such emotions. The group is quite modern and at home they are proud of their female minister. In the past, they were inspired to remove the visual arts because of *Sola Scriptura*. It must have been a kneejerk reaction when separating from Catholicism, she thought. Religious art in Malta comes from an age when art was art, where skill and mastery of the art and materials were important,

and she had grown fond of the baroque with its human and sacred proportions. A member of the same group expressed it as follows:

I do not feel the need to become Catholic. I think we can work this out the modern Protestant way!

Their visit to St Paul's island provided them with a significant experience. It was a sunny, windswept day, with rather large waves crashing on the one side of St Paul's Island, and a near-calm St Paul's Bay on the other. They found themselves alone on this small island, and their feeling of being alone with God became near tangible. The spiritual exercise grew on them and they were clearly emotional. For many, this was the highlight of the whole holiday. Holiday? This was discussed with the minister and he said that in the past Protestants, in a hurry to be detached from Catholics, dismissed pilgrimage because it was linked to the scandalous trade in indulgencies. Further, it was not a scriptural obligation. The Dutch Protestant minister commented as follows:

But if I am honest, this trip has grown into a pilgrimage and many wonderful spiritual things have happened to us. So, yes, maybe we will go into history as the first Protestant pilgrimage!

This argument may have been true for the minister's congregation and home environment. However, in Lutheran Norway, St Olav's Way has been a Protestant pilgrimage route since the early 1990s, when volunteers started to signpost this walking trail. To date, about 1250 miles, from Oslo to Trondheim, are maintained as a pilgrimage route with basic accommodations. Most pilgrims on the St Olav's Way are Protestants, but also people of other denominations and religions embark on this spiritual journey. Each of them has their own motivation, be it for religious reasons, a personal challenge, for exercise, to be with like-minded souls or to commune with nature.

### **I am a Protestant so I Cannot be a Pilgrim, Can I?**

In order to fine-tune the category of the Protestant pilgrims within faith-based travel, the Protestant segment must be better understood. They generally have difficulty with the labels pilgrim or pilgrimage because they are associated with seeking salvation in the Roman Catholic way, while Protestants leave salvation in the hands of God. One is reminded of the voyage of the Protestant author Charles Dickens to Italy and his book *Pictures from Italy* in which he relates his experiences as a tourist in that Catholic land. As a convinced Protestant, and labelled as such, he could not

but feel discomfort, bafflement and indignation when visiting the churches and witnessing the ceremonials, yet he also betrayed an underlying ambivalence as he secretly felt a sense of attraction to the Catholic religion (Eslick 2012).

At present, self-definition or self-labelling, can be a useful instrument too for visitor differentiation. From a sample of fifteen Protestants from the Netherlands, Seventh Day Adventists, an idea can be formed about how they define themselves in comparison to Catholics, or when, like Dickens, they are Protestants in a Catholic territory. If Protestants come to Malta because of Paul, if they are not pilgrims, then what are they? Among the group of travellers in 2014 there was much doubt regarding how to describe themselves and how they would differ from normal tourists. They had been preparing for this journey from at least a year before, and they travelled regularly with the same group to biblical sites, although with alternating adherents. There was a lot of doubt about the label pilgrim among these travelers, as they never had thought deeply about it. As it appeared to them, pilgrimage carried the same taboo as the Virgin Mary. It was too close to Roman Catholicism for comfort (Gaventa and Rigby 2002; Karlsaune 2002; Perry 2006). The question of whether they were pilgrims or not was still worth debating. The group members noticeably had difficulty in following the official line of the prescribed religion *i.e.* no pilgrimage, but as Adventists they always say that they are on the road to the Heavenly Jerusalem. The goal of the journey to Malta was to visit the sites regarding Paul and the Shipwreck of which the Bible speaks, so that the Scriptures could be better understood and could speak more to the imagination.

A conversation with a tour leader of a Dutch religious and cultural travel company in July 2019 led me to understand that the meaning of the word pilgrimage actually excludes Protestants. It was one of the consequences of the Reformation. In their circle, they would prefer to use “themed travel” linked to the Bible, Paul, Luther etc. The concept of themed tours is of course very wide and covers many topics, such as archaeology, culture or history. Experience and meaning would cover more of the Protestant way, as opposed to the Roman Catholic way which is focused on worship and salvation. He added:

Travelling as a religious group, whether Protestant or ecumenical, is an important experience for many with a church background so that one can get a better understanding of what is written in the Bible (*e.g.* visiting the mountains near Jerusalem, mentioned in Psalm 125).



To say that people came closer to God as a result of their journey was doubted, although there will always be exceptions. He also leads trips to Israel and commented as follows:

Will one really come closer to God in the Crucifixion Church in Jerusalem or in the birth church in Bethlehem, with all those crowds of tourists? However, I do appreciate that people of the Greek Orthodox Church get into a certain emotional state when kissing icons. Maybe we, Dutchmen/Protestants, are too down to earth for that.

He added that the trips they organize for their own Protestant congregations are intended to strengthen the bond between them. As a regional congregation, they often only meet their brothers and sisters on Sundays. They get to know each other much better when spending a week or more abroad together:

In particular, often widows and widowers travel with us, because of the familiarity of the group from a spiritual point of view, you may call this longing for the *nest odour*.

The latter remark can be interpreted as a Protestant variation of Turner and Turner's (1978) *communitas*, and seemingly it is a very strong aspect and motivator of Protestant faith-travel, giving comfort to be in community with like-minded persons at places mentioned in the Scriptures. With regard to art, for example, he remarked as follows:

The dispute with the Roman Catholic Church about the worship of statues of saints led to the iconoclasm in the sixteenth century, as it was regarded as contrary to the Bible. The current situation has changed somewhat in the sense that, in my opinion, Protestants can enjoy paintings better in which parts of the Bible are depicted, seeing the past through the eye of an old master. At present, copies of old paintings are used as illustrations for sermons, unthinkable in the past. But it also must be understood that it is just for the purpose of illustrating a situation, but no more than that.

### **A Perspective on Protestant Faith-Travel as a Post-Pilgrimage Category**

Pilgrimage and religious tourism seemingly go back to the Paleolithic era (Timothy 2011; Turner & Turner 1978; Rossano 2010; Shackley 2001). The idea and yearning for pilgrimage over the millennia remain undiminished, even in the Protestant world where pilgrimage has been banished. Although

pilgrimage is not mentioned in the New Testament, it remains one of the oldest human traditions, customs and externalisations of religion.

Pilgrimage, together with other “objections,” did not fit the arguments of the sixteenth-century reformers who had banned pilgrimage because salvation could only be reached when justified by grace and through faith alone (Karlsaune 2002). However, none of the above arguments of the Protestant philosophers have stopped religious people going on pilgrimage, even if they call this faith-travel (Maraval 2002).

Protestants may have decided to reject Roman Catholic elements of Christianity, such as salvation, damnation or Catholicism itself, but historically these aspects do not truly define pilgrimage, since the Roman Catholic practice covers only approximately 1,600 years of many millennia of pilgrimage. In this respect it is just an additional element in the kaleidoscope of sacred journeys. *A priori*, it was assumed that Protestants do not go on pilgrimage. *A posteriori*, it can be concluded that Protestants do go on pilgrimage but call it something different or do not have a name for it at all. In the framework of post-pilgrimage, Protestant pilgrimage may claim its own domain, as disliking certain Roman Catholic aspects of pilgrimage cannot separate the Protestant version from the millennia old human tradition of travelling for religious purposes.

There are plenty of other historical arguments to conclude that Protestant faith-travel is equivalent to pilgrimage. First, it falls within the definition of Greek pilgrimage or *theōria* (Kowalzig 2005), namely the prototypical and archaic forms of seeing or viewing the gods. Going to St Paul’s Grotto to view, to sing, to pray and to contemplate is very much pilgrimage behavior which can be placed outside the salvation/damnation dichotomy. In addition, the *theōria* to cultural landmarks, to view a sanctuary or for cultural nostalgia applies, in this case, to St Paul’s Islands or the places significant for Martin Luther. Correspondingly applicable is the intellectual or philosophical *theōria*, a journey to sanctuaries and traditional religious centers for intellectual enlightenment. Regarding Paul, there are several arguments which support the idea that Protestant faith-travel is in fact a pilgrimage. Turner and Turner (1978), for example, mention the prototypical pilgrimage that connects the pilgrim to places linked to the founder, saint, martyr or evangelist. Similarly, Morinis (1992) speaks of a devotional pilgrimage to a place where God is adored, or a saint was present. Many Pauline sites in Malta belong to this category.

As part of this volume’s variety of peace-offerings, I argue that Protestant faith-travel can be regarded as a post-pilgrimage category and that it is entitled to its own place and purpose within the realm of sacred journeys. With the maturity of Protestantism, and with Roman Catholicism

ceasing to be the theological enemy, Protestant pilgrimage can now be fully accepted as a Christ-centered activity that can enhance the understanding of the Scriptures. Protestant post-pilgrimage offers various forms of reconciliation in itself, but perhaps none more so than with Roman Catholicism. As the past informs the present, Protestants have the luxury of picking and choosing those elements of pilgrimage's past that fit their own Protestant ways. By doing so, there will be disappointments too. For many pilgrims, travelling on foot is regarded as the "thing to do." Arriving at the final destination means, however, also being reduced, dramatically and anticlimactically, from a pilgrim to a tourist, *la fin du desir*. Until the next pilgrimage!

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