

# SHARING CULTURES 2017

Proceedings of the  
5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Intangible Heritage



**Edited by**

**Sérgio Lira  
Rogério Amoêda  
Cristina Pinheiro**



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*Barcelos, Portugal  
6-8 September*

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## Foreword

Sharing Cultures 2017 - 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Intangible Heritage follows the path established by the previous Conferences on Intangible Heritage (Sharing Cultures 2009, 2011, 2013 and 2015) and aims at pushing even further the studies on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) under the main topics proposed by the UNESCO Convention. As in previous editions of this event some new fields of discussion, namely on what concerns management and promotion of ICH, educational matters and authenticity were added to the list of topics.

The complete list for this edition of Sharing Cultures included 01- Oral traditions and expressions; 02- Performing arts; 03- Social practices; 04- Traditional craftsmanship; 05- Management and promotion of intangible heritage; 06- Authenticity of intangible heritage; 07- Intangible heritage and education; 08- Special Chapter: Pilgrimage Routes.

The concept of ICH has gained its rightful place among the scientific community during the last two decades and a significant amount of work has been done by a large number of researchers, academics and practitioners, leading to the recognition of ICH as fundamental piece for the comprehension of human societies, organisations and ways of living. It is now possible to consider that after an initial period of conceptual definition ICH has now its framework well-defined. It is within that framework that Sharing Cultures 2017 established its aims and goals as we are convinced that scientific events that gather scholars, researchers and academics with ongoing work on ICH are privileged moments to share experiences, problems, questions and conclusions. Sharing Cultures always aimed at being one of those events and the publication of the Proceedings proves the quality of the research and of the work that has been done, besides promoting a broader dissemination of the knowledge produced thereof. As for the previous editions all papers were published after double-blind peer-review by at least two referees.

We would like to thank all Members of the Scientific Committee who reviewed the papers and made suggestions that improved the quality of individual work and the over-all quality of the event.

We would also like to express our gratefulness to the Municipality of Barcelos, specially to Dr.<sup>a</sup> Armandina Saleiro, Vice-President and Councilor for Culture, who made this event possible, and to the Pottery Museum of Barcelos that hosted the Conference.

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## The festivities of the Light of Carnide: a persistent authenticity

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**ABSTRACT:** The *Círio* of Our Lady of the Cabo, also known as *Círiodos Saloios*, has been a pilgrimage since the XV century far from the sanctuary at cap Espichel to the far away rural communities of the neighbouring diocese of Lisbon. The *Círio* of Our Lady of the Cabo is related to the feast of Our Lady of the Light of Carnide, a bordering neighbourhood of Lisbon. The festival, which is held annually in September, culminates in a procession attracting many foreigners to the local. As a popular religiosity phenomenon, it concerns its intangible heritage and asserts an important trace of its cultural identity. Nevertheless, blending the sacred and the profane, it incorporates extrinsic components related to a social, cultural and touristic dimension. Tourism, although offering opportunities to the local development, also presents a challenge to preserve the local authenticity without compromising the dynamics of the inherent hybridity between locals and outsiders. In order to understand the phenomenon and its ambivalences and adjustments, a qualitative study is proposed, comprising a literary revision about the *Círio* and the local devotion to Our Lady of the Light across times, non-structured interviews with the locals and a participant observation of the festivities since 2015. The research, even being descriptive, is designed as a correlational study, analyzing the impact of tourism in the religious sense of the event. Considering the whole festivities, it is recognizable that, along with the permanency of the ritual and the religious beliefs and behaviors, there are recent additions, renewed or invented practices, presented as consistent traditions, particularly related to the profane features. These results are considered in the frame of a discussion of the local identity and the sense of belonging provided by the festivities and its connections with the local authenticity preservation.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

In Christianity, the presence of light in the religious ritual, liturgical or devotional, has a messianic sense, as seen by the prophecy of Simeon “[...] my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the sight of all nations: a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of your people Israel” (Luke, 2, 30-32). The analogy between Christ and the light fundamentals the symbology of the light and, therefore, of the candle in the ritual. *Círiow* was the name given to the large wax candle (Bluteau & Silva, 1789, p.276) which the believers took on the processions, and, by extension, this name has been used to designate the type of pilgrimage where one takes the *círio* to any saint (Id. *ibid*). On the other hand, the prophecy of Simeon was delivered when the baby Jesus was presented at the Temple on the occasion of the Virgin Mary's purification, giving rise to Candelaria and Our Lady of the Light.

Carnide, a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Lisbon, which retains traits of rurality in contrast with the growing urban development surrounding it, and where long-term residents cohabit with a newly arrived population, is host to both festivities, ie. it is part of the itinerary of

the pilgrimage of the *Círio* of the Cabo, and it also annually celebrates Our Lady of the Light with a procession and a village fair. Considering that the religious matrix acquires expressions of profane nature and that globally these are factors of place identity, the aim of this study is to assess the impact of how the social transformations that happened in the neighbourhood have been perceived, and also to investigate how these phenomenons are used and altered for tourism's sake.

The study's method is essentially descriptive and based on a literary work. The Portuguese National Library has a manuscript entitled *Memorias sobre a antiguidade das Romarias, e da Romaria ao Sitio de Nossa Senhora do Cabo*, probably written by Francisco Ildefonso dos Santos and dated *ca.* 1857, which constitutes the main source for this subject. Pinho Leal makes a detailed description of the cult of Our Lady of the Cape (Leal, 1873, pp.135–140). The sanctuary and the *Círio* have been thoroughly studied and divulged by Heitor Batista Pato, based on documentary sources but also on literary and journalistic references of which the most cited is *Nossa Senhora do Cabo: Um culto nas terras do fim* (Pato 2008). Documentary and on-the-spot investigation by Vasco Valadares Teixeira (1993) about the *círio* in Estremadura gives us valuable anthropological information about the one of the Cape. The work of Pedro Penteado (1998), though mainly focused on the sanctuary of Our Lady of Nazaré and the *Círio* of Prata Grande that happens there, also analyses the origins, motivations and development of the *círios* and their ritual and devotional expressions. The festivities of Our Lady of the Light was studied in the project "E-Carnide" (E-Carnide, 2016; Roque & Forte, 2017), developed by bachelor students of Tourism in the Universidade Europeia. The main source for the history of the finding of the image which led to the construction of the sanctuary and the beginning of the devotion is the 17th century work of Father Roque do Soveral (1610), whereas the analysis of the local cult towards the end of the 19th century was based on the work of Gabriel Pereira (1910, pp.55–84). The analysis of both the Virgin Mary's cults comes from the *Santuário Mariano* by Friar Agostinho de Santa Maria (1707), which volume 2 deals with the images of Our Lady venerated in the archdiocese of Lisbon.

The study of the external manifestations of this cult and the way how the population lives these events is based on non-structured interviews with the residents and in participating and observing these practices since 2105. In this sense, though the research defines its methodology as descriptive, it also assumes the characteristics of a correlational study since it tries to evaluate the impact of tourism on the tradition of these festivities.

## 2 HISTORY

### 2.1 *Círio do Cabo*

The frontier between *círio*, procession, pilgrimage, religious village fair and vigil is rather porous. Supposing that all these manifestations follow a certain set of rules, we may observe the present common traits: the travelling of the participants, the longer or shorter duration in distance implying a shorter or longer period of time, the presence of angels and litters or movable shrines, the payment of vows, the profane dimension, the brotherhoods, markers in space like bedspreads on the windowsills, the specific sound of church bells and the fireworks which indicate festiveness, the honorary titles.

The *círios* are one of the varieties of pilgrimages, with annual village saints celebrations, with fixed dates, which move to a sanctuary according to their own ritual (cf. Penteado, 1998). Their origins go back to the 16th century, though the designation only appeared in the 18th century. Frei Agostinho de Santa Maria already mentions *círios* in the *Santuário mariano* (1707, pp.85, 139–140). Although we find them in other parts of the country, the *círios* cluster in the Estremadura area.

Leite de Vasconcelos (1985) mentions the Tejo river as a demarcation line: the right shore belonging to Our Lady of Nazaré, and the left to Our Lady of the Cabo, both following an itinerary from parish to parish: one *círio* a year from each village to another, and the next to another; the one which celebrates in one place hands over the flag, which has the image in paper stuck to it, to the village which celebrates next. There are always two kinds of *círios*: the one

from the parish that takes the banner to the sanctuary and delivers it; the one from the parish which receives it and delivers it to the church (Vasconcelos, 1985, p.310).

Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the rural communities around Lisbon go on a pilgrimage to the cape Espichel, which is called the *Círio* of Our Lady of the Cabo. The origin of this pilgrimage is mentioned in narratives that appear in legends concerning an extraordinary event taking place at the beginning of the reign of D. João I, and which imprints an ethiological mark on the cult. Analysed as a whole, one can detect common aspects: an intense luminosity, or the apparition of the Virgin, alone or holding the child, riding a mule, on the uninhabited and empty promontory, where people come from places near the capital gather. These references determine the various designations: Our Lady of the Cabo, referring to the place of the apparition; Our Lady of the Pedra de Mua (or mule) pointing to the animal the Virgin was riding, although it could be an allusion to Atlantis (Gandra, 2004); of the end of Lisbon or of the Saloios, name given to the inhabitants in the region of Lisbon, alluding to the origin of the pilgrims. We also find the name of Royal *Círio*, proving the presence of monarchs and their respective gifts, and the name *Círio* do Bodo, referring to the collective meal which was part of the celebrations.

The cult to Our Lady of the Cabogoes back to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Pato, 2007; Pato, 2008). The brotherhood was founded in 1432, though their statutes have only been approved in 1672 (Leal, 1873, p.136), being in charge of organizing the *círio*. Construction of the chapel started in 1414, on the site of the original sanctuary, paid by the residents of the end of Lisbon, and the alms offered by the faithful (Leal, 1873, p.137).

This is supposed to be the first *círio* organized as a *giro* (Penteado, 1998, p.107), or itinerancy through various parishes, each one of which, according to a pre-established order, assumed the obligation of organizing the service and the annual journey to the sanctuary. The pilgrimage originally took place on August 15, the celebration of the Ascension, but eventually ended up on the September 8, the day of the Nativity of the Virgin (Pato, 2008, p.122).

In the beginning only the parishes of Costa da Caparica were part of the *giro* to the cape, growing later to englobe the Lisbon area and, with some variations in its composition across times, in its final version, it had 26 parishes: Alcabideche, Carnaxide, Tojalinho, S. Pedro de Sintra, Belas, Loures, Carnide, Barcarena, Lousa, Santo Antão do Tojal, Oeiras, Benfica, São Domingos de Rana, São João das Lampas, Montelavar, Rio de Mouro, Belém, Cascais, Odivelas, S. Martinho de Sintra, Almagem do Bispo, Santo Estêvão das Galés, Igreja Nova, Terrugem, Fanhões, Santa Maria and São Miguel de Sintra. Each of these parishes were obliged to organize and pay the festivities every 26th year, according to the cycle of the *giro*, celebrating the entrance and the exit of their respective *insigniae* (Teixeira, 1993, p.105).

The specific rituals of the *círio* include: the departure to the sanctuary before the celebrations; the ceremonies in the sanctuary, including the procession and the rituals upon arrival, with three turns around the church “seizing” the sacred space (Pato, 2008, p.165), the votive mass and the procession; the piper and his music; the laudatory speeches usually either sung or declaimed by the angels during the ceremony of the presenting of the *insigniae*. The angels, dressed as Roman soldiers, reproduce the baroque iconography of the Archangel Gabriel (Pato, 2008, p.26). The laudatory speeches, with titles such as *Vozes afectuosas na trasladação que faz o círio* [Tender voices during the rounds of the *círio*] (Anon, 1812), are some of the most distinctive marks of the *círio*, an expression of feelings of sadness by the parish that is handing over, and joyful expectation of the one who is receiving it.

At the very beginning, the *círio* carried a banner that left from one parish and was taken to the cape, where it was passed to the next parish. From 1751 onwards the banner was accompanied by an image of the Virgin (Leal, 1873, p.139), solemnly carried in a carriage, nowadays replaced by a fire truck. Since 1887, however, the image did not go all the way to the cape any more, and was just moved from parish to parish.

The chronology of the *círio* is marked by continuities and disrupters, which reflect the historical context of the country. During the reign of D. João I, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the south was spared the plagues that swept the country, a fact which was attributed to the Virgin of the Cape, thus boosting the popularity of the cult and the pilgrimage (Ferreira & Cabaça, 2011). During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the gold from Brazil propitiated an era of economic prosperity and of royal power, which was reflected in a huge building program in the sanctuary and went on until the reign of D. José, including, not only the construction of a new temple, but also of an aqueduct with a water house and a vegetable garden, and reorganizing of the space in front of

the church by building two rows of terrace houses for the pilgrims in a baroque and monumental scenic style. Two special *círios* have been mentioned, which King D. José and Queen D. Maria attended, respectively and with their court and which were a pretext for many buildings and orders, namely processional carriages, besides the offering of huge meals to the pilgrims. There were also innumerable offers by the king to the image, as crowns and golden bows, and mantles richly embroidered in gold thread (Leal, 1873, pp.137–138). The treasure also included liturgical implements in silver and gold plated silver and other objects in gold and precious stones (Leal, 1873, p.139) offered by grateful believers in homage to the Virgin (Teixeira, 1993, p.106). Until now, this treasure is checked every time there is a *círio*, and a record is made in the parish where the *círio* arrives.

The first period of decline occurs in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the French invasions (when the treasure was dilapidated) and the flight of the court to Brazil, and also in 1834 with the extinction of the religious orders, although Pinho Leal states that devotion to the Most Holy Virgin of the Cape had not decreased, even in such an ungodly century, and even with the furious sermons of men with no faith; and the celebration of the Lady kept on being as splendid and popular as ever (1873, p.140). From 1887 onwards the *círio* stopped going all the way to the Cape altogether and the handing over of the *insigniae* occurred in the parishes themselves (Pato, 2008, p.112). In the adverse environment of the establishment of the Republic, the *Círio* of the Cape, like most *círios*, was suspended between 1911 e 1925. The same thing occurred later, after the April revolution, between 1974 and 1978. In 1979, the parish of São Martinho de Sintra started the *círio* again (Pato, 2008, p.247), and it has been active ever since.

The parish of Carnide is part of this *círio*, as proved by the notes of the itinerary of 1811: Loures carries the image of the Cabo, honours it and delivers it to Carnide (Vasconcelos, 1985, p.321) and then two *giros* later: in 1864 Carnide takes the banner to the Cape and hands it over to Barcarena, Barcarena receives the banner from Carnide at the cape and brings it to its parish (Vasconcelos, 1985, p.322). It is also documented in the laudatory songs *Vozes afectuosas* (Anon, 1812; Anon n.d.) and *Hymnos sagrados* (Cascaes, 1863), which starts with the exhortation:

“Exulta Carnide. Victória, Victória! [Carnide exults. Victory, victory!]  
Findára-se o tempo d’amarga saudade. [Times of bitter longing is over.]  
Após anos tantos, volvidos em trevas, [After so many years, back in darkness,]  
Já dias apontam de mór claridade [...] [Already days show more  
clarity] (Cascaes 1863).

This laudatory speech, recited by three angels, refers to the 26 years of waiting, the period in which the residents of Loures would be sad and homesick for the image after passing it on to Carnide.

In 2017, the move of the *Círio* between Loures and Carnide is expected to start again. Loures received the image of the Lady of the Cape on October 1 of 2016, in the parish of Belas. Laudations were sung in the church of St. Peter in Belas and at the arrival at Montemor, which marks the entry of the image into the parish of Loures, accompanied by a procession which included chariots and an entourage on horseback, and again at the Firebrigade, where the *círio* proceeded on foot to the mother church. During the stay of the image in Loures, the presence of the Lady’s image was the reason for a series of events articulating the sacred and the profane: itinerancy of the image along the churches in the parish, sometimes coinciding with the respective patron saint’s feasts. On March 26, a Sunday, Loures fulfilled the pilgrimage to the cape Espichel, recreating the tradition interrupted in 1887: the pilgrims left the day before, on foot, approximately following the old itinerary, crossing the river at Belém, and slept in Charneca da Caparica, because this was the place of the old farms where pilgrims used to spend the night; on Sunday they left for the cape where they met up with the pilgrims accompanying the image which travelled by coach. The transportation to Carnide fell on the end of the feasts in honor of Our Lady of the Light.

### 3 FEAST OF OUR LADY OF THE LIGHT

The pilgrimages are feasts in honour of a saint or a religious invocation. The feast of Our Lady of the Light in Carnide, which is held annually in September, culminates in a procession attracting many foreigners to the parish. As a popular religious phenomenon, it concerns its intangible heritage and asserts an important trace of its cultural identity.

It follows an old pilgrimage route to the fountain of Machada, whose water is supposed to possess miraculous powers, marked by light flashes appearing over the spot. As it has been related: the pilgrims come from distant and faraway places with incredible fervour to visit the Image of the Light, as they came in olden times to see the mysterious light signals which appear over it; they went to see the lights in the sky which appear in Carnide over the fountain of Machada (Soveral, 1610, fol.52r).

The tradition of these flashes above the fountain is the reason for the invocation of the Virgin in this spot, confirmed by the miraculous finding of the image of the Lady of the Light by Pero Martins, whose story is narrated in *Santuário Mariano* (Santa-Maria, 1707, pp.98–108). It is said that Pero Martins, a natural of Carnide, was in prison in Africa where for several times the Virgin, in a halo, appeared to him and said she would free him from captivity, and begging him, upon his safe arrival back home, to build a chapel dedicated to the Holy Lady of the Light. An image of her would be found at the miraculous fountain of Machada, and that was the place the chapel should be built. Pero Martins was freed and came back home to Carnide in 1463. Near the fountain, he found the image and, with the bishop's approval, he built the little chapel to which the neighbors contributed. The holy image was solemnly enthroned on September 8 of the year 1464. At the same time the brotherhood was formed, and King D. Afonso V and the bishop of Lisbon being members, its prestige drew the most noble houses to it, all willing to take part in the upkeep of the chapel, and, also, in contributing to the feast and the pilgrimage. As it has been said: so, united in the same devotion, king, nobles and the people paid their homage to the Mother of God in the little chapel of Carnide since its beginning (Pimentel, 1899, p.132).

Since 1464, the pilgrimage of Our Lady of the Light happens on September 8 the day of her Nativity; it coincides therefore with the end of the harvest, turning into a thanksgiving feast, as it should be, since the area is markedly rural.

By the end of the 16th century, the hospital of the Holy Spirit and the respective cult fell into decline due to the construction of the sanctuary, inserted in an architectural complex which included a convent and a hospital, and was absorbed by the devotion to the Lady of the Light.

At present the feast happens on the last Sunday of September, at the end of a month of a village fair and local festivities. As with most religious celebrations, it includes a component of private devotion, with prayers and the fulfillment of vows, and others of a public sort, with solemn mass, the sermon and the procession.

The cult of the Lady of the Light spread out from Carnide to other areas of Portuguese missionary influence in the context of the maritime and colonial expansion, particularly to Brazil, where the feast happens on September 8th as well.

In 2016, the feast ended on September 27, with solemn mass in the sanctuary's church, followed by a procession. The image, taken in a car from the fire brigade, passed through the streets of old Carnide, by the old parochial church of São Lourenço and ended with the return of the image to the mother church. The procession opened with the scouts' corps, followed by the clergy praying the rosary with a microphone, the canopy over the Holy Sacrament, a brotherhood, ending with the firetruck with the image of the Lady.

The followed route bore more or less explicit marks which indicated a change from everyday life, here seen as the profane. One of these marks is the inordinate amount of people which gather along the street during the procession, and the ones which clearly take part in it praying the rosary and holding a candle. Among these there are those who supervise and keep the silence, following rules they clearly knew, there were also those who just watched the praying crowd. Both these groups formed one in their wish to keep silent voices which might disturb the event. Considering the procession took place in the district of Lisbon, in a parish geographically close to the center, it was difficult to distinguish the visitors from the residents. Another sign is the presence of bedspreads hung from the windowsills of the houses along the route.

## 4 FESTIVITIES IN CARNIDE: THE CÍRIO AND THE FEAST OF THE LIGHT

Both in the *círio* pilgrimage and in the feast of Our Lady of the Light, religion plays a key role in the local development, as the religiously motivated travellers increases the cultural and heritage tourism in the area. The medieval concept of pilgrimage had fixed the “images of travellers undertaking long arduous journeys to religious shrines around the world” but, now, “the journey may be short in both distance travelled and duration of stay” (Digance, 2006, p.36). So, considering distinct levels of pilgrimages based on the travel distance, the *círio* and the feast of the Light may be defined, respectively, as regional and local pilgrimage (Post, 1998, p.303) in the Christian tradition.

Whatever the distance to the sanctuary, a pilgrimage implies a physical journey, blurring the distinction between pilgrimage and tourism (Stausberg, 2012): “tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist” (Turner & Turner, 2011, p.20), which is more an ambiguity than a separation between the sacred and the laic or secular (Reader, 1993, pp.21–22). As it had been remarked in our object of study, in the *círio* and in the feast of Light, if pilgrims or devotees may act as tourists, similarly tourists are not easily identified, as they participate in the religious activities or rituals, as an aimed immersive experience in the destination place and, therefore, both events maintain marks of authenticity. The trip to the Cabo stresses the identity. In the old days people kept tabs: “I have seen the virgin so and so many times”, and they said a number; the old people said they would never see her again

Nevertheless, the prevalence and impact of the two festivities in Carnide is more complex. The circumstance of the *círio* as a sporadic occurrence obstructs the sense of belonging. Only the old residents can remember the last *giro* or feel connected with the primary character of the pilgrimage, mainly due to its floating population and the changing and growing community with social features of urbanity. As it was observed in Loures, the preparation of the *círio* has been managed as a (re)invented tradition – such as the recovery of the ancient walking route or the project of a new *berlinda* to transport the image with the old solemnity –, involving religious and local authorities, public and private sector institutions and residents with a rhetorical and ideological discourse towards a distinctive local identity. In Carnide, which is included in the *giro* far from its beginnings, the mark of the *círio* was supplanted by the local relevance of the feast of the Light.

The memory of the celebrations which happen annually without any significant interruptions is very present in the local community and strengthens the sense of identity. Contrary to the image of Our Lady of the Cabo, the image of Our Lady of the Light remains in place and is taken once a year on an itinerary along certain main streets of the neighbourhood, strengthening the sense of belonging and, also, the local rivalries – who has the most beautiful bedspreads, who has the best decorated windows and balconies, why the streets chosen are these and not others. Besides it has as a profane complement the village fair which goes on for a month, to which other distinctive practices are associated, for instance the popular marches festival, which happens in June, but are repeated for this special occasion.

The *círio* is an eccentric phenomenon. While the Cabo is a peripheral and remote sanctuary, the *círio* brings the devotional image to the centre of the quotidian life, requiring the community commitment. “They [pilgrimages] also exhibit in their social relations the quality of *communitas*; and this quality in long-established pilgrimages becomes articulated in some measure with the environing social organisation.” (Turner, 1973, p.192). However, after Turner (1973) had suggested that pilgrimage sites occur at peripheral locations, linking increased formality in ritual with concentric sanctuaries, and less formality with the peripheral ones, Cohen argued that “the degree of formality declines roughly with the importance of the center: former politico-religious centers are presently less formal and more popular pilgrimage centers than they have apparently been in the past, pointing to a cyclic and dynamic process” (Cohen, 1992, p.48). While the *círio*, in general, and Loures, in particular, has recovered the traditional patterns to promote themselves as a religious event and as a touristic experience, Carnide has profited from the community’s non-involvement on the *círio* to reinforce the relevance of the feast of the Light.

The lack of memory about the pilgrimage to the Cabo and the obliteration of the *círio* by the feast is stated by an informant, a woman aged of 78 and resident in Carnide: “Our Lady is the one of the Light, not that one you refer [Cabo]. There must be some misunderstanding!”.



Carnide has lost, at least, for the moment, the *círio* as an identity mark, focusing on the feast of Our Lady as a religious and cultural mark of the place.

## 5 RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES AND TOURISM

Nevertheless, blending the sacred and the profane, these religious festivities, centred on the ,and touristic dimension.

Religious tourism has diverse formulations: a pilgrimage, or a group or individual travel to a religious sanctuary, with devotional purposes; a crowd gathering on relevant events or commemorative dates; and, also, a visit to important religious places within the framework of a tourism itinerary (Vukonić, 2010, pp.117–118). Both the *círio* and to the Feast of Our Lady of the Light may be categorized as *seasonal*, as defined by Rinschede, bounded “to a certain seasonality, even when some religious sites can be visited throughout the entire year” (1992, p.61), which underlines its character of exceptionality and rupture to the everyday life.

The religious events related to the *círio* and to the Feast of Our Lady of the Light, which are, simultaneously, framed by other leisure activities, attracting travellers and tourists without a preminent religious intention, even if they have a subjacent spiritual setting. “Conscious of the opportunities offered by free time on the one hand, and of their spiritual needs on the other, people in modern civilization have been quick make the connection. Spiritual life is being increasingly transferred to, and manifested in, free time.” (Vukonić, 2010, p.8). Also, as MacCannel (1999) first appointed tourism, or leisured travels, may be considered as a model of contemporary religious behaviour, or a modern ritual, even if arguing that the modern tourism and pilgrimages are founded in different social conceptions of space. However, the worship and devotion, observed from outside, are understood as a cultural expression.

Considering the pilgrimage and the feast as intangible heritage, while as mark of the local identity, they are also a fragile mark of cultural diversity. The cultural and religious events are perceived as markers of heritage, usually encountered by tourists (Olsen, 2003). Its authenticity is aimed by tourists as a crucial factor for the travel satisfaction: “[...] the authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the toured objects as authentic” (Wang, 1999, p.351) Nevertheless, the growing pressure of tourism over the religious activities may reduce the level of authenticity, stimulating or imposing the creation of new activities, events, or “pseudo-events” (Boorstin, 2012), reinventing the old and nuclear traditions. Tourism, although offering opportunities to the local development, also presents a challenge to preserve the local authenticity without compromising the dynamics of the inherent hybridity between locals and outsiders. MacCannel also notes the tourism effects in heritage authenticity, describing tourist attractions as “differentiations” or “elements dislodged from their original natural, historical and cultural contexts” (1999, p.13), while “the displacement of actual human adaptations by manufactured ‘tradition’ and fictionalized ‘heritage’ now extends into every detail of life” (1999, p.198).

The *círio*, today, is no longer as it was in past centuries: in Loures and in its previous *giro*, some traditions had been broken and are being reinvented; in Carnide, its memory tends to disappear and the *giro* is going to be disrupted, which means an effective heritage lost. The feast of the Light is receiving recent additions, mostly profane. Tourists catch the religious performance as authentic and immersive experience (Wang, 1999), obliging “to separate the existential experience of authenticity from the toured object and from the social and political contexts” (Belhassen et al., 2008, p.687). Also, the religious feast is perceived as a performative and extrinsic event by the floating population and coming tourists and travellers. Even if the decision to pause the *giro* at Carnide was taken by the religious power, these events are being appropriate by the civil society, also in a perspective of marketing and economic benefit, which determines a rhetoric communication and an artificial presentation of the religious subjects. But, even as religious festivities are becoming touristic experiences, the feast at Carnide maintains its religious centrality and authenticity.

Analyzing both the *círio* and the feast of the Light, we may infer their vitality but in distinct contexts. The devotional and liturgic rituals maintain their original purposes and sense, without prejudice to the recent additions, renewed or invented practices and profane components, presented and received as reliable traditions. However, considering them in the context of

Carnide, it is recognizable that the time range of 26 years, which is the *giro*'s duration, is too long to preserve their memory inside the community. The difference between the previous places which have received the *giro* and Carnide, all of them with unstable communities, is that Carnide, both religious and civil authorities, and both devotees and residents, don't recognize the *cirio*. The festivities of Our Lady of the Light provide the authenticity and local identity, received by the locals with a sense of belonging and a commitment towards its preservation.

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