

8-2018

Thanatourism to Dark Tourism: The Transition of the Religious Sacred to Secular Sacred

Kelsey Reed

State University of New York College at Buffalo - Buffalo State College, reedk01@mail.buffalostate.edu

Advisor

Cynthia A. Conides, Ph.D

First Reader

Cynthia A. Conides, Ph.D

Second Reader

Noelle Wiedemer

Department Chair

Andrew D. Nicholls, Ph.D.

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Thanatourism to Dark Tourism:
The Transition of the Religious Sacred to Secular Sacred

An Abstract of a Thesis in
Museum Studies

by

Kelsey Reed

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of:

Master of Arts
August 2018

SUNY Buffalo State Department of History and Social Studies Education

Abstract

The study of tourism shows a trend in the growing popularity of visiting sites associated with death, called Dark Tourism. While the term Dark Tourism is a modern construct, the practice of visiting sites associated with death is not. At the same time these sites of Dark Tourism (like Auschwitz) hold a place of importance in modern culture to multiple groups, placing them on a level of sacredness. Dark Tourism comes from the practice of Thanatourism (Death Tourism) and transitioned over time to follow the guideline of Dark Tourism. The connection to the aspect of the sacred can also be seen in Thanatourism where the sacred was a religious sacred, connected to the pilgrimage locations throughout Europe. As cultures progressed the sacred shifted from a religious to secular as the practice of death tourism shifted from Thanatourism to Dark Tourism.

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Approved by:

Cynthia A. Conides, Ph.D.

Associate Professor History & Social Studies Education
Chairperson of the Committee/Thesis Advisor

Andrew Nicholls, Ph.D.

Chair and Professor of History & Social Studies Education

Kevin J. Miller, Ed.D.

Dean of the Graduate School

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The form of the tourist has taken many shapes over the centuries. Tourism is not a modern construct; people of all social classes have visited other cities, natural landmarks, or sacred sites for many centuries. Early tourists were identified as pilgrims since the earliest form of tourism had a religious connotation. Religious tourism itself stretches back to the early church, and in some cases earlier. The pilgrimages made by pilgrims, highly religious or not, to sacred sites or the sites of martyrs or saints; the sacred has spanned the centuries, drawing people to see churches, saints, and relics. In his book, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*, Chris Park identifies that, "Most religions designate certain places as sacred or holy, and this designation often encourages believers to visit those places in pilgrimage and puts responsibilities on religious authorities to protect them for the benefit of future generations."¹ These sacred places do not have to be religious or include the relics of saints. A community or culture can dictate a site to be sacred, main stream religion is not the sole definer in what is sacred and what is not. As stated by Jackson and Henrie in their article, *Perception of Sacred Space*, "Sacred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterizes it through his culture, experience, and goals."² A sacred location can take many forms: the site can be associated with a particular individual who holds importance; these sites can also be connections to earlier myths and legends within a country.³

In her book, *Managing Sacred Sites*, Myra Shackley tackles the complexity of secular sacred sites. While secular sacred sites are not religiously affiliated, they are held in a high state of importance for certain groups of people. However, these sites, both religious and secular, "share one unifying characteristic, namely that they are locations of outstanding significance to

¹ Chris C. Park, *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*. (London: Routledge, 1994), 245.

² R.H. Jackson and R. Henrie. Perception of Sacred Space, *Journal of Cultural Geography* 3. 1983, 94.

³ Park, 252.

particular ethnic, racial, or social groups.”⁴ Secular sites show a shift towards a new form of sacred. These secular sites may not be religiously affiliated but there is still an understanding that the location is of high importance to the culture or historical era it belongs too.⁵ There is a range of types of secular sites that includes memorials, war memorials, battlefields, and graveyards. These sites are prevalent in Europe do to World War I and World War II. Also, in Europe are secular sites and museums relating to heinous events in world history, such as the Holocaust.⁶ The secular sites within Europe have become major tourist destinations and in some cases the activity has turned the secular site into a pilgrimage location. There are many tours of the famous European cemeteries and battlefields; and people from all over the world of various backgrounds travel to the concentration camps of Germany and Poland to pay respects and take in the space where millions of people were tortured and murdered.

This thesis argues that these secular sacred sites have become a focal point of Dark Tourism (or Thanatourism) as a means for the various cultures in Europe to encounter and come to terms with their dark past, be it through cemeteries, prisons, or battlefields and especially through the numerous museums and memorials dedicated to the lives lost in the Holocaust. These secular sites in Europe stem from a history of religious sites and pilgrimages. I will show a transition from pilgrimage to religious sacred sites, to those pilgrimages of secular sites that relate to historical figures, battles, cemeteries, and sites of genocide. These religious and secular sites fall under the terms of Thanatourism and the more modern term Dark Tourism. As defined by A.V. Seaton, “Thanatourism is travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the

⁴ Myra Shackley, *Managing sacred sites: service provision and visitor experience*. (London: Continuum, 2001), 155.

⁵ Shackley, 155

⁶ Shackley, 156

desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death.”⁷ Thanatourism covers a wide range of tourist activity relating to death; from cemeteries, to prisons, to viewing beheadings, as well as battlefields. These actions stem from an interest in viewing or encountering death in spaces determined to hold sacred significance to the country in question. Some Thanatourism sites have mellowed over the years, prisons have become inactive and beheadings have stopped. Others, like battlefields and castles remain highly active. In the modern era, Europe specifically Eastern Europe has become a mass graveyard; the aftermath of the Holocaust still reverberates and to comprehend the destruction, various countries have created many museums and memorials. Concentration Camps have become sacred sites for pilgrims or tourists to come to in order to remember, honor, and contemplate the death of millions. This is the darkest form of tourism, referred to by scholars as Dark Tourism. As identified by Philip Stone, “Dark tourism is a (new) mediating institution within secularized death sequestered societies, which not only provides a physical place to link the living with the dead, but also allows the Self to construct contemporary meanings of morality, and to reflect and contemplate both life and death through consuming the Significant Other Dead.”⁸ The sacred sites of the mass murder of 11 million men, women, and children are represented by various methods. Concentration camps have been made into museums, some into memorials. In some cases, entire memorials have been constructed where there once was a killing center or at the location of a mass grave in the woods. Each country seeks to remember and honor those lost differently, but they also seek to educate and further the hope that this will not happen again.

⁷ A.V. Seaton, "Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, no. 4 (April 18, 2007): 234-44. Accessed December 6, 2016. doi:10.1080/13527259608722178. 240.

⁸ Philip R. Stone, "Death, dying and dark tourism in contemporary society: a theoretical and empirical analysis." PhD diss., 2010.

European Pilgrimage Locations

The religious sacred sites within Europe can be organized into three distinct types of pilgrimage locations: “pilgrimage shrines (places that serve as goals of religiously-motivated journeys from beyond the immediate locality), religious tourist attractions in the form of structures or sites of religious significance with historic and/or artistic importance, and festivals with religious associations.”⁹ Pilgrimages/tourism to sacred sites in Europe has change over the years; this is primarily seen at cathedrals where they are now more frequented by tourists interested in the history or architecture rather than the religious significance. These three types of religious pilgrimage sites can be found in many countries, the most notable being Britain. In his book, *The Pilgrim’s Way: Shrines and Saints in Britain and Ireland*, John Adair identifies sites throughout the two countries that were major pilgrimage sites in the Middle Ages. These various sites drew pilgrims from around Britain and Ireland as well as from mainland Europe. Three of the sites in Britain that fit the distinct types of sacred sites are Glastonbury, Walsingham, and Canterbury.

In the town of Glastonbury there is an annual Anglican Christian pilgrimage festival which is held at the Glastonbury Abbey. This festival connects the Abbey’s rich history as the location of the first Christian Church in England and its connection to the legend of Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur.¹⁰ With a strong religious foothold, the abbey was founded by St. Joseph of Arimathea (in the 12th century) who was said to have brought with him to England the Holy Grail; the Abbey has continued to bring pilgrims to the area ever since. Although the

⁹ Sherkley, 120

¹⁰ Nigel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne. "Exploring Visitor Experiences, Activities and Benefits at Three Religious Tourism Sites." *International Journal of Tourism Research* 17, no. 5 (July 30, 2014): 471-81. Accessed December 2, 2017. doi:10.1002/jtr.2014. 473.

original Abbey burned down in 1184, a new Abbey was constructed within two years, showing the importance of this sacred site.¹¹ The sacredness of Glastonbury Abbey does not end with the canonization of St. Joseph of Arimathea. The Abbey is also connected to the Legend of King Arthur. It is said that monks have had visions of King Arthur and that he is buried within the property of the Abbey.¹² There are also many relics within the Abbey from various saints who have gone on pilgrimage to the Abbey over the years.¹³ The religious sacredness of Glastonbury continues to this day through the pilgrimage festival. There continues to be religious pilgrims who come to the ruins of the Abbey and the Chapel. Research done by Niegel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne show that modern pilgrims to the festival come to have a religious experience over a historical experience.¹⁴ Bond, Packer, and Ballantyne's research also accounts for the other two sites: Walsingham and Canterbury.

The second type of sacred site mentioned by Bond, Packer, and Ballantyne in their study is based on the Pilgrimage Shrine type discussed by Nolan and Nolan located at the Our Lady of Walsingham shrine in Norfolk, England. The shrine at Our Lady of Walsingham is dedicated to the Virgin Mary who came in a vision to a widow, Richelde de Faverches, and showed her the house in Nazareth that the Archangel came to and give her the news of Jesus.¹⁵ From there, a complete replica of the house in Nazareth was made in Norfolk along with the shrine to Mary. The shrine expanded over the years to include relics of Mary, such as some of her breastmilk from a church in the Holy Land and a piece of the true cross; as a result, this sacred site remains

¹¹John Eric Adair. *The Pilgrims Way: Shrines and Saints in Britain and Ireland*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 85.

¹² Adair, 85

¹³ Adair, 86-87

¹⁴ Bond, 477

¹⁵ Adair, 114

a religious pilgrimage destination today.¹⁶ Many of the 300,000 visitors who come to Walsingham are pilgrims who are seeking a religious experience; demonstrating the continued use of this religious sacred site to show off the resilience of the pilgrims.¹⁷ In the 16th Century, the shrine was destroyed as a result of the religious turmoil in England. However, the shrine was reconstructed in the 1930s where it once again became a place of pilgrimage.¹⁸

The town of Canterbury is well known for its pilgrimages and cathedral; as well as presenting a shift in the sacred from religious to secular. The town has been a pilgrimage staple in the Anglican Church since the 12th century but over time there has been a shift from pilgrims to tourists, wanting to experience an historical site without a religious experience. Canterbury fits the model of a religious tourist attraction that has both religious and historic importance; the town of Canterbury is widely recognized as an important town both in the history of England and in religious history. Located in South-East England, the town itself has existed since pre-Roman times because of its location at the mouth of the River Stour.¹⁹ After the Roman occupation of Britain the town expanded, walls were erected around the town and roads were made connecting it to London and Dover. It was in the late 6th century that the iconic Canterbury Cathedral was constructed, following the founding of the Abbeys of Peter and Paul by Saint Augustine of Canterbury; making Canterbury the primatial see of England.²⁰ Following the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in 1170, Becket's shrine became a pilgrimage site for thousands of

¹⁶ Adair, 116

¹⁷ Bond, 475-477

¹⁸ Adair, 120

¹⁹ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Canterbury." Encyclopædia Britannica. January 12, 2017. Accessed December 9, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Canterbury-England>.

²⁰ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Saint Augustine of Canterbury." Encyclopædia Britannica. December 16, 2016. Accessed December 9, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Augustine-of-Canterbury>.

pilgrims.²¹ As discussed in Charles Freeman’s book, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*, the canonization of Archbishop Thomas Becket and the resulting pilgrimage and relics made Canterbury a major Medieval pilgrimage site.²² As the dynamics between the Catholic Church and England changed so too did the type of visitors to Canterbury; the number of religious pilgrims decreased and more tourists came to see the cathedral as the historical site that it is.²³

The transitional Thanatourism locations such as cemeteries and battlefields occur in many European countries. Every country within Europe honors their dead in different fashions within cemeteries. Some use traditional mausoleums while other cemeteries have brightly covered wood carvings depicting the person’s life. Regarding cemetery tourism, A.V. Seaton states, “Funerary sites have a tourism role as mass tourism sites as well as a more overly cultural destination.” The Cemetery Club in England reflects the cemetery as a cultural destination. The Cemetery Club is a real club where the members go out into different cemeteries to see what famous people they can find as well as leading tours through certain cemeteries. Since cemeteries are not as dark as Holocaust sites, this form of tourism falls under Thanatourism: “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death.” The members of the Cemetery Club have a curiosity for the people buried there; as a result, they want to seek these individuals out and learn more about them. They are not practicing anything dark, the members simply have a desire to have an encounter with deceased individuals, learn their stories, and see their grave markers.

²¹ “Canterbury”

²² Charles. Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). 7-8

²³ Bond, 472-473

Thanatourism to Dark Tourism

Battlefield tourism holds a transformative place in the shift from Thanatourism to Dark Tourism and the sacred. In his extensive work on Thanatourism, Seaton explores the impact of the Battle of Waterloo on Thanatourism in his paper, *War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914*. The Battle of Waterloo was fought between an allied army of soldiers from six different nationalities -- British, Belgians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Dutch, and Prussians -- against Napoleon Bonaparte and the French army. This battle occurred on June 18, 1815, lasted eight hours, and resulted in the complete overthrow of the French army. With the battle located only nine miles from the city of Brussels, it attracted a multitude of tourists for various reasons. These tourists came before, during, and almost immediately after the battle had ended; some waiting in Brussels and others right near the battlefield.

In his paper, Seaton explores the sacralization of Waterloo. Seaton states that, “the sacralization of Waterloo began from virtually the day after the battle and the ways in which it evolved, and is still evolving, provide a paradigmatic case.” This is in response to Dean MacCannell’s work in *The Tourist* where he shares insight into the tourism at Waterloo; “the potency of an object offered to the tourist gaze depends upon a sequential ‘marking’ process...in a way which results in its ‘sight sacralization’ as a quasi-holy object in the eyes of the pilgrim-tourist.” The importance of Waterloo was the consequential aspect that resulted in the sacralization, relics, and other tourists’ outcomes. Prior to the Battle of Waterloo, the area was just another dot on a map. However, after the battle it was renowned as the location of the fall of Napoleon which continued to bring tourists after the first groups in the hours, days, and weeks after the battle ended. Seaton analyzes the depth of this sacralization; looking at the naming, framing and evaluations, enshrinement, mechanical reproductions, social reproductions, and

social circumstances and sight sacralization. Overall, in identifying the Battle of Waterloo and the sequential tourism of the site marks its place in Thanatourism and as an early secular sacred site within Europe.

The shift from religious sacred to secular sacred takes many forms. The lighter shades of the Dark Tourism practices fall under these transitional locations; the cemeteries and battlefields, while sites of genocide are under the darkest side of Dark Tourism. Following World War II, the creation of new secular sacred sites occurred at a rapid pace; within two years of the end of the war, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum opened its doors. The construction of this museum was overseen by the Soviets (who liberated the camp) and their influence could be seen within the early exhibits and the design of the museum.²⁴ The museum owns the property of Auschwitz I (location of the Nazi offices and the modern museum) as well as Auschwitz II (location of the prisoner barracks, crematoriums, and gas chambers); Auschwitz III has its own memorial but is separately owned. It was not until the 1960s that the Communist Polish Government opened the International Memorial at Auschwitz II to memorialize those who died in Auschwitz. The timing of the memorial's creation bares an interesting connection as this was the time that Adolf Eichmann was arrested by the Israeli Mossad and stood trial in Israel; bringing to light the various groups who were persecuted during the Holocaust (specifically the Jews). As people were made aware of the death of millions of individuals they require a place to remember and honor those lost; such as a memorial. It is these Holocaust memorials, and in some cases museums, that have become the new sacred in the European dialogue.

As Poland opened back up to Western Europe in the 1990s more tourists came to the country and the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum could be found on lists of nearby tourist

²⁴ Kelsey Reed. "Auschwitz: Museum and Memorial." MST 601, December 2015. 19-20

attractions located in hotels and travel agencies.²⁵ The attraction of going to Auschwitz makes it both a secular sacred site as well as a Dark Tourist site. This fascination with encountering death is seen throughout time and is more prevalent in Europe because of the Holocaust. The first use of the term Dark Tourism was with John Lennon and Malcom Foley, whose thesis on Dark Tourism is; “that global communication technologies are inherent in both the events which are associated with a dark tourism product and are present in the representation of the events for visitors at the site itself.”²⁶ For Lennon and Foley Dark Tourism represents an attempt by the modern world to understand its past and confront what has occurred. This is especially important at Auschwitz since the post-war history was also shaded by the Communist Government to make the camp and memorial a place only for the Polish martyrs, not including the thousands of Jews, Roma, and others who were killed here.²⁷

The sacredness of Holocaust sites can be seen in more locations than Auschwitz. The memorial in Belzec, Poland is a unique Holocaust memorial. Belzec was the site of a Nazi Death Camp where 500,000 Jews were killed in 1942.²⁸ There were no crematoriums at Belzec. The Jews were gassed in the gas chambers and then buried in mass graves from March to December of 1942. In a decision to hide the evidence of what occurred, all the buildings were dismantled, and the pits uncovered, the bodies burned and crushed, then the whole area was covered in grass and soil.²⁹ Unlike Auschwitz, the location of the Belzec Camp was not immediately made into a secular sacred location. Because of the Communist influence in the post-war Poland

²⁵ Stone, 336

²⁶ John J. Lennon, and Malcolm Foley. *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster*. (London: Continuum, 2010). 16.

²⁷ Lennon, 50

²⁸ Barbara Buntman, "Tourism and Tragedy: The Memorial at Belzec, Poland." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, no. 5 (2008): 422-48. Accessed January 17, 2017. doi:10.1080/13527250802284867.422-423

²⁹ Buntman, 427

Government there was a large amount of suppression and falsification of history; this mixed with continued anti-Semitism left no consideration for a memorial to the Jewish victims. Belzec was entirely Jewish victims.³⁰ It was not until the 1990s that an official memorial to the Jewish victims at Belzec was created. This sacred space is both a memorial as well as a grave site as the pits the bodies were put in are encompassed in the property of the memorial. Careful work was put into not disturbing the locations of the remains in the building of the memorial. Barbara Buntman explores the iconography of the Belzec memorial with its parallels to the experience of the victims. This memorial is also a Dark Tourist secular sacred location. Visitors to the memorial follow the path the victims did, walking down towards the memorial walls as one would have walked into a gas chamber.³¹ The Belzec memorial is a powerful experience and is a very prominent secular sacred Holocaust site. However, in order to understand the connotations of religious sacred versus secular sacred it is first necessary to understand Thanatourism and Dark Tourism.

Chapter 2:Literature Review: Dark Tourism/Thanatourism and the Sacred

Memory

³⁰ Buntman, 428

³¹ Buntman, 431

The concept of memory cannot be avoided in the study and analysis of history; for Historians the primary aspect of memory that is studied and observed is collective memory, also referred to by some as social memory. As identified by Historian John Tosh, “Social memory or collective memory, refers to the stories and assumptions about the past that illustrate – or account for – key features of the society we know today.”³² Collective memory has been designed to reinforce cultural identity or to work as agency in the current time. A contemporary of Tosh, Allan Megill, defines collective memory as; “what arises when a number of people experience the same set of historical events.”³³ For Megill this does not mean that the memory exists supra-individually; but “in the sense that each person has, within his or her own mind and within her own reports, an image, or gestalt, of an experience that other people also underwent.”³⁴ As a result, Megill brings to question what the historian attitude toward historical memory should be and how to use historical memory. This clashes with Tosh’s heavy focus on collective memory since Tosh’s definition of collective memory is not like Megill’s. Tosh would view Megill’s definition of collective memory to be more in line with his definition of historical awareness; “regarded as a universal psychological attribute, arising from the fact that we are, all of us, in a sense historians.”³⁵ Historical memory or Historical awareness are not conducive to collective memory because how the past is known and how it is applied to the present are opened to various approaches.

The struggle of collective memory and historical memory is an aspect of the writings and research of the Holocaust. At the time of a shift of methodology in the 1960s, there began a new

³² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, (Pearson Education Limited, 2010). 303

³³Allan Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice*, (The University of Chicago Press, 2007). Pg 28

³⁴ Megill, 29

³⁵ Tosh, 1

methodology for interviewing and gathering first hand evidence as Holocaust survivors began coming forward and wanting their story to be known in the wake of the Eichman trial.³⁶ This method is known today as oral history. Oral history provided the historian with firsthand accounts to events, bringing the event to life; as well as providing evidence as to how the past continues to evolve in the minds of those who have lived it.³⁷ It is shocking that oral history as a historical method was not identified sooner as oral history is the oldest way to pass down stories of the past. While some historians are skeptical of oral history, oral history still stands as the place where written history came from years ago.³⁸ In its connection to Holocaust history, oral history provided a means for the survivors to tell their story and be heard. Many survivors were silenced after the war as people wanted to move on with their lives and not comprehend everything Hitler had done. With the publicity of the Eichman trails, many survivors felt that they too had a voice and began to tell their story to anyone who would listen.

The mixture of memory and Holocaust history creates a need for strong recollection. When survivors came forward to talk, historians saw a need to quickly gather this testimony before the memories became too vague or the survivors all passed away.³⁹ While a mass amount of survivor and witness testimony was collected in the 1970s, enough time had passed that the concern arose about the accuracy of the survivors' testimony. For Megill, the mass collecting of Holocaust testimony that occurred reflects a sacred mindset. As stated by Megil, "The sacredness of what is being recounted justifies the massive number of testimonies that have been collected."⁴⁰ Sacredness through testimony is another component of memory. Holocaust

³⁶ Tosh, 313

³⁷ Tosh, 313-314

³⁸ Tosh, 314-315

³⁹ Megill, 19

⁴⁰ Megill, 20

testimony becomes sacred when it is understood that the collective memory may not be completely accurate, but the story of the survivors needs to be collected and remembered.

Within history there is the need for more than just memory to understand the past. Relics also play an integral piece. As stated by David Lowenthal, “relics trigger recollection, which history affirms and extends backward in time. History in isolation is barren and lifeless; relics mean only what history and memory convey.”⁴¹ For Lowenthal relics are more than items connected to religious groups. They are artifacts from the past which hold an important connection to that point in history; making relics both secular and religious.⁴² The connection between relics, memory, and history plays an important part in the tourism to dark heritage sites; i.e. Holocaust sites. As addressed by Britt Baille, Afroditi Chatzoglou, and Shadia Taha in *Packaging the Past*; “the connection between collective memories and objects has been institutionalized and exploited in the form of trade souvenirs, and through the manufactured heritage sites.”⁴³ The concern with memory and dark tourist sites is an aspect of the concern of the rewriting of history, to “market” a heritage site to a broad audience that memory can be taken and altered. Baillie explores this using Auschwitz where the Soviet government controlled the memory of the site when the museum was created which caused the memory of the Soviets involvement in World War II to be valorized to paint them in a better light.⁴⁴ The commodification of Auschwitz inserts a line between the past and present where tourists can see the past but are emotionally controlled through various reconstructions designed to get an emotional response.⁴⁵ These problems with relics, memory, and history in dark heritage sites

⁴¹ *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal, Cambridge University Press. 1985. pg 249.

⁴² Lowenthal, 247

⁴³ Britt Baille, Afroditi Chatzoglou, and Shadia Taha (2010) *Packaging the Past*, Heritage Management, 3:1, 51-71. Pg. 57

⁴⁴ Baille, 60

⁴⁵ Baillie, 60 and 64

requires one to be concisely aware of the history of the location when visiting. Memory can easily be controlled but relics and history must reflect the truth while taking into consideration someone's memory of the event.

A Brief History of Early Pilgrimage

The practice of the religious pilgrimage has existed prior to the formation of the Catholic Church and the Papacy. While the Christian practice of the pilgrimage is said to have begun with Constantine the Great's mother Helena, the roots for the practice stretch back to Greco-Roman Polytheism traditions. In fact, pilgrimages have been recorded in the Middle East long before the Greeks and Romans. In Sumer there are records of royals traveling to sacred locations and in the Hittite Empire members of the royal family would travel from sacred site to sacred site.⁴⁶ In Hellenistic Greece, pilgrimage took many different forms. From festivals, to individual travel, to healing, as well as battlefields; the list for this type of early pilgrimage covers many types.⁴⁷ The most popular and well known of the Greek pilgrimages was those to the Oracle at Delphi. A pilgrimage to the oracle (Delphi or other) was considered an individual pilgrimage; the person would have been sent by their city-state to seek the advice of the oracle by bringing items to the priestesses for the ritual.⁴⁸

The Roman Empire had their own forms of pilgrimage before the Christian conversion. Like the Hittite Emperors, the Roman Emperors would have their own pilgrimage to either to a mountain or a certain sanctuary site. There were intellectual pilgrimages where the pilgrims would go to traditional religious centers to find enlightenment, as well as cultural nostalgia and

⁴⁶ *Pilgrimage in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing Gods*, edited by Jas Elsner and Ian Rutherford. Oxford University Press, 2005. Pg 10

⁴⁷ Elsner, 13-22

⁴⁸ Elsner, 14-15

ethnic pilgrimages.⁴⁹ As the centuries progressed, there was a major turning point in Roman pilgrimage. Upon the conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity the entire Roman Empire went through a transition from polytheism to monotheism. With the blending of Christian traditions and the Roman polytheism traditions and the creation of a Christian Roman Empire, Constantine's mother Helena left on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. At the time pilgrimages were not as popular as they had once been, so it is not widely known what caused her to go on this pilgrimage. However, some historians like Paul Stephenson, look to Eusebius who wrote that "Helena had travelled 'to complete in prayers her thank-offerings to her son, so great an emperor.'"⁵⁰ While the exact reason for Helena's travels to the Holy Land maybe contested, the outcome in pilgrimage and sacred sites is large and definitive.

Explored by Simon Coleman and John Elsner in *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*, is the outcomes of Helena's pilgrimage and its impact on the Christian pilgrimage. As stated by Coleman, "...Helena's trip was to have fundamental consequences for the history of Holy Land pilgrimage. For she would not only find the site and very remains of the True Cross but would order the building of a series of great imperial basilicas in Jerusalem and Bethlehem."⁵¹ During her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326AD, Helena went to the tomb of Jesus and the surrounding areas. It was during this trip that the legends of the True Cross begin, saying that Helena found the site of the crucifixion as well as the pieces of the cross that held Jesus. Helena is also attributed to the founding of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the tomb of Christ is located. This Church has become a major pilgrimage location for all sects of Christianity as well as a religious tourist location for those of other faiths.

⁴⁹ Elsner, 25-27

⁵⁰ *Constantine: Roman Emperor, Christian Victor*, Paul Stephenson, The Overlook Press: New York, 2009. Pg 252

⁵¹ *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*, Simon Coleman and John Elsner, Harvard University Press, 1995. Pg 79

The year before Helena had begun her journey, Constantine had completed the first of two gatherings of the Council of Nicaea. In 325AD Constantine gathered the first Council of Nicaea, an Ecumenical Council of the whole Church.⁵² As the persecuted sect of Christianity transitioned to be the Empire's main religion, the concept of the pilgrimage was folded into Christian practices. However, this did not mean that every Christian leader following the Council of Nicaea was pleased with the outcome of the incorporation of the pilgrimage. In the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa wrote about an attack on the practice of pilgrimages, "when the Lord invites the blest to their inheritance in the kingdom of Heaven, He does not include a pilgrimage to Jerusalem amongst their good deeds."⁵³ Gregory's argument stems from the belief that what matters religiously is not the place but the spiritual insight of the individual which can occur within one's heart and mind, not recurring travel. Other early Bishops show agreement with Gregory, including St. Augustine who believed that God is everywhere and not contained to a single place.⁵⁴

While the early Church had numerous voices speaking against pilgrimages this did not stop the practice of going on a pilgrimage. Although many Bishops pushed towards finding God anywhere you are in practice, many people still sought to witness the wonders of God. As noted by Bishop Eusebius, "a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that had once been the scene" causes the strong desire people still held to pilgrimage to churches, shrines, and other holy sites.⁵⁵ This process was encouraged by Constantine, who not only sent his mother to the Holy Land, but also oversaw the building of various basilicas at important religious sites; the

⁵² Coleman, 80

⁵³ Coleman, 80

⁵⁴ Coleman, 81

⁵⁵ Coleman, 82

Holy Sepulcher, the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, and Mamre.⁵⁶ While pilgrimages remained a contested practice between Bishops of the early Church, the practice of the religious pilgrimage to the Holy Land and other sites remained a peaceful practice. However, with the invasion of the Holy Land by the Arab Empire in 700s the Church began to take a stance on pilgrimage. The Church view on pilgrimage was one of convenience. The Church wanted the Holy Land back under Christian hands and out of the Muslim control of the Arab Empire. As a result, Pope Urban II began to preach of a holy war against Islam where the symbol of the peaceful pilgrimage was taken and morphed into a crusade.⁵⁷ The Crusades were a series of battles in the Holy Land occurring under various Popes lasting from 1099-1219, during which control of the Holy Land shifted back and forth until the Arab Empire secured its control.

With the loss of pilgrimage access to the Holy Land, Christian pilgrims turned elsewhere to the other Churches and Shrines in Europe.⁵⁸ This began the blossoming of pilgrimage to and within Rome, as the seat of both religious and political power. Rome holds the tombs of St. Peter, St Paul, and the fragments of the True Cross brought back by Helena. Besides these major pilgrimage sites, Rome is also the location of numerous martyrs' tombs and various ancient ruins.⁵⁹ From Rome, pilgrimage sites spread throughout Europe located at places of religious importance or miracles. The Church saw how pilgrimages could be used to affirm one's faith and these acts of pilgrimage were rewarded by the Church through a system of indulgences.⁶⁰ This system reinforced the importance of the Church and the concept of pilgrimage as a transaction.⁶¹ While the Catholic Church continued to encourage pilgrimages, the various sects of Christianity

⁵⁶ Coleman, 82

⁵⁷ Coleman, 96

⁵⁸ Coleman, 104

⁵⁹ Coleman, 104

⁶⁰ Coleman, 109

⁶¹ Coleman, 109

that broke off from the Catholic Church viewed pilgrimages as idol worship and a vain attempt to gain salvation and did not encourage pilgrimages to their followers; as seen in Lutheranism and Calvinism.⁶² Although pilgrimage faced many setbacks in history it has remained a major feature in the Catholic faith. While the Church does not require one to partake in a pilgrimage many faithful do so to show their continued believe in the miracles of their faith. The religious pilgrimage has continued to focus on the sacred relics and locations of saints, miracles, and visions beyond the Holy Land and beyond Rome into the modern day.

Thanatourism and Dark Tourism

The word thanatourism steams from the Greek God of Death, Thanatos; to represent Death Tourism. Amongst the general population the terms dark tourism and thanatourism are not everyday words; while many practice these forms of tourism, people may not know that the form of tourism they are partaking in has a name.

As previously mentioned, the term Dark Tourism was coined by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley in 1996. Lennon and Foley wrote the book, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, where they defined dark tourism as a result of modernity: “that global communication technologies are inherent in both the events which are associated with a dark tourism product and are present in the representation of the events for visitors at the site itself.”⁶³ For Lennon and Foley, dark tourism is an attempt of the modern person to try and connect with the past by experiencing it through visits to these dark sites. Lennon and Foley remain focused on dark tourism as modernity via technology, with examples of the effect of mass media on the

⁶² Coleman, 119

⁶³ Lennon, 16

world wide interest in the site of John F. Kennedy's assassination as a dark tourism site.⁶⁴ Their interest in the Holocaust sites falls specifically to Auschwitz, where the interpretation and construction was influenced by the Soviets and the Communist Government until the early 1990s.⁶⁵ Because of this 'controlled tourism' of Auschwitz and other Holocaust sites, the impact the sites had on tourists could be controlled to an extent which is what Lennon and Foley find to be interesting.⁶⁶ They do view Auschwitz-Birkenau as a dark tourism site but that the modern development of the site through technology [at the time of their research] is a challenge do to its conflicting existence within the town and through its conflicting presentation of information.⁶⁷

Over time the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum has been brought further into the 20th and 21st Century following the fall of the 'Iron Curtin' in 1991 and was heavily included in the work done by the next major Dark Tourism scholar, Philip Stone. Stone wrote his doctoral, *Death, Dying, and Dark Tourism in Contemporary Society: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis*, in 2010 and was co-author on many smaller articles in the 2000s pertaining to Dark Tourism, Thanatourism, and the Dark Tourism Spectrum. Stone's thesis for Dark Tourism holds firm amongst his various articles: "dark tourism is a (new) mediating institution within secularized death sequestered societies, which not only provides a physical place to link the living with the dead, but also allows the Self to construct contemporary meanings of morality, and to reflect and contemplate both life and death through consuming the Significant Other Dead."⁶⁸ While Stone's definition is in agreement with Lennon and Foley, that Dark Tourism is a new construct, Stone does identify the connection with secularized groups. These new modern Dark Tourism

⁶⁴ Lennon, 16

⁶⁵ Lennon, 23-24

⁶⁶ Lennon, 23

⁶⁷ Lennon, 65

⁶⁸ Stone, Philip. 2010. 'Death, Dying And Dark Tourism In Contemporary Society: A Theoretical And Empirical Analysis'. Ph.D., University of Central Lancashire, 3-4.

sites do not belong to one religious group or to one culture but are a part of a global construct as noted by Stone. Stone also connects that these dark tourist sites are being treated as a location to reflect on both life and death which is a connection to the sacred [as explored later by Jackson and Henrie].

The study of Dark Tourism is extensive and does tackle matters not related to the modern construct of the tourism practice. At the same time, many scholars use the terms Dark Tourism and Thanatourism interchangeable. In this paper I will be using Thanatourism to represent the dark tourism done prior to World War II and Dark Tourism to represent the tourism done in the modern-era after World War II. For most Thanatourism or Dark Tourism scholars they use the terms interchangeably or only use Thanatourism if their views of Dark Tourism differ from Lennon, Foley, or Stone.

There are many definitions of Thanatourism that all revolve around the central theme of travel to a place connected to death. As previously mentioned, Seaton defines Thanatourism as: “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death.”⁶⁹ This definition comes from Seaton’s work in 2007 and is expanded upon in 2015 where he identifies places of secular and sacred pilgrimages as the conclusion of Thanatourism. Seaton’s later work can be seen in the work done by Polish scholar Teresa Mitura who notes that, “thanatourism embraces travelling encouraged by real or symbolic meeting with death.”⁷⁰ Specifically in Polish culture, thanatourism has a special role in tourism. In 2006, S. Tanas introduced thanatourism into the Polish literature and has stated that the phenomenon as a “special kind of cultural tourism including cognitive or cognitive-religious travels to places

⁶⁹ Seaton, 240

⁷⁰ Teresa Mitura, *Thanatourism as a Form of Cultural Tourism According to Inhabitants of Rzeszow*, University of Rzeszow, 2015. 2

connected with death.”⁷¹ This consideration of thanatourism in the specific framework of Poland speaks to its connection to the Holocaust sites. As mentioned, while Lennon, Foley, and Stone define Holocaust sites with the term Dark Tourism the two names are interchangeable depending on the scholar’s focus. Other scholars, like Britta Knudsen, identify thanatourism as a difficult form of heritage tourism as this focuses on, “a heritage that the majority of the population would prefer not to have, difficult heritage tourism focuses on sites in the aftermath of slavery, apartheid, Nazism, fascism, communism, genocide, terrorism, and extreme poverty.”⁷² This sub-definition of thanatourism addresses all aspects of thanatourism in Europe with the link to Nazism, fascism, communism, and genocide. Touring to these places, particularly to remember victims of genocide [ex. The Holocaust] becomes a religious experience for many as they treat the tourist experience as a pilgrimage. As noted by Mitura, “it is [thanatourism] connected with other types of tourism and some strong associations are linked with sentimental or religious pilgrimage tourism.”⁷³ This connection with religious pilgrimage tourism is what can be seen in the study of the secular sacred; as a means to understand how a site of thanatourism/dark tourism can develop from religious sacred to secular sacred.

While the study of Thanatourism and Dark Tourism is intensive, the look at the sacred in a comparison to secular pilgrimage is divided between Myra Shackley and Chris Park. The identity of the sacred is traditionally seen through relics and locations that are identified by main stream religions as sacred. As previously mentioned by Park, “Most religions designate certain places as sacred or holy, and this designation often encourages believers to visit those places in pilgrimage and puts responsibilities on religious authorities to protect them for the benefit of

⁷¹ Mitura, 2

⁷² Britta Timm Knudsen, “Thanatourism: Witnessing Difficult Pasts,” *Tourists Studies* 2011, vol 11 pg. 55-72. 57

⁷³ Mintura, 2

future generations.”⁷⁴ These early religious sacred sites were deemed sacred because main stream religions said that they were. As a result, these religious sacred locations attracted many pilgrims; like Glastonbury, Walsingham, and Canterbury.

However, unlike Park who says a religion must designate a place as sacred, both Jackson and Henrie and Shackley omit the connection to religion. For Jackson and Henrie, “sacred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterizes it through his culture, experience, and goals.”⁷⁵ With the omission of the religious the sacred is no longer defined as a religious item or place as previously defined. Jackson and Henrie came to this conclusion in 1983, while Shackley expanded upon it in her book in 2001 where she identified the sacred as being of extreme importance to a specific ethnic, racial, or social group.⁷⁶ In the modern-era (post-World War II) with the increase in Dark Tourism to Holocaust sites these definitions of the sacred can be more easily seen as non-religious groups are identifying locations as important to their culture, as noted previously by Mintura.

The corresponding articles and other materials reflected in this paper, from Stone, Seaton, Young, Lloyd, Adair, Buntman, and others, solidify the connections between Thanatourism and the religious sacred to the beginning of secular sacred, and between Dark Tourism and the secular sacred.

⁷⁴ Park, 245

⁷⁵ Jackson, 94

⁷⁶ Shackley, 155

Chapter 3: Religious Sacred Tourism

Religious tourism distinguishes itself from other tourism because of the motivation of the tourist; for a religious tourist their motivation always stems from a religious pursuit. The concept of Religious Tourism is not specific to one religion or to one country, as discussed by Gisbert Rinschede, “religiously motivated tourism is probably as old as religion itself and is consequently the oldest type of tourism.”⁷⁷ With a deep history, religious tourism has transcended time and cultures. The most recognizable form of religious tourism is seen in the Christian pilgrimages that are practiced primarily in Europe. However, pilgrimages to sacred places date back further than the start of Christianity. The megalithic monuments that scatter Europe stand testament to a time when cultures sought out special areas to host important ceremonies at certain times of the year.⁷⁸ A transition away from the Pagan traditions of the nomadic tribes began as the Roman Empire conquered the tribes of Europe, spreading Christianity. As Christianity grew as a faith, a [now] essential element developed, starting in the Eastern Mediterranean region and spreading through Western Europe, of the veneration of saint relics which transcended into pilgrimages to bear witnesses to the relics.⁷⁹ The European Pilgrimage became an essential aspect of Medieval culture; in most cases the saint was connected to the political climate of the time or the pilgrimage itself was influenced by the climate in the country.⁸⁰

Early Thanatourism within the religious sacred of Europe is experienced in the Christian Pilgrimage. As previously stated, “Thanatourism is travel to a location wholly, or partially,

⁷⁷ Gisbert Rinschede, *Forms of Religious Tourism, Annals of tourism Research*, Vol. 19, pp. 51-67, 1992. pg 53

⁷⁸ Nolan, Mary Lee and Sidney, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. pg 3

⁷⁹ Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*, pg 3

⁸⁰ Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*, pg 3

motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death.”⁸¹ This desire for an encounter, either actual or symbolic, is reflected in religious pilgrimages. The relics that have become sacred are a large aspect of the pilgrimage for the specific saint. These relics are a piece of the saint and many early Medieval saints were met with gruesome deaths at the hands of the Roman Empire or other political leaders. At the same time there is a break down as to the type of pilgrimage, much as there is a break down for how dark a thanatourism/dark tourism location is. These types of pilgrimages were identified by Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan and are, “pilgrimage shrines (places that serve as goals of religiously-motivated journeys from beyond the immediate locality), religious tourist attractions in the form of structures or sites of religious significance with historic and/or artistic importance, and festivals with religious associations.”⁸² While Europe is covered in various pilgrimage sites, Southern England has three sacred sites that fit into these three types of pilgrimage locations; Glastonbury, Walsingham, and Canterbury.

Festivals

In the identification of a shift from Thanatourism to Dark Tourism within Europe, it is necessary to identify these types of pilgrimage locations. These locations are large pilgrimage sites in England which sit at different ends of the Thanatourism spectrum, providing a scale for understanding the stages of Thanatourism in religious sacred sites; the religious sacred varies in importance to the faith. As a Thanatourism location, Glastonbury is removed from the real-life death and gore that one might expect. The original Glastonbury Abbey was built by the Christian Saxons in the 7th Century and then expanded upon in the 10th Century.⁸³ As time passed the country of England was conquered by the Normans who expanded upon the existing

⁸¹ A.V. Seaton, "Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, no. 4 (April 18, 2007): 234-44. Accessed December 6, 2016. doi:10.1080/13527259608722178. 240.

⁸² Nolan, Mary Lee and Sidney "Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe," *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 19, pp 68-78. 1992. pg 69

⁸³ https://www.glastonburyabbey.com/history_archaeology.php

abbey until the abbey was destroyed by a fire in 1184, along with many of the treasures inside.⁸⁴ It is after this devastating fire that the myths and legends surrounding Glastonbury began as an attempt to raise money. The monks dug up the apparent remains of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere after one monk had a vision of where the two coffins were buried.⁸⁵ Coffins were dug up and the bones put on display as relics in the hope that the resulting pilgrimages would bring in enough money into the abbey. Besides the legend of King Arthur, the Abbey also relied on the legend of the Holy Grail. It was said that St. Joseph of Arimathea brought the Holy Grail to England where legend said a church was constructed through an act of God at the site of the Abbey. It was also said the Grail was buried nearby.⁸⁶ As time progressed the ruins of the Abbey remained and a new church was built, housing many relics from saints who visited which drew in pilgrims. A monk had a vision that St. Patrick's body was buried near the alter and upon excavation of a body in the location, along with the relics brought to the new church of St. Aiden and St. Paulinus, Glastonbury began to become a unique pilgrimage location where pilgrims could come and experience the English culture and legends through the relics on site.⁸⁷

Glastonbury's connection to Thanatourism is seen in the pilgrims' focus on the relics. While pilgrims are not physically encountering death, they are seeking a spiritual encounter with death through the relics. This spiritual encounter is done through Nolan and Nolan's third type of pilgrimage, festivals. As seen in the data collected by Nigel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne, because of Glastonbury's highly significant place in the history of the Christian Church in England, the pilgrimage festival to the Abbey is one of the largest.⁸⁸ In the study done

⁸⁴ https://www.glastonburyabbey.com/history_archaeology.php

⁸⁵ Adair, 85

⁸⁶ Adair, 85

⁸⁷ Adair, 85

⁸⁸ Nigel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne, "Explore Visitor Experiences, Activities and Benefits at Three Religious Tourism Sites, *International Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 17, 471-487. 473

by Bond, Packer, and Roy, the outcome in Table 2 reflects Glastonbury’s pilgrimage connection with history. Referred to as festival in the table, Glastonbury’s pilgrims primarily came to the pilgrimage festival because of an interest in the historic site and the culture.

Table 2. Visitor interests and expectations (mean scores on a five-point scale)

| | Cathedral (C) | Festival (F) | Shrine (S) | Post hoc Scheffe tests, ($p < .05$) |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| I am interested in visiting the important tourist attractions in this area** | 4.1 | 3.77 | 3.64 | C > S and F |
| I am interested in buildings or architecture** | 4.28 | 3.99 | 3.87 | C > S and F |
| I am interested in history or historic sites** | 4.44 | 4.25 | 4.17 | C > S and F |
| I am interested in culture and cultural heritage sites** | 4.3 | 4.14 | 4.09 | C and F > S |
| I am interested in visiting sites important to my own faith** | 3.38 | 3.88 | 4.08 | C < S and F |
| This visit is part of a pilgrimage journey for me** | 2.11 | 3.52 | 3.7 | C < S and F |
| This visit is part of a personal quest or search for meaning** | 2.16 | 3.39 | 3.34 | C < S and F |
| This visit will fulfil a religious obligation for me** | 2.02 | 3.14 | 3.18 | C < S and F |

Note: Interests that were rated 4.0 or higher on the five-point scale represent a high level of interest. Interests that were rated between 3.5 and 4.0 (suggest a moderate-high degree of interest). Interests that were rated between 3.0 and 3.5 (suggest a mild degree of interest). Ratings of less than 3 represent little interest. ** $p < .001$.

Figure 1: Table from Nigel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne. "Exploring Visitor Experiences, Activities and Benefits at Three Religious Tourism Sites." Page 474

While the attraction of Glastonbury began as a pilgrimage site to experience the relics of saints and figures of myth (King Arthur) to bring more money to the Abbey, Glastonbury has since transformed into a place of religious festivals, blurring the line between pilgrimage and attraction. While festivals, like those held at Glastonbury, are low on the scale of Thanatourism, this is a site that has one of the oldest connections in England to saint relics. The symbolic experience with death that these relics provide demonstrates an intrigue with death and dying. Although the interest with death is of a lighter shade of Thanatourism, Glastonbury is only the beginnings in European Thanatourism of the religious sacred.

Shrines-Relics

The second theme of religious tourism identified by Nolan and Nolan are shrines; “pilgrimage shrines, defined as places that serve as the goals of religiously motivated journeys

from beyond the immediate locality.”⁸⁹ The pilgrimage shrine itself provides another outlet for the practice of Thanatourism. In the work done by Bond, Packer, and Ballantyne, they analyze the pilgrimage/tourist activity at the Anglican Shrine in Walsingham, England. One aspect of the pilgrimage to the Our Lady of Walsingham Shrine involved walking through the priory gatehouse. It was in this location that pilgrims would stop to see the finger bone of St. Peter, where they would kiss the bone finger.⁹⁰ After the destruction of the shrine by Henry VIII during the shift away from Catholicism, the relics were removed. However, after the reconstruction of the shrine and surrounding churches, relics were once again brought in for pilgrims and followers to connect with.⁹¹

For a shrine, arguably the most important aspect is the relic. It is the relic that holds the connection to Thanatourism and the sacred. The polytheistic religious practice of creating an altar of the body of a ‘hero’ was a very ancient practice that transitioned into Medieval Christianity.⁹² As this practice transitioned into Christianity the body of the ‘hero’ became the body of the saint or martyr. This Christian practice mirrored its pagan counterpart so closely that it has made it hard for archeologists to distinguish the early sites.⁹³ As Charles Freeman explores the world surrounding the relic, there are seen connections to the understanding of Thanatourism. A relic has multiple definitions. In the case of a religious sacred and Thanatourism two definitions apply. As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, a relic is “a part of a deceased holy person's body or belongings kept as an object of reverence.”⁹⁴ These religious sacred relics are gathered by the religious and are placed in the previously mentioned shrines as well as altars.

⁸⁹ Nolan, *Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe*, pg. 69

⁹⁰ <http://catholicism.org/lady-walsingham.html>

⁹¹ <http://www.walsingham.org.uk/chapel-of-reconciliation>

⁹² Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. Pg 9

⁹³ Freeman, 10

⁹⁴ Oxford English dictionary, relic 1.1

Relics of a religious nature are ‘created’ so as to be the physical representation of the spiritual actions of martyrs. As Freeman observes, the relic holds many purposes within the religious sacred narrative. Within the first definition of a relic it can be seen how, “they [the relic] were linked to the Christian narrative, to the events and personalities described in the Gospels or to the years of persecution.”⁹⁵ The earliest form of Thanatourism, Thanatopsis (which refers to the contemplation of death), plays a distinct role in the history of relics and pilgrimages.⁹⁶ Reverence for a relic that belonged to an individual [martyr] who suffered during the Christian persecution resulted in that relic being connected with the suffering and intense death the martyr went through. Pilgrimages to relics of martyrs are in themselves a pilgrimage to contemplate the life and death of that martyr. The shrines constructed around these martyr relics as well as at sites of the martyr’s death brought in many pilgrims who sought to be in the physical presence of the death. The religious sacred of the sites and relics of martyrs held strong ties with Thanatourism. As mentioned, the relics themselves related to death and were sacred objects. However, as time progressed the religious sacred moved towards relics that promised healing ability and shifted away from the desires of Medieval Christianity. While Christian relics have continued to remain under the scope of the religious sacred, the final aspect of the religious sacred blurs the line between religious sacred and secular sacred.

Canterbury and the shift in the sacred

The Cathedral of Canterbury has been a staple in the Anglican Church since the 12th Century.⁹⁷ The popularity of Canterbury Cathedral begins with the story of Thomas Becket. Little is known about Becket’s early life or in what year he joined The Church. Before becoming the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162, he worked under the previous Archbishop of Canterbury,

⁹⁵ Freeman, 14

⁹⁶ Seaton *Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism*, pg 235

⁹⁷<https://www.britannica.com/place/Canterbury-England>

Theobold.⁹⁸ At the recommendation of Theobold, Becket became King Henry II's Chancellor; this working relationship grew to also become a friendship. It was when Becket was appointed to Archbishop of Canterbury that his relationship became strained with Henry II.⁹⁹ A power struggle developed between the Church and State which resulted in Becket fleeing to France in exile in 1164 where he remained until 1170.¹⁰⁰ In December of 1170 tragedy struck Canterbury when Becket was assassinated by four knights, believed to have been sent by Henry II. The murder took place within the Cathedral and immediately after it occurred monks gather blood and pieces of cloth from the body.¹⁰¹ After talks with Pope Alexander III, Becket was officially canonized in 1173; marking his feast day December 29.¹⁰²

Because of Becket's murder and then canonization Canterbury became a popular pilgrimage site. However, over time the type of pilgrims (or tourists) changed. In the post-Medieval world secular tourists to religious sites have also been categorized as pilgrims by the religious.¹⁰³ The secular tourist is the most common at Canterbury based on the previously mentioned research done by Bond, Packer, and Ballantyne. As seen on Table 2 (located on page 4), on their five-point scale for visitor interests and expectations, more people came to Canterbury [identified as Cathedral] for their interest in architecture and historic sites than for religious purposes.¹⁰⁴ This does not prevent Canterbury from being considered a religious tourist site by many, but it does show a transition in the reasoning for tourists visiting religious tourist locations. Nolan and Nolan identify this in their early work and note that, "a religious tourist attraction may be thought of as a place that draws tourists by virtue of some aspect of site such as

⁹⁸ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/becket_thomas.shtml

⁹⁹ Freeman, 7-8

¹⁰⁰ Adair, 35

¹⁰¹ Adair, 37

¹⁰² Adair, 37

¹⁰³ Nolan *Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe*, pg 72

¹⁰⁴ Bond, pg 474

an architecturally exceptional church building, an outstanding art collection, an important historical association, or, in some cases a spectacular view from the terrace.”¹⁰⁵ This description fits into the tourist attraction that is Canterbury. While the location still hold religious significance for the Anglican Church, it has become a secular tourist site as well. Canterbury sits on a transition point from religious sacred and secular sacred. It is neither one or the other but both. It is also an aspect in the shift of Thanatopsis to Thanatourism. Secular tourists are flocking to Canterbury not to contemplate the death of Becket [which would make it a Thanatopsis site] but to be in the historic location of his death, hear the conspiracy of its connection to Henry II. In short, they want to have an encounter with the location of a death.

For A.V. Seaton, it is the desire for an encounter with death that shifts a location from a Thanatopsis to Thanatourism. Seaton’s definition of Thanatourism is, “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death.”¹⁰⁶ There was a shift to Thanatourism because of an increased desire for travel during the period known as the High Romantic period (1770-1830). Romanticism promoted this interest in both travel and tourism which coincided with a shift in the view of death from a private matter to a public interest [like executions].¹⁰⁷ In terms of a secular sacred mentality, the Thanatourism site holds an important belief for many secular tourists; as seen at Canterbury with the site of Becket’s death. The death of Becket within Canterbury Cathedral, his canonization and pilgrimage shrine, create a focal point for Thanatourism. Canterbury also draws tourists for its architecture and history, both aspects that Nolan and Nolan state still makes a site of religious origins a religious tourist site. As a result, Canterbury is partially a religious sacred site and partially a secular sacred site.

¹⁰⁵ Nolan *Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe*, pg 72

¹⁰⁶ Seaton *Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism*, pg 240

¹⁰⁷ Seaton *Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism* pg 240

The case studies of the religious tourism shift within England demonstrates a change in the tourist over hundreds of years. The pure religious sacred of the festival leaves little room for death outside of the myths and legend surrounding Glastonbury. While death is not a large part of the festival tradition there it does show a large interest in the religious sacred of the site as opposed to Canterbury. Thanatopsis tendencies surrounding shrines and relics reflect the religious desire to contemplate death. Relics are in many churches and shrines throughout the world and some bring tons of followers to them. The Medieval desire to consider death was connected to these relics, the resulting pilgrimages reflected how death was kept in the visible public everyday life. In the beginning shift from a religious sacred to a secular sacred, Canterbury shows how a once highly religious site can also become a mix of religious and secular. This process took years to occur, and it was not till the Romanticism Period that Thanatourism develop as it morphed from Thanatopsis; resulting in more secular tourists to the location of St. Becket's death. The concept of the shift from religious sacred to secular sacred continues from Canterbury into tourist practices at both cemeteries and battlefields.

Chapter 4: Thanatourism to Dark Tourism

The continent of Europe has a rich and long history. The countries that formed after the Roman Empire fell had to make their mark in a continent full of conflict over territory, power and faith. As a result, warfare is nothing new to European History, although these battles took place far from the major cities, separating the civilian population from the location of the trauma. However, this separation between the civilian, the veteran, and the battle site did not remain a constant road block in tourism. With the invention of the train in the early nineteenth century and then the shift in the use of the train from only being used for business to now being used for pleasure; this caused a shift in people's reasons for travel as well.¹⁰⁸ This increased amount of tourist activity brought about a resurgence in religious pilgrimages as well as a new form of pilgrimage, a pilgrimage to battlefields.

A major battle towards the start of the nineteenth century was the Battle of Waterloo, famously known for the location of the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Battle of Waterloo was fought between the British, Belgians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Dutch and Prussians against Napoleon and the French Army. While Waterloo is a small town, it is within nine miles of the larger city of Brussels. Being along train lines, civilians flocked to Brussels prior to the battle and began to watch. Overall, the Battle of Waterloo saw three groups of tourists, "on the spot, witnesses of the battle and its aftermath; tourists with personal stake in the effects of the battle who flocked to Waterloo from Britain immediately following the battle...and recreational thanatourists."¹⁰⁹ As a result, Waterloo would become the first major battle to be witnessed and recorded by tourists.

¹⁰⁸ David Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain*, Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central, created February 2, 2018. Chapter 1 pg 2

¹⁰⁹ Seaton *War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914* pg 133

Due to the many on-the-spot witnesses, there was a lot written about the Battle of Waterloo by civilians compared to other earlier battles. These writings had a chain reaction that could not be expected. As more tourists flocked in to see what was described in the writings, the town of Waterloo became a sacred object in the eyes of the tourists/pilgrimages.¹¹⁰ After the battle, Waterloo became a household name and attracted tourists and pilgrims alike. Once the wave of civilians (wives and family members) came to bury their dead or bring them home, the next wave of tourists/pilgrims swarmed Waterloo. The last wave of tourists/pilgrims to Waterloo are those coming for recreational purposes, distinguishing them from other tourists and tourist practices. These tourists have come to Waterloo to both witness but also attempt to experience what has occurred there. They took tours of the battlefield, to see where Napoleon fell, and observe ruins of farms that were caught in the crossfire. In short, the tourists were no longer simply contemplating death as the religious pilgrims did under the terms of Thanatourism. The non-religious tourists sacralized Waterloo and were looking to encounter or experience action of death; a much darker form of tourism when compared to Thanatourism. The tourism actions at Waterloo begin to encroach on an area of tourism known as Dark Tourism. The Oxford Dictionary has defined dark tourism as, “tourism directed to places that are identified with death and suffering.”¹¹¹ With the introduction of Battlefield Tourism, there was a start towards normalizing touring to places of death. These battlefields hold a specific place of interest for those traveling to them. This tourism was assisted by tour agencies and other influence that made the secular location of a battlefield sound like a good place to tour.

¹¹⁰ Seaton, pg 140 (War and Thanatourism)

¹¹¹ "Dark Tourism". 2015. Oxford Dictionary.

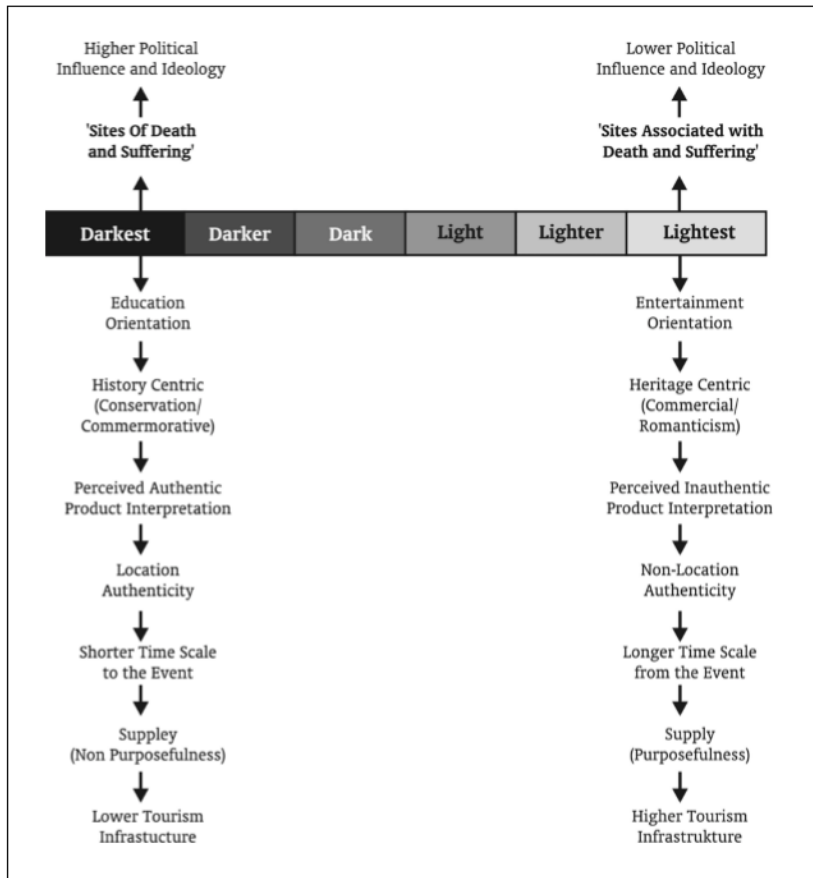
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/dark-tourism.

As identified by Philip Stone on his spectrum of Dark Tourism, battlefield tourism itself is a lighter shade of Dark Tourism. Stone labels lighter Dark Tourism to have multiple components that separate it from darker Dark Tourism (see Graph 1)¹¹². In his work, Stone has classified Battlefield Tourism as Dark Conflict Sites. These Dark Conflict Sites have, “an educational and

commemorative, focus, are

history-centric and are originally non-purposeful in the dark tourism context.”¹¹³

Depending on the location of the battlefield there could be political influence and due to the severity of the battle there could be more death associated with it. In observing the graph by Stone, Battlefield tourism would fall around Light Dark Tourism



Graph 1 on the spectrum, while ranging back and forth in shades of lightness, based on the location and severity of the battle.

The major historical significance of Waterloo solidified it within Battlefield Tourism.

Due to the political influence of the battle and tourism being focused on the location of the

¹¹² Stone A *Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a typology of Death and Macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions*, 151

¹¹³ Stone A *Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a typology of Death and Macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions*, 156

physical battle the tourism of Waterloo falls within the Dark Tourism spectrum. Because of the treatment of buttons, boots, badges, and other bits of uniforms being treated as relics and given away to tourists, combined with its historical significance, Waterloo gained a sacred element as history progressed.¹¹⁴ Waterloo is simply the beginning of the secular sacred. Battlefields become a common factor amongst people, as a place where people of multiple faiths have come together and faced the same thing, death. As European History progressed the mainland continent of Europe would see more conflicts in the World Wars, causing a change in the need of battlefield tourism.

It is important to note that Dark Tourism itself has many definitions. As previously stated, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines it in a simple manner of tourism to places of death and suffering; the OED's definition is one of an overarching nature.¹¹⁵ This definition of dark tourism simplifies the actions and mindsets that can be involved with going to places of death and suffering. The OED definition fits the shade of Dark Tourism that is Waterloo. While Waterloo was a battlefield the descriptions of the fighting do not draw to mind a war-torn country or fields overflowing with blood. This does not mean to underscore the loss of life but in the realm of dark tourism the fact that these aspects are not present simply reinforces the lighter shade on the spectrum. After Waterloo, battlefield tourism spread (as well as continued at Waterloo) and did not remain a solely European concept. Early tour agencies made attempts to draw tourists to the battlefields from the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa (1902).¹¹⁶ Travel books were written about the battlefields but also about the picturesque beauty of the area, leading to questions of the appropriateness of these tourists. Unlike at Waterloo where the true

¹¹⁴ Seaton *War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914*, 138-138

¹¹⁵ "Dark Tourism."

¹¹⁶ Llyod, chapter 1 pg 5

tourists came after the fighting was over (family arrived during the fighting), tourists attracted to the Anglo-Boer War had arrived while some fighting was still occurring. While these tourists faced criticism for coming to battlefields to witness the death so close to it occurring, these criticisms ceased with the conclusion of the war.¹¹⁷

The popularity of battlefield tourism continued as the 19th century progressed. However, these early tourists to battlefields were not known or seen as pilgrims, but as tourists or mourners. These tourists were going to battlefields to see or experience something exciting and new; or they were visiting for the sake of visiting, not to honor or remember those lost in the battle. Battlefield tourism began to be something that was to be expected to happen. In a sense it was normalized that after a battle took place, civilians would come to see the area. As a result, during World War I (the Great War) it was understood that after the war ended there would be tourists heading to these battlefields. By the end of WWI in 1918 an anomaly could be found in battlefield tourism. Instead of the pre-WWI battlefield tourism where people were touring to see the place, post-WWI battlefield tourism had more characteristics of a pilgrimage to a sacred location.¹¹⁸ However, this sacred is not like that of a religious sacred under the views of Thanatourism. The sacred that developed with the popularization of battlefield tourism is that of a secular sacred mentality without the religious connections. The battlefields and memorials are sacred because they serve as a place to honor and remember those lost; a unifying location for all people and countries involved in the battle.¹¹⁹

World War I occurred from July 28, 1914 to November 11, 1918 and took place in France and Belgium between the Allied Powers (Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Romania,

¹¹⁷ Lloyd, chapter 1 pg 5

¹¹⁸ Lloyd, ch 1 pg 1

¹¹⁹ Lloyd, ch 1, pg 6

Japan and the United States) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire) following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. As the war progressed it was already known that many battlefields would become tourist destination after the fighting. Wwith the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer war the shift in tourist to pilgrimage had begun and there was great care taken to the soldiers' graves from the war.¹²⁰ Because of new warfare technology (i.e. artillery and use of mustard gas), World War I saw the largest loss of life from warfare, at that time, for both military personnel and civilians. The casualties from the war are estimated at 37 million (total from both the Allied Powers and the Central Powers).¹²¹ Such loss of life devastated many families and resulted in the need to recoup on a larger scale than ever before. As identified by David Lloyd, "pilgrimages were among a range of ceremonies and rituals of mourning and commemoration which brought consolation to many people in the aftermath of the war."¹²² These post-WWI pilgrimages took many forms; either to the battlefields in France and Belgium or to war memorials for the fallen soldiers. The religious background of the pilgrimage provided a sense of familiarity and ritual for those wishing to express their relationship with the dead.

However, because these places [battlefields, war memorials, and grave] belonged to multiple faiths and held no connection to saints or religious martyrs, these sites are not of a religious sacred but a secular sacred. The transition from religious to secular was significantly stronger in the aftermath of WWI as a result. The secular sacred can be defined as such because they are sacred sites of non-religious importance. The resulting battlefields and memorials held importance in the worst war in living memory (in 1918) and led to a few factors that made them

¹²⁰ Lloyd, ch 1 pg 7

¹²¹ <https://www.britannica.com/event/World-War-I/Killed-wounded-and-missing>

¹²² Lloyd, intro, pg 3

places of a secular sacred pilgrimage. The work done by Lloyd analyzes Great Britain's adaption of the pilgrimage towards battlefield and memorials following WWI. As previously mentioned, WWI saw the greatest loss of life from a war at that time. Specifically, it was the bloodiest war ever fought by Great Britain.¹²³ Lloyd observes that, "the scale of death and bereavement during the war meant that there was a need for a language to give mass death meaning."¹²⁴ With the war having been fought outside of Britain, this provided few places for the citizens to go and mourn lives lost while the fighting was still occurring (as people had done in previous battles). The connection to the sacred was amplified by the portrayal of the soldiers as heroes who had performed an extreme sacrifice to their country being compared to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.¹²⁵ The sacredness of the WWI battlefields was not only a British concept but also one held by France where the battles occurred. Many writers referred to battlefields as sacred places. Their experience of being in the frontlines of the battles brought them an understanding that these places should be treated as pilgrimages to foster an understanding of the severity of what occurred on the land.¹²⁶ Following the war there was once again an increase in tourism to these battlefields in France and Belgium, as well as to memorials created for the unknown soldiers lost; like that for the grave of the Unknown Warrior and the Cenotaph in London [Cenotaph is a monument for a person who is buried elsewhere].¹²⁷ These locations in London became their own form of secular sacred as they provided mourners who could not travel to France a place to come to seek an understanding to the death that had occurred.

¹²³ Lloyd, ch 1, pg 8

¹²⁴ Lloyd, ch 1 pg 8

¹²⁵ Lloyd, ch 1 pg 8

¹²⁶ Lloyd, ch 1 pg 9

¹²⁷ Lloyd, ch 1, pg 9

In the post-WWI era, the cenotaph built in Whitehall in London became a focal point for a place to remember those who died. Built in 1919, it was first constructed to be a temporary memorial, built out of wood and plaster for the first anniversary of Armistice Day.¹²⁸ By the time of the 2nd anniversary of Armistice Day, the cenotaph had been reconstructed from Portland stone so that it could be a permanent memorial. The remembrance ceremonies held at the cenotaph continued past remembrance for World War I. It became a place to remember World War II deaths and other battles which resulted in the death of British soldiers.¹²⁹ These journeys to secular sacred memorials served as a means for understanding the mass casualties of the war. This shift within tourism made battlefield tourism more acceptable in society, the familiar language of the pilgrimage could be applied to battlefield tourism which made the act relatable to people seeking to understanding the extreme loss of life that would soon become a norm in warfare.¹³⁰ A modern understanding to battlefield tourism as a secular sacred aspect demonstrates the progression towards darker dark tourism. As mentioned battlefield tourism is a light grey form of dark tourism on the spectrum. The progression of pilgrimages from the religious to the secular followed tourism from religious to secular. However, the darkest of Dark Tourism (on the spectrum) does not find itself in battlefields but in the mass graves of Poland following World War II.

¹²⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/remembrance/how/cenotaph.shtml>

¹²⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/remembrance/how/cenotaph.shtml>

¹³⁰ Llyod, ch 1 pg 21

Chapter 5: Modern Dark Tourism-The Holocaust

As the trend of Death Tourism progressed from Thanatopsis to Thanatourism it reached its pinnacle in the form of Dark Tourism. The pattern of death tourism within Europe has morphed from the very light grey form of religious pilgrimages to the darker grey of battlefield tourism following World War I where the pilgrimage was now being done to places of a secular sacred instead of a religious sacred. With the onset of World War II, the amount of tourism within Europe decreased due to the vast change in warfare from World War I to World War II. The severity of the warfare prevented the kind of tourism that was possible with previous battles (like Waterloo) and trench style warfare (like in World War I). However, following the conclusion of World War II there was a quick desire to remember all the lives lost. Among the desire to remember those who were lost is also a need for a ritual to remember. Rituals take many forms and the one focused on previously is the ritual of the pilgrimage. As mentioned, the pilgrimage is a “journey to a sacred place.”¹³¹ It is this journey that is the ritual. The pilgrimage can take many forms in the various religions but the uniqueness of the Dark Tourism of the Holocaust is the broad spectrum of people effected by the murder committed by the Nazis; six million Jews and five million others (Roma, Gays and Lesbians, Polish, War Prisoners, and more). One faith cannot control a specific way to remember those lost, so it becomes a secular search for a way to remember; creating these secular sacred dark tourist sites, like Auschwitz-Birkenau and Belzec.

The Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum was the first Holocaust museum created after the war, opening in 1947 after being constructed with the help of the Soviets. The construction of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum was just the beginning of museums and memorials to those lost in

¹³¹ Park, 259

the Holocaust. Besides dark tourism pilgrimages to Auschwitz-Birkenau and other museum there are also a multitude of Holocaust Memorials within Europe that have become the locations of dark tourism pilgrimages as well. While the buildings at Auschwitz-Birkenau remained post war (some were dismantled by the town's people for buildings, but the majority remained), this was not the case for all the killing centers. The death center at Belzec was destroyed and covered up by the Nazis after they used the site to murder 500,000 Galician Jews.¹³² Both locations draw tourists of all kinds; tourists who are all practicing Dark Tourism. Among the many forms of Dark Tourism, the tourism to sites of death (like Nazi Death Camps) is ranked among the Darkest of Dark Tourism on the spectrum.

As previously noted, Dark Tourism has a variety of definitions: ranging from Lennon and Foley who view Dark Tourism to be a modern construct to Stone who identifies Dark Tourism as more than a showing of modernity, but it is also more than a visit to a site of death. It is also a reflection inward to identify one's self. While Lennon and Foley, along with Stone, as major scholars in the realm of Dark Tourism, other scholars have also tackled the sensitive subject. In her article, *Thanatourism as a Form of Cultural Tourism According to Inhabitants of Rzeszow*, Teresa Mitura identifies "destinations of dark tourism include the scenes of the disaster, sites of natural tragedy, as well as sites of genocide and murder."¹³³ Mitura's work specifically targets the country of Poland which is described, post-World War II, as a graveyard and she identifies that for the country of Poland both Dark Tourism and Thanatourism can be applied to the tourism to these Holocaust sites.¹³⁴ While Mitura does use Dark Tourism and Thanatourism interchangeably in her research, she does draw a connection to pilgrimage. As Mitura states,

¹³² Buntman, 422

¹³³ Mitura, 2

¹³⁴ Mitura, 2

“visiting death places is moral or patriotic obligation for some communities, for example tours to Auschwitz are important for the Polish or Jews.”¹³⁵ While the Nazi’s had concentration camps in different countries, the death camps were in Poland. This had made Poland a large secular pilgrimage spot, making sites like Auschwitz and Belzec secular sacred locations. Barbara Buntman analyzes the sacred identity that the memorial at Belzec has become. Buntman observes that Belzec has become both a place that is ‘sacred and accursed.’ She states that, “by being both, it becomes a space for personal witness and exploration of conscience.”¹³⁶ It is the treatment of the memory of these sites that solidifies them as secular sacred Dark Tourism sites. These sites bear witness to the extreme cruelty of man and contain the ashes of the millions of victims of the Nazis. However, these sites are not only a Jewish graveyard but a place of remembrance for Roma, Catholics, and a multitude of nationalities across Europe. They do not belong to one faith but are a universal place of sacredness making them secular. As seen in the testimony of a visitor to Auschwitz, “Auschwitz is thus not simply a site, a place, a town, a topography. It signifies an encounter with death, and as such signifies a stupefying absence, the destroyed millions who signified furthermore, the destruction of one of the civilizations of Europe.”¹³⁷ The encounter with death at Auschwitz-Birkenau is an extreme reminder of the horrors of the war. Auschwitz itself is synonymous with the Holocaust, being one of the better-known Death Camps. Within Holocaust sites, Auschwitz has become a pilgrimage that is advertised in tourist magazines and handouts to go to reflect the death and destruction. The secular sacred sites of the Holocaust hold much meaning and identity in Dark Tourism. Their

¹³⁵ Mitura, 4

¹³⁶ Buntman, 424

¹³⁷ *Holocaust Tourism: Being There, Looking Back, and the Ethics of Spatial Memory* by Griselda Pollock in *Visual Cultural and tourism* edited by David Crouch and Nina Lubben. Berg, 2003, 176.

creation and use are tied into the pilgrimage mindset and their place in history solidifies their importance to the European Dark Tourism narrative.

Following the liberation of Auschwitz in 1945, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum was constructed within the boundaries of the original camp using Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II. As time progressed, the town of Auschwitz began to expand and encroach upon the boundaries of the former Death Camp, unlike during the war which kept town buildings away thanks to an artificial blockade.¹³⁸ As a result in Auschwitz, “life meets death and the new industry of Poland meets the darker industry that was the historical finality of Auschwitz-Burkenau.”¹³⁹ This blending of construction attributes to the Dark Tourism mindset of the area. When the Polish Parliament declared that the camp was to be preserved, it was preserved with the decision that it was to be a memorial to the ‘martyrdom of the Polish nation and other peoples.’¹⁴⁰ The museum opened as a place to learn about the deaths that happened in Auschwitz but with specific focus placed on the Polish victims of the Nazis, to the provide the Polish citizens with a place to grieve.¹⁴¹ While, the museum did provide some representation of the other deaths that occurred in Auschwitz, it was not adequate in representation. With the fall of the Communist Government and more detailed research of the horrors of Auschwitz, the museum could properly reflect the truth in their exhibits and the representation of the deaths in the memorial.¹⁴²

The complexities of Holocaust sites as secular sacred Dark Tourism sites stem from the connection with the past, present, and atrocities that occurred. The memory of the Holocaust lives on in many different forms; from memorial services, memorial days, prayer, museums, and

¹³⁸ Lennon, 50

¹³⁹ Lennon, 50

¹⁴⁰ Lennon, 49

¹⁴¹ Reed, 19

¹⁴² Reed, 19

memorials themselves. With the passing of time the atrocities that occurred become more distant. James Young studies the use of memory in Holocaust memorials and sites and notes that memorials and monuments are built because of many factors, “national myths, ideals, and political needs.”¹⁴³ While some memorials and monuments, “recall war dead, others resistance, and still others mass murder;” the memorial at Auschwitz-Birkenau was first constructed under a communist government using data that had been quickly gathered by the Soviets for use in the Nuremberg Trials.¹⁴⁴ As a result, when the memorial opened in 1967 the number for those who were murdered in Auschwitz was said to be four million and the original memorial plaques did not specify the groups that had been killed by the Nazis. With the fall of the communist government in 1991, historians were able to successfully push for an accurate memorial plaque at the International Memorial at Auschwitz-Birkenau, which has the correct calculated number of one and a half million killed in Auschwitz (mainly Jews).¹⁴⁵ The International Memorial at Auschwitz-Birkenau sought to be a place to remember the horrors at a time (in the 1960s) when the world was learning of the various groups who were killed by the Nazis. As Young identifies, this was an attempt to provide a connection to the past through the memorial so that the site could be reinfused with a sense of its historical past.¹⁴⁶ The secular sacred dark tourism qualities of Auschwitz-Birkenau are attributed to both the museum and the memorial. The tourist comes to see the museum, walk through the museum, and reflect at the memorial; aspects which can be aligned with the pilgrimage practice of a pilgrimage trail (like at Canterbury) where more sides of the pilgrimage are performed.

¹⁴³ James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 1

¹⁴⁴ Young, 1

¹⁴⁵ Reed, 21

¹⁴⁶ Young, 119

While both the museum and memorial at Auschwitz-Birkenau are Dark Tourism locations and create a pilgrimage for tourists, visiting the memorial itself can be classified on a darker shade of the Dark Tourism spectrum. With the preserved state of Auschwitz II, the untouched landscape remains a constant reminder of the horrors of the Holocaust. The skeletons of the barracks and ruins of the crematoriums stand as their own memorial to the lives that were taken. Memorials serve as a place to remember the past. Holocaust memorials are designed to both remember the past as well as a location for survivors' families to connect to their own past. As observed by Natasa Drvenkar, some Holocaust survivor families go to these memorials to identify with what their family member/members went through. While one does not want to physically relive that, they can relive it on a spiritual level.¹⁴⁷ This want/need to relieve the horrors of an event through the location or relic transcends from the religious sacred to the secular sacred. While no Holocaust tourists are reenacting the horrors the Nazi's inflicted, they are on their own pilgrimage through the locations their ancestors were forced to go. There is also a collective Jewish memory which united the people so even those without a direct connection to the Holocaust feel that they are doing a pilgrimage for their people. Tarlow's definition of Dark Tourism also connects to the secular sacred Holocaust sites. Tarlow views dark tourism as, "visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death occurred and that continues to impact our lives."¹⁴⁸ This definition expands the secular sacred sites to include tourists who are not directly related to a survivor or victim of the Holocaust. While Auschwitz-Birkenau is the first thing that comes to mind when talking about Holocaust Dark Tourism, the memorial at Belzec is the epitome of the secular sacred dark tourism sites for the Holocaust.

¹⁴⁷ Natasa Drvenkar, Mario Banozic, and Drazen Zivic, "Development of Memorial Tourism as a New Concept – Possibilities and Restrictions" *Tourism and Hospitality Management* Vol. 21, No. 1 pp. 63-77, 2015. 70

¹⁴⁸ Philip Stone, "Dark Tourism: Towards a New post-disciplinary research agenda," *Int. J. Tourism Anthropology*, Vol. 1, pp 318-332. 321

Belzec was one of the six established Nazi death camps in Poland: Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. The camp itself was situated on the main road in the small town of Belzec and was designed to look like a transit camp.¹⁴⁹ However, once the prisoners disrobed and entered the “showers” they met their death at the hands of the Nazi gas chambers. In total 500,000 Jews would die at Belzec, from March 1942 – December 1942, representing all Galicia Jews [the ‘goal’ of Belzec].¹⁵⁰ Because there were not crematoriums at Belzec the dead were buried in mass graves. If one was too weak to go from the transport cars to the gas chambers they were taken over to the pit and shot.¹⁵¹ Upon the closing of Belzec in 1942 the Nazis hid all evidence of the camp, “the buildings were dismantled, graves opened up and bodies burnt, bones crushed and the whole area covered over with soil and grassed.”¹⁵² The covering of the former death camp distanced the locals from the memory of the death committed by the Nazis. Following the war, the Polish government separated the country from the Jewish narrative of the war; instead focusing on the Polish martyrs. With a revolt in 1989 the mindset of the government shifted slightly and began to open to the pro-Jewish attitude. This attitude led to an interest in a respect for Judaism, assisting in the conception and construction of the Belzec memorial.¹⁵³

The Belzec Memorial was not always the large memorial it is today. It began as a small obelisk memorial that had been placed at the location of the camp in the 1960s and the area had been fenced off. But by the 1990s the fence was essentially non-existent, and the area had been dug up by looters.¹⁵⁴ Following a push by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, a

¹⁴⁹ Buntman, 426

¹⁵⁰ Buntman, 1, 427

¹⁵¹ Buntman, 427

¹⁵² Buntman, 427

¹⁵³ Buntman, 428

¹⁵⁴ Buntman, 429

proper memorial and museum was erected at Belzec in 2004. With the creation of a proper museum and memorial the location has become a further dark tourist site for tourists and survivors alike. The Belzec memorial itself is a prime example of a secular sacred Dark Tourism site, mirroring many religious pilgrimage locations; providing tourists and pilgrims with an almost religious experience of self-reflection. The current memorial was designed by Polish artists: Andrzej Sołyga, Marcin Roszczyk, and Zdzisław Pidek.¹⁵⁵ During talks for constructing both the museum and memorial (talks began in 1987 and concluded in 1995), it was decided that an archeological survey of the location would be conducted following strict Halacha [Jewish] laws governing cemeteries.¹⁵⁶ The archeology survey allowed for a better understanding to the boundaries of the camp and found remains of the belongings of the victims; which are on display at the museum.¹⁵⁷ Upon the completion of the archeological survey there was also a better understanding as to the layout of the camp and the path the Jews took as they walked towards their death. It is this layout that became Belzec memorial.



Figure 2 Aerial view of Belzec Memorial. Key: 1: mesh site fence; 2: parking area; 3: entry point and inscription; 4: museum buildings; 5: *The Ramp Monument* and Dan Pagis poem; 6: crossing point; 7: perimeter walkway; 8: *The Interstice*; 9: *Memorial Wall* and walls with engraved names; 10: this and other dark areas mark the location of mass burial pits; 11: trees in the memorial. (Photo: Tomasz Stepien/KUMULUS.)

¹⁵⁵ http://www.belzec.eu/en/page/about_the_museum/182

¹⁵⁶ Buntman, 431

¹⁵⁷ Winstone, 260

As seen in Figure 2, the Belzec memorial has multiple components to its design. The memorial is set low in the landscape, surrounded by the mesh fence. With this design the memorial remains slightly hidden but still in site of the town, as the death camp once sat. As Buntman identifies, “tourists visit the (in)famous and iconic Holocaust sites to explore and experience for themselves previously imagined places.”¹⁵⁸ This designed layout of the Belzec memorial allows for this type of an experience. From the parking lot one enters at the museum and then makes their way to The Ramp Memorial (located at 5), which was created with steel railway tracks. This part of the memorial marks where the railroad came into the camp, designed so that the visitor would begin at this same point to “prod the viewer’s consciousness to keep alive a set of particular memories, thus entrenching memories for present and future generations.”¹⁵⁹ From the Ramp Memorial, one makes their way to the main entrance to the memorial. The design of the main memorial (8-10 in figure 2) solidifies the shift in dark tourism from the religious sacred to the secular sacred. While the deaths that occurred at Belzec were Jewish deaths, those who come to visit Belzec as tourists are of various faiths and backgrounds. These tourists are coming to Belzec and other Holocaust sites to witness or experience something themselves; be it a pilgrimage to all Holocaust sites or to come and learn of the horrors that occurred. The secular sacredness of Belzec has been assigned by us the tourist; as previously stated by Jackson and Henrie, “sacred space does not exist naturally, but is assigned sanctity as man defines, limits and characterizes it through his culture, experience, and goals.”¹⁶⁰ The tourist experience at Belzec is akin to a pilgrimage as the tourist is fully integrated in the site.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Buntman, 439

¹⁵⁹ Buntman, 430

¹⁶⁰ Jackson, 94

¹⁶¹ Buntman, 441

As one makes their way into the memorial they walk through the crossing point (seen in figure 3) towards the Interstice (or ‘way with no return). The path through the Interstice sits in the same location as the Jews’ path to the gas chamber.¹⁶² As the tourist walks along the path the irregular slag landscape on either side is specifically designed to stand against the look of nature; the darker patches mark the location of the 33 graves identified during the 1997 survey.¹⁶³ The tourist’s final destination is the Memorial Wall where there is a quote from Job 16:18, in a visual relief that are evocative of the look of weeping or spilling blood. In this tight space there is an

Figure 3



overhang opposite the memorial wall that provides a location to stand under to reflect and remember. As Buntman notes, “on one hand it personalizes loss but on the other...it binds surviving generations to

those past, in the process of remembering.”¹⁶⁴ It is under the overhang where over 1,200 first names are engraved to act as a form of identity to those who were murdered.¹⁶⁵ The complete emerging of the Belzec memorial in metaphorically experiencing the path to the gas chamber and facing the loss of the individual Jewish lives at Belzec as well as the collective loss of the Holocaust is the darkest form of Dark Tourism. Once again, among the many definitions of

¹⁶² Buntman, 432

¹⁶³ Buntman, 431

¹⁶⁴ Buntman, 434

¹⁶⁵ Buntman, 435

Dark Tourism is Stone's definition: "the act of travel to tourist sites associated with death, suffering or seemingly macabre."¹⁶⁶ The tourism at Belzec is one that is completely in the realm of dark tourism and at the same time it is also secularly sacred. As mentioned at Auschwitz-Birkenau, tourism to Holocaust sites (specifically memorial) is akin to a pilgrimage. It is seen at Belzec that one is symbolically repeating the same journey that the Jews took under the Nazis; a 'spiritual' experience as many religious pilgrimages sought. Jack Kugelmass observes this in Holocaust tourism, that these well practiced routes become a "secular ritual" and that these "rituals do not comply with traditional forms, [but] they do appropriate them and, in part, invent whole new meaning."¹⁶⁷ The cumulation of the secular sacred in the Holocaust sites of Europe is the conclusion in a long road of European Dark Tourism. Within Europe the trend has held to similar patterns of pilgrimages to provide a sense of stability in the realm of death and dying, to provide a way to remember those who were lost in the final creation of the Holocaust memorials. While Holocaust memorials create a secular sacred place to a pilgrim the same ritual practice is still upheld. Dark Tourism itself continues to grow throughout the world. The strength of the Dark Tourism to the secular sacred sites of the Holocaust is that of the hope that one day we will learn and there will be less sites of Dark Tourism.

¹⁶⁶ Stone, 1568 (dark tourism and significant other death)

¹⁶⁷ Buntman, 439

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This paper has shown that secular sacred sites in Europe have become the focal point of Dark Tourism. This has happened because of the practice of pilgrimages to sacred sites dating back to the early Medieval period with religious pilgrimages. These pilgrimages transformed over centuries and morphed into secular pilgrimages to locations that cultures were deeming to be sacred.

The practice of pilgrimage has an interesting history. As one of the many polytheism aspects that were merged into Christianity, the history of the pilgrimage is hard to specifically track down. As early civilizations called the act of a pilgrimage different things one must identify the travel to specific sites of importance in the history of early civilizations like Egypt and Mesopotamia. Both these civilizations recorded travels done by their kings and the royal family to important shrines and temples for various deities. These journeys typically coincided with festivals and were done to bring about the harvest, successful war, or whatever the citizens may need. With the king's divine right connection to the gods he was the most practical to take these journeys.

While early polytheism pilgrimage is hard to track, it is interesting to see how there are various forms of early pilgrimage, just as there are various forms of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism. These various forms of early pilgrimage are of a lighter nature, done for sports, traditions, or festivals. In a similar fashion as time progresses the various sub-categories of pilgrimage become darker as the type of relic or location also becomes darker in nature.

When the shift to Christianity began under Constantine the Great it was a gradual change. Constantine could not turn the entire Empire in a few days to a new religion and relied on aspects of the various Roman Cults to make Christianity more appealing to the Roman

people; an example of this is seen in the army. Roman officers and soldiers followed the cult of Mythras a cult whose God had a feast day of December 25, which served as a good aspect to focus on when shifting the soldiers' faith practice. Romans could find aspects of Christianity that were familiar to make, making the shift gradual but accepted. With the inclusion of pilgrimage practice into the shift to Christianity it provided Romans with one other familiarity in the faith they had previously been persecuting. The inclusion of pilgrimages would have also made the Roman Empire more inclusive in appearance to non-Roman tribes who were already familiar with the practice.

While early religious pilgrimage practice was widely popular in the Roman Empire, the early Church was torn over the practice. The Council of Nicaea was held to provide guidelines and commonalities in the faith, even here not all the Bishops could agree and the pilgrimage was one such aspect that could not be agreed upon. At the time, Christian pilgrimage was occurring to the Holy Land only. Basilicas were slowly being built and but did not hold the importance that is associated with pilgrimage at that moment. Christian pilgrims wanted to go to the locations where Jesus had been and thanks in part to Constantine's mother, Helena, this was possible. The early Church remained torn on the belief of a pilgrimage, some felt it was unnecessary to the faith as Jesus never discussed it while others say it as a continuation of the faith.

As time progressed, the Church's stance on the pilgrimage changed in part to the Crusades. With the Arab conquering of the Holy Land, the Church sought to take back this land for the Christian faith. To encourage more men to go into battle for the Church, the Pope devised a system of indulgence for one who went on a Crusade as a pilgrimage. This militaristic approach to the pilgrimage did see many men going off to battle repeatedly as they fought back and forth with the Islamic Empire. Although in the end the Church was unsuccessful in getting

the Holy Land back from the Islamic Empire, there was now a shift in the opinion of the pilgrimage. As pilgrimages to the Holy Land were now more dangerous due to the Islamic Empire being in control. Pilgrims now looked elsewhere for a place they could show their continued faith.

Pilgrims turned inwards to Europe and the sites of relics and miracles. New churches and basilicas were constructed at locations of these relics or miracles, providing the pilgrim with a physical place to journey. This then developed into a form of early tourism as the surrounding area would also benefit from the increased travel. The Church also continued the practice of indulgences for those who had completed a pilgrimage, encouraging more faithful to participate in one. As the practice of pilgrimages grew stronger, sites like Canterbury, Walsingham and Glastonbury began to expand and become important religious pilgrimage locations. This is also the time that the religious pilgrims began to want to experience these sites to feel closer to the saint or martyr they are pilgrimaging by way of the connection to death; through the practice of Thanatourism.

As noted, pilgrimage began as a religious cultural practice. It was a common event and done to places like the Holy Land where one could get closer to their faith. As the practice of pilgrimage expanded beyond the Holy Land the reasons for the pilgrimage began to change. With the shift of pilgrimage to relics and locations of miracles which were connected to saints and martyrs, the reason for a pilgrimage began to also take a darker turn as opposed to its purely religious connections. While it is true that pilgrimages are a religious experience, some pilgrims seek to be closer to the saint or martyr through a connection with the individual's death or an increased interest in their death. This desire to experience death falls under the definition of Thanatourism; a practice of tourism specifically seen in the Pre-Romantic Period.

Thanatourism holds an importance to the religious sacred sites, that developed in Europe following the increased religious pilgrimage in the continent. Outside of Rome, there were sacred sites in many Catholic countries, one of which was England pre-Henry VIII. Some of the most popular religious sacred sites in England grew in popularity because of death. However, there were levels of intensity when it came to the involvement of death at each location. The lighter of the death sites are associated with festivals; sites like Glastonbury. With the financial struggles following the fire that destroyed the abbey in 1184, the monks relayed on legend and myths of the past to fund the rebuilding. These legends were that of King Arthur and the Holy Grail, stories that involved death but of a lighter connection. There were stories of the finding of unknown tombs on the property that were King Arthur as well as St. Patrick and while no one sought to experience their deaths they did seek to experience through the relics of other saints who had also done pilgrimage to Glastonbury. As a result, the religious pilgrimage festivals that occurs at Glastonbury are some of the largest in the now Church of England. Glastonbury remains on the lighter side of Thanatourism because the death relation of the relics is downplayed to place a larger focus on the relics connection to English culture which is highly celebrated at the festival.

While the darker side of relics is not the focus at the religious festival in Glastonbury, the relics dark connection is an aspect of the pilgrimages to the shrines at Walsingham. One of the many relics at Walsingham was the finger bone of St. Peter, a relic connected to his death along a pilgrimage route filled with other relics. Due to the high number of relics held at Walsingham, there is a darker connection to Thanatourism. The relic is deemed a sacred artifact because it is made from a saint following their death; a relic is a connection to the saint or in some cases a martyr, so the faithful can pray towards them for guidance or experience. As the physical

representation of the saint/martyr the pilgrimage to a relic is a pilgrimage to contemplate the life and death of the individual. The use of the relic as a religious sacred item allows for the pilgrim to have a more in-depth connection to the death of the individual unlike the previous practice that all relics held healing abilities.

The religious sacred and the secular sacred create an interesting relationship amongst tourists to religious sites. While previously mentioned relics are of the religious sacred realm, tourist to churches and shrines are not always there for religious pilgrimages. A trend seen more in churches and shrines is that tourists are there to experience the history or admire the architecture of the building. These buildings are still sacred as they have an important connection to their location however they do not always fill an aspect of the religious sacred but have a more secular nature. Architecture and history are things enjoyed by all faiths and culture, while they do belong to a group anyone can experience them making them secular in nature. The beginnings in this shift of the sacred can be seen at Canterbury Cathedral, which while a mix of religious and secular sacred still hold a place among darker Thanatourism.

It was the death of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury that began the pilgrimages to the church. With his death in the political climate of the time it spurred people's interest and the resulting canonization of Becket created a draw for pilgrims of a religious and secular nature long after Becket's murderers and contemporaries were dead. As demonstrated these early sacred sites fell under Thanatourism. In Medieval Europe it was a normal occurrence to pilgrimage to the site of a saint's death or the see or pray at the location of the saint's relic and Canterbury was the focal point for this practice. Canterbury was a unique place amongst the Thanatourism religious sites because of this blending of religious sacred and secular sacred. This blending continues to the modern day and provided a type of subconscious understanding that something

can be sacred in both a religious and secular fashion; which is a mentality which has continued over the years.

The religious sacred in Medieval Europe was a normal trend. The practice of pilgrimage was one encouraged by the Church to show a continuation of one's faith. Although branches of Christianity did not approve of pilgrimage, like Martin Luther and John Calvin, the Anglican Church in England encouraged the practice. For many faithful the pilgrimage was an important part of their life. One could feel more connected with their faith or to the saint they were going to pray to. These encounters with the symbolism of the saint's death could be meditated upon or experienced, which kept the practices under Thanatourism. Being on a lighter scale as compared to the later form of Dark Tourism, Thanatourism provided a way for pilgrims to experience the components of death but at the same time be removed from death itself. As societies changed, the overarching involvement with death went from the public eye to the private realm. However, as mentioned following the Romanticism Period discussing death came back into the public realm through cemeteries and battlefields. As time progressed, Thanatourism became applicable to battlefields and the tourist practices relating to death took on a darker appearance. Sites of battlefield tourism, like Waterloo, were a defining place in the transition of Thanatourism and the sacred.

The extremely early fascination with Waterloo is a testament to people's fascination with encountering death whether it's on a spiritual level or a non-spiritual level. Waterloo was a tourist site as soon as the fighting stopped and that tourism has not stopped. The recreational Thanatourism at Waterloo demonstrates a more relaxed encounter with death. While there were families there after the fighting to look for loved ones, there were also individuals there wanting to see the location of Napoleon's defeat as soon as it had happened. Due to the large amount of

non-religious pilgrims, Waterloo can be classified as a secular sacred location. Also, seen with Waterloo is a shift in experiencing death (Thanatourim) to going to places of death and destruction (Dark Tourism). The sacralization of battles is seen again following World War I where the sacred secular object become memorials to remember those who died. Since this was the first instance of warfare involving multiple countries on a large playing field the memorial served as a way for families and others to remember the dead without needing to travel to the location of the fighting. With the continuation of Battlefield tourism, tourism scholars like Philip Stone, placed this practice as a lighter shade of Dark Tourism. This transition demonstrated the interest in sites of death as a place to remember those who died but also as a place to confront evil.

It was the outcome of World War II that saw the complete shift from Thanatourism to Dark Tourism as well as a major shift in the sacred. For so long the sacred had been connected to events within specific religions; all religions had their own sacred places. However, with the Holocaust multiple faiths and cultures needed a place to remember and encounter where so many had died. This need welcomed the concept of the secular sacred, people from all faith and traditions could come together at this memorials and museums to remember and experience those who were killed.

The need to remember so many lives following World War II and the Holocaust saw the creation of numerous memorials all over Europe. These memorials served multiple faiths and became secular sacred sites as people began to come to them to remember the multitude of individuals who were killed. The ritualistic pilgrimages occurred to museums, memorials, and former concentration camps. As popularity grew, the next task became for these sites to also provide individuals with the knowledge about what had occurred at the site in question. While

people on a whole are coming to remember, many are also normal tourists who are coming to learn more about the atrocities that happened.

Providing proper information and memorialization was a struggle for the developing Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum. This struggle was the result of the quick collection of data by the Soviets following the liberation of the camp in preparation for the Nuremberg Trials. The quickly gathered data provided inaccurate numbers as well as glossing over the fact that Jews were the primary group murdered there. As a result, the museum and memorial did not focus enough on the Jewish deaths but on the Polish deaths since the Soviets pushed the idea that Auschwitz was a place for Polish martyrs. With the correction to the museum and the memorial following the fall of the Soviet Union and Communism in Poland, Auschwitz-Birkenau's popularity as a Dark Tourism site continued. While Auschwitz is possibly the most recognizable Dark Tourist site, the site with the largest dark and sacred impact is Belzec.

One of the six Death Camps, Belzec has become the epitome of a secular sacred Dark Tourism site. Since Belzec was completely dismantled by the Nazi's and covered up there was no physical aspect of the camp that survived for a place of remembrance. The memorial that was constructed following pressure by the US Holocaust Museum, is a memorial that provides a place to remember the dead but also to spiritually experience the death that occurred there. Belzec's memorial is specifically designed so that the visitor walks the same path the Jewish victims walked, going down into the earth towards death. The experience spiritually connects one with death, causing you to confront what has occurred which you look at the memorial wall at the end of the walkway. At the same time, the Belzec memorial is also one of a secular sacred. While the people murdered there were Jewish the way of remembering at Belzec is universal as people of multiple faiths get together there to light candles and pray.

As seen, the shift in the sacred and Thanatourism/Dark Tourism took centuries. A.V. Seaton has explored Thanatourism in many capacities; pilgrimages, cemeteries, battlefields. Where he can connect Thanatourism with the sacred and cultural practices, and in some cases mirroring it to the present time. However, Seaton's analysis of Thanatourism practices as a sacred and secular pilgrimage is specifically kept to funerary and cemetery sites. Seaton does not identify Holocaust sites as a new form of secular sacred which makes them a secular pilgrimage location. In Philip Stone's work he identifies the darkness of the Holocaust sites. Utilizing Stone's works and the work relating to memory of the Holocaust by James Young the new secular sacred can be identified.¹⁶⁸ As stated these secular sacred sites have become a focal point of Dark Tourism (or Thanatourism) as a means for the various cultures in Europe to never forget their dark past, be it through cemeteries, prisons, or battlefields. As well as through the numerous museums and memorials dedicated to the lives lost in the Holocaust. These secular sites in Europe stem from a history of religious sites and pilgrimages. As noted the transition from pilgrimage to religious sacred sites to those pilgrimages of secular sites can be seen through historical figures, battles, cemeteries, and sites of genocides with Europe. This evolution of the sacred is, above all, a way for society to connect to the actions of the past and experience them as well as remember them.

¹⁶⁸ James Edward Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1993.

Images

Image 1: Pg 28, Table from Nigel Bond, Jan Packer, and Roy Ballantyne. "Exploring Visitor Experiences, Activities and Benefits at Three Religious Tourism Sites." Page 474

Graph 1: Pg. 36, Stone, "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a typology of Death and Macabre related Tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions." Page 151

Image 2: Pg 49, Buntman, "Tourism and Tragedy: The Memorial at Belzec, Poland." Page 429

Image 3: Pg. 51,

http://www.belzec.eu/en/news/the_10th_anniversary_of_the_museum_memorial_site_in_belzec/504

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