

Maximiliano E. Korstanje

# Examining the Norse mythology and the archetype of Odin: The inception of Grand Tour

## Abstract

*The role of Norse mythology has been ignored by historians for long time. The evolution of tourism in manuals and guide-books bespeak the legacy of Rome and Greece as cultural matrixes of our civilization. However, we strongly believe that tourism was possible by means of the articulation of two contrasting needs, the curiosity and knowledge that shaped the Grand Tour in Medieval times. As a result of this, it is hypothesized Norse-mythology played a crucial role in the inception of tourism. First of all, the archetype of Wodan/Odin, the upmost God, refers to a mobile deity whose primary interests were linked to wander elsewhere. In form of animal, Odin preferred to visit different reigns in order to know further about the customs, idiosyncrasy and lore of each folk. This act conferred to him wisdom. The mythical structures of Ancient Germans, an ethnicity compounded and structured around several mobile and nomadic tribes, needed the hospitality as an institution that allowed their ongoing geographical expansion. The thesis of this research is that Norse mythology contributed to the inception of "Grand Tour". Also, would have the Grand tour be possible in other country than England? This research contradicts the existent conceptual framework, first and foremost, the Anglo-view that said the origin of tourism is a modern phenomenon. We have collected evidence enough to confirm The Norse mythology and the archetype of Anglo-world contributed to the inception of Grand Tour and tourism. This triggers and innovates in a new direction respecting to the epistemology of tourism.*

*Key words: Norse mythology; wander; tourism; mobility; Grand Tour*

## Introduction

The evolution of tourism seems to be associated to a combination of three relevant factors; a) the technological advances in transport developed after the first and second World Wars, b) the reduction of working hours and c) the rise of salaries that augmented the ordinary people purchasing power (Sessa, 1979; Khatchikian, 2000; Getino, 2002; Schluter, 2003, 2008; Urry, 2007). Popular wisdom recognizes that the inception of tourism running in parallel with the expansion of capital world-wide. Rather, some other civilizations as Romans or Greeks made some practices similarly to tourism. In academy, there is consensus in considering that the current mobility (physical displacement that connects cities in few days) has been a legacy given by Roman Empire; to be precise from the Homer World (Khatchikian, 2000; Rejowski, 2002; Korstanje, 2009b; Korstanje & Busby, 2010). Contrary to this thesis, the present conceptual paper explores the belief that mobilities and Grand Tour, which can be

---

Maximiliano E. Korstanje, PhD, University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina;  
E-mail: mkorst@palermo.edu

considered an England's invention, have been borrowed by Norse Mythology more than 2,000 years ago. Forged in the core of Scandinavia at the north of Europe, the Norse culture plays a pivotal role not only in the onset of tourism but also in the industrial revolution. The main focus of this research is that Wodan, Oddin or Voden (in the case of Anglo-Saxons) was a travelling God (Wanderer) who in shape of different animals came across the world in quest of wisdom and knowledge. Unlike the Mediterranean civilization, one of the most problems lies in the lack of a system of texts that allows inferring how the ancient Germans lived. Everything what we know today has been discovered by Roman Empire. Long time ago, the anthropological literature showed how the myths and legends, far away of being only superstitions, determined the culture of tribes, even West.

As already explained, the goals of this paper are twofold: a) to determine to what an extent founding myths can impact in the day-to-day behavior, and b) to describe how Norse mythology has been posed as an important element of the contemporary tourism. These efforts intend to continue the John Towner's development to reconsider the possibilities to study non-western or ancient forms of tourism. Research in history should be broadened to delve into new methodologies and conceptual frameworks (Towner, 1999). With the advent of a new millennium a news perspectives to tackle off a radical understanding of tourism are surfacing. Given the economic and social condition after the Second World War, consumption and capital expanded worldwide to the extent of bringing many benefits to defeating countries. Undoubtedly, we are witness of the inception of a new reality based on the right of consumption that was materialized in the holidays and the touristification of developing economies. Although the eyes of historians are put to the Roman-World to denote the principle of mobility associated to travels and leisure, we argue that interesting discoveries can be done whether historians in tourism and hospitality fields turned their attention to Norse-Mythology.

Epistemologically, a paper of this caliber stimulates a hot-debate in a point which merits to be studied in next approaches. Underpinned in the proposition that the principle of predestination and mobility were two key factors for the inception of tourism, the present work explored the contributions the mythology can exerts in tourism-related research. At a first glance, Norse-culture valorized the belief in an upmost God (Odin) whose nomadic nature led him to run across the world in shapes of different animals. In sharp contrast with scholars already assumed, travels as a form of discovery and conquest were coined 5 centuries before the advent of Roman Empire. The ideology of Englanders was broadly transmitted during 19<sup>th</sup> century by the splendid infrastructure and symbolism introduced of seaside Victorian style in their colonies as South Africa or Ireland, and so forth. The British Empire imposed the protestant sense of cleanness and order delimiting the boundaries between civilization and barbarians (Towner & Wall, 1991; Cusack, 2010). The influence of Norse mythology to tourism not only has been historically ignored but also unstudied.

## Conceptual debate

With the passing of years, the founding parents of anthropology agreed to point out that myths are of paramount importance in the ways societies understand their "being in the world". By means of the orchestration of founding myths people often construct a set of symbolic guidelines which are being followed in case of uncertainty and social disorder. For Marcel Mauss, myths and rituals share similar

roots because both are part of the religious system. Following this, the mythical structures should be seen as symbolic patterns so that human beings can intellectualize the ambivalence and uncertainty (Mauss, 2006, p. 270). Besides, Evans-Pritchard contended the power exerted by myths in social life was unquestionable. As narrated stories situated in an extemporal world, myths refer to events where gods and human coexisted in harmony and peace. A narrative of this caliber was certainly aimed at legitimating the day-to-day behavior (Evans-Pritchard, 1977, p. 125). Ceremonies and rites of passage are aimed at exploring the contradictions and incongruence of life. To put this in bluntly, myths teach ordinary-people how the first men resolved their problems, which are similar to the problems we face now. Myths are inherited to human-kind since it represents the capacity to problemize about the constraints of environment.

To wit, Lévi-Strauss brought into attention that mythical narrative intends to intellectualize what remains incompressible for us. As a form of justifying not only the proper practices but also the contradictions given by uncertainty, a myth symbolizes the connection between two antagonist aspects, life and death. Totems confer to human beings of an identity, a special story and narrative that substantially give order to their being. Following this, clans can bolster a fluid communication or show hostility depending of the legends that sustain their essence. Totemism and founding myths not only determine the economy, legitimacy and authority in the group, but also are aimed at resolve the contradiction of the system; first of all, the understanding of death (Lévi-Strauss, 1991; Lévi-Strauss, 2002). Existent literature and ethnologies have certainly demonstrated how primitives are prone to project their own feelings, expectances and fears in their myths (process of anthropomorphism). Social practices, religious beliefs and cosmologies are inextricably intertwined in a deep-seated process that is real for the social imaginary. This remark has been underpinned in the anthropological academy by a set of numerous ethnographies ranging from Malinowski to Levi-Strauss (Malinowski, 1998; Leach, 1954; Leach, 1965; Morris, 1995; Balandier, 2004, p. 104; Lévi-Strauss, 2003, p. 139).

One of the best approaches in this field corresponds with Mircea Eliade who shed light on how the ways of economic production converges with culture and religion. For this scholar, mythology is a complex net of symbols compounded by the needs of departing and return. The myths not only are applied on primitive mind, but also can exert considerable influence in modernized or secularized societies. That way, the efficiency of rituals corresponds with a reality that operates in the present associated with territorial possession exploring new sensations and situations. That way, the needs of explorations (conquest) cannot be explained by psychology, rather it evokes a ritual processes that stems from the founding parents who received these learning from Gods. From this point of view, tourism may be explained by means of the examination of sacred-texts (in our case, the Old Testament) (Eliade, 2006, p. 22).

B. Bettelheim (2010) evidenced in his work, *the uses of enchantment* how tales, lore and legends are socialized in children to expand their understanding of the events and how the emotional impacts of Grimm's Brothers tales includes significant topics as the darkness, the fear of abandonment, witches, and potential injuries, even death. The power of these myths not only framed the mind of individuals from early age but also prepare them to interpret the contingency. Similar remarks can be viewed in the role of Superman, or Batman in our late-capitalism. These narratives refer often to the live of an outstanding hero whose feats transcend the boundaries of time and space. In this vein, F. Bauzá argues that these types of personages born from a mother that belonged to nobility but in the cradle

were seized from her arms. Once grown up, heroes typically claim for their throne or face serious risk fighting with monsters or demons (Bauzá, 2007). The archetype of heroes seems to be aimed not only as a form of cultural entertainment but also it connects the expectances and fears in audience with clear moral lessons to follow in case of emergency. What our founding parents did in moment of crisis, we have to do now. There is a widely consensus in social anthropology to take from myth exegesis a clear scientific methodology to unravel realities that otherwise remains silenced or hidden. It is important therefore not to loose the sight that all human behaviour or practices, even tourism and the need of rest, are typified in the founding myths of every civilization.

Unfortunately, in tourism and hospitality fields scholars do not see in mythology a fertile source to expand their understanding about tourism as something else than a "growing industry" (Korstanje, 2007). In this vein, earlier works as Korstanje, and Korstanje and Busby have repeatedly examined the influence of Semitic mythology in Old and New testaments of Bible in the conception of a round-trip which acted as conduits for tourism industry and travels (Korstanje, 2009a). In the Bible are all foundations to understand why we need of movement to rest or at least how the physical displacement can revitalize our mind. To cut the long story short, the renovation of rules which suggests a later return seems to be enrooted in archetypes as baptism, guilt, sacrifice and expiation. Homologizing the sin with rules, these scholars said that holiday as a moral process can be compared with the expiation of sins or even baptism. In ancient times, people were forged to be displaced in exile because they committed an offense; these types of travels had not any return. With the advent of Christianity, the sins evoked to be expiated. The sense given by this new movement to the world needed from a return as well as a new rite, the forgiveness.

Popular Wisdom valorizes tourism as an industry inextricably intertwined with physical displacement. Whereas academicians emphasize that tourism was a product of technological revolutions linked to mass-transport which accelerated and improved the ways of traveling, less attention has certainly been given to the real origin of tourism. The present paper explores the influence exerted by the Bible (Old and New Testaments) in the configuration of modern tourism. Based on exegetical methods, this work shows how workers are frequently socialized in a diversity of norms (commandments). Tourism, which is characterized by a physical movement, allows these workers to break temporarily these duties to be cyclically reintroduced to their daily obligations once they return. This aspect of modern tourism can be very well compared with the ritual of confession or the purification of the soul. The guilt derived from the repression of the father in Freudian terms claims for a sacrifice to resume the time of sin with forgiveness. That way, visitors who launched to explore paradisiacal places situated in faraway parts of the world experience an unavoidable need to come back home. This is because "holidays" purify the sins (duties) that burden people at work whereas, once they have expiated their acts, they are available to be driven to their societies once again.

Founders of Christianity have seen in the sin and forgiveness a mechanism of cyclical renovation in the terms of Eliade. The sacraments as well as the salvation or the crucifixion are aimed at emphasizing the return to home (to the eternal lost paradise). The continuous quest of a new paradise explains in part the tolerance of suffering characterized to Middle Age societies (Eliade, 2006, pp. 192-193). It is important to see how Christ personified in a human and executed only returns at the end of days. The logic of Christianity has certainly replaced the classical belief of Judaism that displacement should be

associated just with sin. For Christianity, the sins (which are burdens) should be expiated or forgiven if the involved sinner settles his/her debts (this is the aim of the ritual of confession which can be seen in analogy with tourism). The confession as pleasure travel works in connecting two contrasting worlds, the sacrifice derived from culprit and leisure stemming from the forgiveness. Ultimately, Christianity will encourage a new logic enrooted in necessities to move for relaxation to come back later to the same point from which the traveler departed. Basically, the logic of work is triggered by the presence of sin whereas the rest means a posterior reintroduction, a renovation that explains the prosecution of forgiveness. For Hebrew mythology the displacement turns to a pejorative and negative meaning (because it stems from the evilness) while for Christianity the culprit that gives origin to displacement became positive thanks to the interconnection of expiation, sacrifice and punishment. Exactly, this was the logic accepted by reformers and Protestants in the Middle Age.

Following the previous argument, Eliade argues that workers in our postmodern world are frequently socialized in a diversity of norms (commandments). Tourism, which is characterized by a physical movement, allows these workers to break temporarily these duties to be cyclically reintroduced to their daily obligations once they return home. This aspect of modern tourism can be very well compared with the ritual of confession or the purification of soul. The guilt derived from the repression of the father in Freudian terms claims for a sacrifice to resume the time of sin with forgiveness. That way, visitors who launched to explore sparsely populated places experience an unavoidable need to come back home. This happens because holidays metaphorically purify the sins (duties) that burden people at work whereas, once acts are expiated, the tourists are driven once again back to their societies. The New Testament reveals in the Revelation book of John, as well as in the five gospels, the imminent advent of Christ and divine order to the earth (for further details see Mateo, Chapter 24 verses 47-50, John, Chapter 4 verse 3-7 and Luke Chapter 15, verse 4 and 5).

These social forces not only determine individual behavior but also pave the pathways towards a new reinsertion. This eternal return to day-to-day life (once vacation is over) demonstrates an ambivalent nature. The cyclical nature of travels and tourism are not sustained by supporters because on the one hand, traveler's status may change in some way but once returned, travelers are introduced in the same role before their departure. The logic of travels follows a continuity respecting to the work. In this point converges the insight contributions of Eliade, Turner and Van Gennep (Gennep, 1986; Turner, 1999; Eliade, 2006). This type of amnesty is hermeneutically linked to our dreams, expectances and frustrations that characterize our life. The process of renovation seems to be more than important to understand how tourist-spots work. As the previous argument given, tourism industry would operate in a finite boundary across time and space. Once returned, the involved traveler will be reintroduced into the same before-departure status. After a period of hard-work, tourists are framed into spaces of leisure where all their desires are met. Like the sense of heaven (paradise) all tourist-destinations emulate the anthropological principle of exemplary center (Korstanje & Busby, 2010). However, Korstanje and Busby have focused on the contribution of Christianity ignoring the legacy of other cultures as Germans or Celtics in the inception of tourism. To fulfill this gap, the next section will delve into the connection between Norse mythology, mobility, and mass-tourism. We should be dubious anyway to confirm a customs practices thousand of years ago may exert influence in the day-to-day habits.

## The inception of tourism

As tourism has been defined by WTO, some scholars discussed if this activity is a result of modernity or can be traced to Ancient Times. Travels, whatever the case may be, are a significant aspect of tourism. For some historians tourism is a legacy from Roman Empire while others insist only once given the economic as well as technological conditions post-second war world tourism has successfully surfaced (Knebel, 1974; Torre, 1980; Khatchikian, 2000; Rejowski, 2002; Schluter, 2003; Leiper, 1983). Although there is no agreement in academicians to determine what tourism is, the fact is that tourism seems to be associated to physical displacement, movement, in other terms to travels. However, there are many forms of travelling and not all of them are touristic. Historians perhaps have been paved the pathways to present the most convincing models to understand the evolution of the social forces that shaped tourism. In this vein, E. Pastoriza agrees tourism as a process has been accelerated by means of Nation-state's intervention as well as the technical advances in the passenger flows. Given these conditions, landscapes were commoditized and consumed to tourist-gaze (Pastoriza, 2011). There some agreement to admit tourism permitted the mobilities for some groups while other were relegated or immobilized (Lash & Urry, 1998; Wood & Graham, 2006; Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). Travels evoke a tourist-gaze to the extent to re-construct an object to be consumed by experience (Urry, 1990; Da Silva Santos & Soares-Marques, 2011). Tourism for some specialists can be seen as a cultural journey or a rite of passage (Berger, 2004), or an interrelated nets of signs that confers value to certain destinations (Culler, 1981). From its inception onwards, the discipline tried to define what tourism means but without any result because the ever-changing paradigms and the degree of indiscipline in the academy (Tribe, 2010; Escalona, 2011; Korstanje, 2008). A previous examination on the specialized literature define tourism from a sacred-journey whose needs are linked to a commercialized hospitality (Cohen, 1972; Graburn, 1983; Macannell, 2007) or a agent of democracy that revitalizes the diverse asymmetries by the early colonialism (Turner & Ash, 1991), a cross-cultural clash between hosts and guests (Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Smith, 1977) or even a stereotyped expression of leisure (Dumanzedier, 1967; Nash, 1981; Munné, 1999; Getino, 2002). For others scholars tourism should be understood as an interconnected system where push and pull factor converges (Dann, 1977; Turnbull & Uysal, 1995; Crompton, 1979) or a manifestation of cultural dependency (De Kadt, 1992). In all these studies, the return was the prerequisite for distinguishing tourism from migration. The indiscipline at time of defining what tourism is has resulted in a panacea where diverse interpretations are posed. Geographers see in tourism from the paradigm of territory while anthropologists and sociologist base their observations from cultural perspective. A. Santana-Talavera agrees tourism should be conceived as a system formed by three relevant components, travels, infrastructure and territorial organization. Tourism, after all, cannot be understood beyond the physical displacement as well as the return to home (Santana-Talavera, 2006).

To study the evolution of tourism, Buckart and Medlik (1981) proposed a model that takes from the means of transport their primary concern. They go on to say that the increasing mobility was the key factor not only necessary for the upsurge of mass-travels but also for their prosperity. From this perspective, tourism needed three facets to rise as a powerful industry: a) from the inception of humanity to 1840 with the advent of trains, b) the development of trade and trains throughout Europe, and c) the two World Wars which converged in the creation of automobile as a new mean of transport. By

this way, Sigaux (1965) clarifies that tourism is an activity based on the needs of displacements and mass-consumption. Therefore, tourism should be considered as an ever-changing institution crossing the life of people from immemorial times. The technology, furthermore, seems to be of paramount importance for the success of this activity. Whatever the case may be, it is important to mention that tourism and mobility are inextricably intertwined in all spheres or facets of development.

To explain how tourism evolved in the threshold of time, E. Pastoriza calls the attention around the uncanny tension between familiarity and curiosity in the first summer resorts thru 19<sup>th</sup> century. Tourists, even in the inception of activity, experienced a strange fascination of risks but at the same time they needed for a secure infrastructure familiar enough not to feel vulnerable. These conditions were certainly adjusted and combined with other socio-economic forces to give as a result a mass-activity. Once the old fear to sea, that characterized the life in Europe, set the pace to a new revolutionary belief where the sea was deemed as therapeutic, one of the problems these private was how to mitigate the unexpected effects of the inter-class conflict. Since in Argentina the beaches were a site proper of higher-classes, the advent of a mass-culture that opened the door for new groups, should create the necessary atmosphere to keep the degree of distinction of aristocracies and its peacefully coexistence with working class. As the previous backdrop given, the Conquest of holidays was facilitated by means of technological advances as well as the creation of new legal frames which were actively promoted by trade union in France (1936). The process of democratization that brought significant benefits to working class, improved the infrastructural conditions for accessing to leisure and other practices across the world, before this reserved only to aristocracies. To some extent, these policies engendered serious problems in the encounter between guests and hosts. Whether the classical rules of distinction that created the aristocrat identity were at stake, the new coming visitors adapted to the sites emulating the customs of privileged groups. Based on a deep examination of Argentinean case, Pastoriza's development envisages in tourism a social force product of two contrasting tendencies, the gradual acceptance to the sea, not yet as a dangerous place, and secondly the advent of yellow fever that whipped Buenos Aires and other important cities in 19<sup>th</sup> century. This outbreak would rush many porteños (Buenos Aires inhabitants) to peripheral zones in quest of protection and health. Following this reasoning, the main thesis of this book seems to be that Argentina faced in all spheres of society a radical change that accelerated a long simmering process of democratization of leisure whose most important consequences facilitated the emergence of mass-tourism. The process of democratization transformed the holidays of higher-class in a widespread phenomenon practiced by other classes that we know as tourism. The holidays as sacred space have been sublimated in a commoditized one (Pastoriza, 2011).

De la Torre (1980) developed a model based on three facets. The first covers from Middle Age to the inception of 19<sup>th</sup> century wherein the activity was only circumscribed to some members of elite and aristocracy. Ranging from the mid of 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the second facet is denominated tourism in transition and was certainly characterized by the democratization of tourism. The expansion of a new need of traveling to all spheres of society was accompanied with the British Empire colonization. Last but not least, a third stadium that consolidates tourism as a mass-activity begins after the Second War up to date. This facet distinguished from the former two for being affordable and accessible to many people (mass-tourism). In this vein, Getino (2002) has observed that "...in the old Europe, leisure was an ideal...practiced by the cultured elites and people in power...conceived as a necessary time for the enjoyment of privileged few...lasted until the weakening monarchy in the 18th century." In this

statement, we find a conceptual separation, i.e., to travel doesn't imply to be a tourist, and likewise tourism is associated with non-touristic activities. It won't be until 1841 that Thomas Cook offers the first trips for pleasure (in the modern sense of travel and recreation) for the elites. However, it was only in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that tourism took the form of mass pleasure trips. At this instance, both senses will have to fuse in one alone; the trip like synonym of pleasure. We can surmise that the roots of the word "tourism" come from the Old Saxon term *Torn* (England). This word extends to *Torn-us* (what gives turns) and *Torn-are* (to give turns). The meaning of the word "*torn*" can be roughly translated as a "departure with the intention of returning". In practice, it referred to the rest (vacation) trips taken by peasants during the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fernandez-Fuster, 1967).

By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the English noblemen used the term "turn" to refer to the trips undertaken for education, search and culture exploration. In reality, the purpose of the noblemen's trip to the different parts of the kingdom was to acquire knowledge that was useful for governing these areas (e.g., asserting power, imposing rules and regulations, etc). The strength of the "*Grand Tour*" lies in the early tours taken by the nobility. The term "turn" is abandoned in favor of the "tour", a French influence. In Saxon, the nouns of verbs are renamed with the suffix – er (writ-er, speak-er, etc). It is widely believed that during 12<sup>th</sup> century nobleman who wandered through England with the condition to return was named as *Torn-er* (Jimenez-Guzman, 1986). Similarly, M. Khatchikian (2000) studied the influence of Grand Tour in the inception of early tourism. Once broken the Roman Empire, the mobility was stagnant. The chaos, conflict, and disorder among Feuds initiated an era of immobility. Travelers may be target of attacks and robberies. To some extent, The Church played a pivotal role in managing all aspects of daily life even travels. Under this context, the Grand Tour sought to bring security and knowledge to the future ruler. The Princes, mostly accompanied by a tutor, were educated to recognize the needs of local farmers. In doing so, travels were a more than efficient instrument to abandon the bubble of kingdom. Depending on the years abroad, there were two different circuits; one large and other shorter. This traditional trip taken by upper-classes worked as a real rite of passage (Towner, 1985). Although primarily these travels were associated to British nobility promptly this extended to other privileged groups. Grand Tour was not a pilgrimage or religious concerns; this represented to understand the local cultural landscapes to govern with fairness and justice. Some historians agree the travel books published during 17 and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were of paramount importance to consolidate these trips. One of the pioneers was Thomas Coryat who wrote a book-guide in 1611 to guide travelers throughout Europe. Besides curiosity The Grand tour has a pedagogical goal (Bolhs & Duncan, 2005; Buzard, 2002).

The itineraries of Grand Tour changed with the passing of years but at some extent, trippers learned foreign languages upon contracting the service of a bi-lingual speaking guide. From Spanish to French, language served to comprehend the culture of neighbors and commit future negotiations and alliances once in the Crown (Fussell, 1987; Bolhs & Duncan, 2005). However, Grand Tour was not a creation of Mediterranean civilization, but as a legacy of Anglo-Saxon matrix. Without exemption, many historians have taken the travels as a key factor to determine how tourism has historically evolved across the centuries. Following a new fresh perspective, this paper explores the connection of mobility and Norse-mythology. Initiatives similar to Grand Tour were replicated elsewhere during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> even in Argentina where for example the former president D. F. Sarmiento documented the notable transformation experienced US during his trips for 10 states. The American model not only impressed

Sarmiento but also influenced a vast trajectory of his political life (Zusman, 2007). Our main thesis is that unless otherwise resolved it is impossible to develop the hyper-mobile nature of western societies as well as the technical advances in means of transport beyond the Anglo-world. Their mythologies paved the pathways for the surfacing of grand tour and mass-tourism respectively.

## Introduction to Norse culture

Everything what today scholarship knows about Germans was by Roman Empire's intervention. For example, let remind readers that Julius Caesar was a pioneer to start a new genre of literature linked to document carefully in writing all his experiences. Some anthropologists consider Julius Caesar as the first ethnologist but this needs further validation. What is important to note here is that Roman documented all new cultures and customs they faced. The Germans is one of these uncanny tribes that captivated the attention of Romans. Caesar would have his own interests in his testaments, but his legacy was more than important to understand Germans (Gerlomini, 2004).

Ethimologically speaking, there is no consensus respecting to what the word German means. Throughout the pre-Roman age (dated 4,000 years AC), descendants of Germanics formed three families: a) Northern (situated at north of Skandinavia now Finland, Swedes, Icelanders and Norwegians, b) Western, this root includes Saxons, Franks, Jutes, Anglos, Goths, Burgundies and Frisians today allocated in Great Britain, Netherlands, and Germany and ultimately, c) Eastern, fully extinguished. Their nomadic nature made very hard to specify the territory where they settled with accuracy. For one hands, Germans often came from one to another corner of Europe in quest of food or cultivable lands. In the inception of 19<sup>th</sup> century, scholars precluded that the word German was compounded of two terms: Ger (War), and Mann (man) what together means "warrior". Although the contributions of Rome have been illustrative at some extent, its view was based on prejudice and ethnocentrism. Germans were considered uncivilized animals whose style of lives was rejected by roman aristocracies. As a result of this, Middle Age has not paid sufficient attention to the cultural legacy of Norse culture. Once Roman Empire fallen, thousand of German tribes invaded the different corners of Europe not only modifying substantially the existent lore and traditions. In the core of Europe anyway Norse mythology survived long time for example, we can understand today the connection between the Cult of Fylgias and Zombie-culture (Korstanje, 2009a).

Bravery and physical displacement were two key factors that characterized the ancient Anglo-World. This represented fertile sources for the quest of prestige and legitimacy within the in-group. The matriarchal nature of these societies that obliged women to sow the soil, gave further time to men for exploration and other incursions. This does not mean the woman was subordinated to a secondary position as in Roman culture, even they played a crucial role in organizing marriages. Unlike Mediterranean eye, Germans developed a romantic love for their wives (Korstanje, 2008). The nomadic structure of German tribes allowed men participating more actively from the boundaries protection (Robert, 1992; Tacit, Customs, XXI; Caesar, IV, pp. 22-23; Blázquez, 1989; Paoli, 2007; Sola, 2004).

The primary resource for their local economies was agriculture and the conquest of new lands. Their social organization was divided in three independent classes a) nobility who were able to heir properties, b) others warriors and free people, and c) slaves. Since many German tribes were not sedentary,

slavery was not a wide-spread social institution among Norse culture. The prisoners who surrendered in the battle-field were not hosted as the Mediterranean civilization accustomed, prisoners often were assassinated simply because practical issues. The mobile nature of Germans rushed to create a consuetudinary right where slaves have no room.

In sharp contrast with Greek mythology ancient Germans insisted on the love between fathers and sons. Thor and Oddin scarcely discussed in public nor it is uncanny to see Gods kill their son because of power-will. The liaison with blood-lineage was a sacred value preserved from generation to generation (Meunier, 2006; Wilkinson, 2007). Their most powerful god was Oddin, or Wodan who ambiguously was considered the God of War and Trade. However, these constant needs of displacement would have been caused serious problems with other neighboring tribes unless by the application of hospitality. Even though, many groups celebrated hospitality in the Ancient Europe, Germans developed a great mobility during 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Let clarify that first hospitality was not related to hotels and leisure as in our times. Otherwise, hospitality was an efficient politic instrument to weave alliances with other clans. From a religious point of view, ancient inhabitants of Europe believed that gods incarnated in forms of travelers to prove the hospitality of hosts. If some travelers suffered some mistreatment (since strangers were considered as messengers of divinity) a bunch of misfortune events happen. The other important function of hospitality is related to its political nature. It served very well as a strategy to create a yield in case of external attack.

In this vein, Ramos and Loscertales (1948) supposes that these preventive policies helped in creating diverse nets of alliances to deter outsider's invasions (Rivero, 1993). In the mid of 20 century, Alvaro D'ors brilliantly analyzed the evolution of hospitium as institution in Spain validating the previous findings of Ramos and Loscertales. Hospitality was often applied in order of involved celebrants to reinforce a much deeper covenant between sedentary tribes to prevent outsider onslaughts (D'ors, 1953). Recently, Ettiene, La Roux and Tranoy (1987) collected sufficient evidence that proves early explanations to validate the afore-mentioned thesis. With this background in mind, Balbin Chamorro contemplates that the transitory transference of citizenship to foreigners (rites were the preconditions for modern hospitality) not only was present in Ancient Times but also before (Balbin Chamorro, 2006) (Humbert, 1978). In sharp contrast with Mommsen's contributions, Chamorro argues that hospitality showed how the ancient tribes protected themselves of aggressive-related behavior of other groups. Linguistically, one realizes that the formula cuts in *hostis and pet*. Even if hostis is related to the presence of enemy (hostility), the connotation of *hospitium* were evoked to reinforce the social bondage between other tribes. As explained earlier, the mobility and hospitality were two key concept enrooted in the core of Norse Mythology. This explains the reasons why in spite of being the God of Trade, Oddin becomes alternatively in a hostile God in war-times. Hospitality means a suspension of conflict, or the roots of hostility. In addition, J. Huizinga examined repeatedly in his work how Norse Mythology worked closely with the principle of hospitality in games and banquets. Frisians, Saxons and Goths believed on the importance of hospitality in moment of celebrations where kind of violent manifestation should be suspended (Huizinga, 1968). An anecdote would be more than illustrative. One day, Thor the son of Odin, cursed in a banquet to Hrungrir (the giant). Since the latter one was a host of Odin, Thor was reprimanded by his lack of respect and exited. Thor got out the banquet and defied to Hrungrir to fight in the land of Griotunagard on the borders of Riesenheim (land of Giants) and Asenheim (land of Ases) (Dumezil, 1958; Meunier, 2006; Lindow, 2002; Wilkinson, 2007; Page, 1992; Gerlomini, 2007; Hamilton-Wright, 2002; Anderson, 2009).

The hospitality and mobility was inextricably intertwined. In contrast with sedentary societies which erect walls to protect their sovereignty, the nomads have no soil to defend but their mobile structure lead to be under the need of seeking new lands all time. Since the traveler loose their epicenter when is out of home and its vulnerability rises, there are needed some rites to reduce the sentiment of uncertainty. On other side, hosts are reluctant to receive strangers as well. As the Horse of Troy, an alien may represent a serious problem for receiving-societies. For that, a set of diverse mechanism to track and search the identity of travelers are deployed. Hospitality as an ancient institution would alleviate the tensions not only in guests but also in hosts. Of course, the ongoing excursions of Germans to far-away points, widely recognized and awarded, requested for celebrating hospitality with other clans. The farther the travels, much more covenants must be celebrated. Our first conclusion is that hospitality, a significant element of tourism, has been given by Norse Culture. Nonetheless, nothing of this would have been feasible whether the existence of a mythical archetype as Odin/Wodan who made many travelers in forms of animals. This mobile nature of Odin emulated a way of learning and educating to future warriors. The travels were in these times associated to the acquiescence of knowledge (education). To put this in brutally, the inception of Grand Tour is immediately a residual product of these types of practices.

## The archetype of Odin

As early discussed the term tourism stems from the Anglo-Saxon: *turn* broadly used in Medieval Europe to denote a turn-around travel (Korstanje, 2007). This word has been extended to *Turn-us* (what gives turns) and *Turn-are* (to give turns). Previously defined as a syllogism that denotes a "departure with intentions to come back", many scholars have envisaged the roots of tourism in Roman Empire or at least in their innovative ways of displacements (Fernandez-Fuster, 1978; Lanquar, 1978; Jimenez-Guzman, 1986; Torre, 1980; Buckart & Medlik, 1981; Boyer, 1982; Getino, 2001; Schluter, 2003; Kathchikian, 2000; Rejowski, 2002). Even though in some extent, these believes are correct, the fact is that these works loose the sight how the contributions of Norse Mythology (the archetype of Wodan) have worked as the platform for the advent of modern mobility. Rather, we strongly believe that the reconstruction in the archetype of Wodan or Oddin as a travelling God is of paramount importance to understand this issue from an all-encompassed manner.

As already explained, Odin/Wodan/Wottan/Voden represents one of the major Gods of Norse Mythology. Ruler of the land of Asgaard, some historians believe his name stems from the proto-Germanic *Wodanaz*. It is hypothesized that the day Wednesday is in honour of Wodan in modern English. This God not only develops as the protector of travels, in parallel with the Mercury of Romans but he is considered as a wise entity versed in arts, wisdom and brightness. The genesis (*Voluspá*) tells us that Odin, son of Bestla and Borr, founded the Midland (Midgard) together his brother and sister (Ve and Villi). In this place, all brave warriors (once died) are welcomed after fallen in war-fields. Valhalla (the heaven of Germans) offered appetizing banquets and drinks were served in honour of warriors who died in combat. The fact was that courage, women, foods and sex was inextricably intertwined in Anglo-world. Courage was necessary to make expeditions beyond the boundaries of home. Starting from the premise in these conquests some or many warriors may fall, women gave new warriors to the tribe to the extent to be over-valORIZED in Norse-Culture. Food and Drinks symbolized the labour

and the fertility of lands. The more courageous the warrior, more women for procreation and arms for working are needed. However, the kinship cannot be extended without mobility. Whenever cultivable lands were exhausted, Germans moved to new territories making of war their primary industry. As early noted, the travelling nature of Odin reminds us that the travels are important mechanism to know about new cultures and customs. Nonetheless, there was a second relevant element in the inception of tourism, the sense of predestination.

The principle of predestination that characterizes this lore is a result of the heritage of Valkyries who knew beforehand the final destiny of warriors in the battle-fields. Following this explanation, Ancient Germans not only was concerned by their fate (as the whole ancient World) but used the predictability as a mechanism to reduce the uncertainty. Ancient Germans made of war and predictability a new instrument of intellectualization of environment, the divination. This was one of the primary concerns of Max Weber who argued convincingly that capitalism was a result of Protestantism and predestination doctrine promulgated by Luther. Similarly, E. Fromm (2005) envisaged that Protestantism played a pivotal role in the creation of modern capitalism. The sense of predestination engendered a considerable degree of distress in psychological ego, this sentiment (almost impossible to tolerate) prompted the subject to be mobile. Like a muscle that does not pain when it is in movement, the ego tends to mobility in circumstances of psychological pressure. To some extent and from diverse perspective, Weber and Fromm were right but turned the incorrect way because they ignored connection between Norse mythology and Protestantism. Mobility is not the condition of Protestantism but the result of predestination.

Wodan/Odin accustomed to face their adventures in shape of animals, and ran throughout world visiting new places and counties. In the Ynlinga Saga, Odin/Wodan is described as an ongoing wanderer whose hunger of adventure and risk has no limits. This legend tells us about an Odin who defies the Giant and enters in Jotunheim (Jotunheimr) under a false identity (known as *Vegtam the wanderer*). Once there, Odin drank from the well of wisdom and is rushed to sacrifice his own eye in order for knowing why the meaning of sorrow. Similarly to other myths as Adam and Eva, this event symbolizes how the sacrifice is the necessary step for accessing to unlimited knowledge. Furthermore, Odin was accustomed and was very fond of wandering throughout the world knowing about the inhabitant's customs or collating new traditions and lore. His curiosity not only was linked to the adventures, but also to wisdom. Being there, precisely, had a substantial importance for ancient Germans and for their legends to be widely accepted. The mobile archetype of Odin opened the doors for the creation of three factors a) the Grand Tour in Medieval Europe, b) the scientific journeys in 19<sup>th</sup> century and c) the hospitality.

Once again, whether travels are seen as a form of punishment (duty) in Judaism and Christianity, in Norse-culture corresponds with an important mechanism to create distinction and social upward. With the collapse of Roman Empire, the *peregrinandis* of Roman Right sets the pace to the conquerors. Whilst pilgrims are certainly motivated by their sins and self-fault, explorers visit other lands based on two reasons, curiosity and expropriation. To conclude, Snorri Sturluson (1260), a monk who lived in 13<sup>th</sup> century, was a pioneer who edited and compiled many of the legends which were orally transmitted from generation to generation. Nonetheless, these legends as Beowulf and others explain little about the tracking of Ancient Norse culture. There was a merge between local believes and Christianity.

Amid a wider process of Christianization, Denmark, Sweden and Norway were experienced a turning point of transition in Middle Age that has driven them into a new cosmology that modified the tenets of their realm.

After revising the texts of Sturlunsson, one might realize that there exists a presence pushes individuals toward the future by means of a much powerful force as predestination. Secondly, the mobility is widely valorized as a conduit for social distinction because first and foremost it entails wisdom and bravery. Last but not least, throughout the German literature surfaces the roots of a romantic love for woman (unknown for Mediterranean civilizations) accompanied with a profound need of conquest. The figure of sacrifice and suffering allow "prince charming" to face fearsome obstacles for the love of his maiden. As the previous argument given, princes and maidens who contributed in our days to create a bunch of movies and novels correspond with this cultural matrix. As tourism, the industry of cultural entertainment does not escape to the influence of Norse mythology. To sum, Norse-culture gave to Europe three important aspects to determine not only the capitalism and technological advance but also tourism: a) predestination as a force that pushes subject to demonstrate courage and exclusivity, b) mobility as a driven instrument for gaining knowledge, wisdom and social recognition, and ultimately c) the needs of romantic adventure to colonize new lands (conquest). It is important to remind that the love for woman acted as a conduit in the process of leisure. Throughout the Middle Age, archaeologists found sufficient evidence to support the thesis that the Crusade, as spectacles, was based on the needs to rescue virgin maidens from the enemies. The origin of these games may be explained by the convergence of two ancient customs, the romanticism of ancient Germans with their sense of adventure and axonal competence (first of all, tests of strength). Some historians are reluctant to accept to see in Norse mythology the precondition for tourism. These studies emphasizes on the technological advances, leisure or reduction in working ours as the vehicles for hospitality & tourism. This stance would be respectable but they ignore that historically citizens have recurred to specific forms of leisure and psychical displacement for revitalizing their lives. These practices have been sustained under values that are narrated in the mythology where the civilization erects. No scientific understanding is possible without examining the myths and lore of involved folk. Therefore, tourism as a mass-activity was followed by the consolidation of United States as primary power of West. Their Anglo-culture, not only accompanied the growing of this country but also the expansion of their most efficient tool of alienation, tourism.

## Conclusion

Interesting discoveries can be done whether historians in tourism and hospitality fields turned their attention to Norse-Mythology. This paper stimulated a hot-debate in a point which merits to be studied in next approaches. Underpinned in the proposition that the principle of predestination and mobility were two key factors for the inception of tourism, the present research explored to what an extent ancient forms of mythologies can exerts in tourism-related research. At a first glance, Norse-culture valorized the belief in an upmost God (Odin) whose nomadic nature led him to run across the world in shapes of different animals. In sharp contrast with scholars already assumed, travels as a form of discovery and conquest were coined 5 centuries before the advent of Roman Empire. The hospitality, a covenant celebrated by ancient Germans and Celts, proves that these tribes, considered

by Mediterranean world as barbarians, recognized the elementary axioms of tourism (mobilities and hospitality) from long time ago. Unfortunately, this point has been ignored by the whole scholars in tourism history. Last but not least, our findings reveal that mobility, hospitality, and Grand Tour can be residual institutions derived from the Odin's archetype.

## References

- Anderson, B.R. (2009). *Norse Mythology*. New York: S. C. Griggs and Co.
- Balandier, G. (2004). Parentesco y Poder. In *Antropología Política* (pp. 123-154). Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol.
- Balbín Chamorro, P. (2006). Ius Hospitii y ius civitatis. *Revista Gerión*, 1(2), 207-235.
- Bauzá, H.F. (2007). *The Myth of Hero: morphology and semantics of heroic archetype*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Berger, A. (2004). *Deconstructing Travel: Cultural Perspective on Tourism*. California: Altamira Press.
- Bettelheim, B. (2010). *The Uses of Enchantment: the meaning and importance of fairy tales*. Barcelona: Ed. Crítica.
- Blázquez, J-M. (1989). *Nuevos Estudios sobre la Romanización*. Madrid: Ediciones ITSMO.
- Boyer, M. (1982). *LE Turisme: paris edition du Senil*. Collection Peuple et Culture.
- Buckart, A. & Medlik, S. (1981). *Tourism Past, present and future*. Oxford: Heinemann Prof. Publishing.
- Caesar, Julius C. (2004). *Commentaries about the Galic Wars*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada.
- Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a Sociology of International Tourism. *Social Research*, 39, 164-182
- Crompton, J.L. (1979). Motivation for Pleasure Vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(4), 409-424.
- Culler, J. (1981). The Semiotics of Tourism. *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1, 127-140.
- Cusack, T. (2010). Enlightened Protestant: the improved shore-escape, order and liminality at early seaside resorts in Victorian Ireland. *Journal of Tourism History*, 2(3), 165-185.
- D'ors, A. (1953). *Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana*. Madrid.
- Da Silva-Santos, F.A. & Soares-Marques, A.P. (2011). The Importance of the Consumption of Semiotic Sign for the competitiveness of the Tourist destinations. *European Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Recreation*, 2(2), 105-113.
- Dann, G. (1977). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4(4), 184-194.
- De Kadt, E. (1992). *Turismo: ¿pasaporte al desarrollo?* México: Editorial Endymion.
- Dumanzedier, J. (1967). *Toward a Society of Leisure*. Nueva York: Free.
- Dumezil, G. (1958). *Dioses de los antiguos nórdicos*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Eliade, M. (2006). *The Myth of Eternal Return*. Buenos Aires: Emece Editores.
- Escalona-Muñoz, F. (2011). La Visión convencional del Turismo según sus primeros codificadores (los grundisse de Hunziker y Krapf, 1972). *Turydes. Revista de Investigación en Turismo y Desarrollo*, 3(8), 1-20.
- Fernández-Fuster, L. (1978). *Teoría y técnica del turismo*. Madrid : Editorial Nacional.
- Fromm, E. (2005). *El Miedo a la libertad*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Fussell, P. (1987). The Eighteenth Century and the Grand Tour. *The Norton Book of Travel*. London: WW. Norton.
- Gerlomini, N. (2004). Introduction. In Julius Caesar, *Commentaries about the Galic Wars*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada.
- Getino, O. (2002). *Turismo: entre el ocio y el negocio*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Ciccus.

- Graburn, N.H. (1983). The Anthropology of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 10(1), 9-33.
- Hamilton-Wright, M. (2002). *Norse Mythology, great histories from the Eddas*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Hannam, K., Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006). Mobilities, immobilities and Moorings. *Mobilities*, 1(1), 1-22.
- Huizinga, J. (1968). *Homo Ludens*. Buenos Aires: Emece editores.
- Humbert, M. (1978). *Municipium et civitas sine sufragio. L'organisation de la conquete jusqu'a la guerre sociale*. Roma.
- Jimenez-Guzmán, L.F. (1986). *Teoría Turística*. Un enfoque integral del hecho social. Bogotá: Universidad externado de Colombia.
- Khatchikian, M. (2000). *Historia del Turismo*. Lima: Universidad San Martín de Porres.
- Knebel, H. J. (1974). *Sociología del Turismo*. Barcelona: Editorial Hispano Europea.
- Korstanje, M. & Busby, G. (2010). Understanding the Bible as the roots of physical displacement: the origin of tourism. *Ertr. Review of Tourism Research*, 8(3), 95-111.
- Korstanje, M. (2007). The Origin and meaning of Tourism: an ethimological study. *E-Review of Tourism Resarch*, 5(5), 100-108.
- Korstanje, M. (2008). *Herencia y Civilización. Un enfoque crítico a las Hegemonías Imperiales*. EMVI Enciclopedia y Biblioteca Virtual de las Ciencias Sociales, Económicas y Jurídicas. University of Malaga, Spain.
- Korstanje, M. (2009a). Interpretando el Génesis del Descanso: una aproximación a los mitos y rituales del turismo. *Pasos revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 7(1), 99-113.
- Korstanje, M. (2009b). Reconsidering the Roots of Event Management: leisure in Ancient Rome. *Event Management*, 13(3), 197-203.
- Lanquar, R. (1980). *Turismo Internacional*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Huemul.
- Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1998). *Economías de Signo y Espacio: sobre el capitalismo de la postorganización*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores.
- Leach, E. (1954). *Political System of highland Burma*. London: Bell.
- Leiper, N. (1983). An Ethimology of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 10, 277-280.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1991). *Las Formas Elementales del Parentesco*. Madrid: Paidos.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (2002). *Mito y Significado*. Madrid: Editorial Alianza.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (2003). *El Pensamiento Salvaje*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Lindow, J. (2002). *Norse Mythology, a guide to the Gods, heroes, rituals and beliefs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Malinowski, B. (1998). *Estudios de Psicología Primitiva*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Altaya.
- Mauss, M. (2006). *Manual de Etnografía*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Meunier, M. 2006. *Norse Mythology*. Libros de la Esfinge. Buenos Aires: Argentina.
- Morris, B. (1995). La interpretación de los símbolos. In *Introducción al estudio antropológico de la religión* (pp. 267-287). Barcelona: Paidos.
- Munné, F. (1999). *Psicosociología del Tiempo Libre: un enfoque crítico*. México: Trillas.
- Nash, D. (1981). Tourism as an anthropological Subject. *Current Anthropology*, 22(5), 461-481.
- Page, R.I. (1992). *The Norse Myths*. Madrid: Editorial Akal.
- Paoli, U.E. (2007). *La vida cotidiana en la Antigua Roma*. Buenos Aires: Terramar Ediciones.
- Pastoriza, E. (2011). *La Conquista de Las Vacaciones: breve historia del turismo en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.

- Pi-Sunyer, O. (1977). Percepciones Cambiantes del turismo y de los turistas en un centro turístico catalán. In V.L. Smith (ed.), *Anfitriones e Invitados* (pp. 281-300). Madrid: Endymion.
- Pritchard-Evans, E.E. (1977). *The Nuer*. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama.
- Ramos y Loscertales, J.M. (1948). Hospicio y clientela en la España Céltica. *Revista Emerita*, 10(1), 308-337.
- Rivero, M.P. (1993). *El hospitium celtibero: estado de la cuestión*. Universidad de Zaragoza. Ciclo II. Retrieved October 22, 2007 from <http://155.210.60.15/HAnt/Hispania/hosp.celt.html>.
- Robert, J-N. (1992). *Los Placeres en Roma*. Madrid: Editorial Edaf.
- Santana-Talavera, A. (2006). *Antropología y Turismo. ¿Nuevas hordas, viejas Culturas?*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Schluter, R. (2003). *El Turismo en Argentina: del balneario al campo*. Buenos Aires: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Turísticos.
- Schluter, R. (2008). *Turismo: una versión integradora*. Buenos Aires: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Turísticos.
- Sessa, A (1979). *El Balance de la Investigación turística con implicaciones sociales en los últimos 25 años: ensayos de turismo*. Bogotá: Bogotana Impresores.
- Sigaux, G. (1965). *Histoire du Turisme*. Ginebra: Edito-Service.
- Smith, V. L. (1977). *Anfitriones e Invitados*. Madrid: Endymion.
- Sturlunsson, S. (1260) *Kringla Leaf. Part of Heimskringla treasure 1*. National Library of Iceland, displayed via [The European Library](#).
- Tacit, Cornelius. (1952). *De las costumbres, sitio y pueblos de la Germania*. Trad. C. Coloma, Obras Completas. Buenos Aires: Colección Clásicos Inolvidables.
- Torre, De la, O. (1980). *El turismo, fenómeno Social*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Towner, J. & Wall, G. (1991). History and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18(1), 71-84.
- Towner, J. (1985). The Grand Tour: a key phase in the history of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12(3), 297-333.
- Towner, J. (1999). What is tourism history? *Tourism Management*, 16(5), 339-343.
- Tribe, J. (2010). Tribes, Territories and Networks in the Tourism Academy. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), 7-33
- Turnbull, D.R. & Uysal, M. (1995). An Exploratory study of German visitors to the Caribbean: push and pull motivations. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 4(2), 85-91.
- Turner, L. & Ash, J. (1991). *La Horda Dorada*. Madrid: Endymion.
- Turner, V. (1999). *La Selva de los Símbolos*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Urry, J. (2007). Introducción, Culturas Móviles. In P. Zusman, C. Lois & H. Castro (eds.), *Viajes y Geografías* (pp. 17-31). Buenos Aires, Prometeo.
- Van Gennep, A. (1986). *Los Ritos de Paso*. Madrid: Editorial Taurus.
- Weber, M. (1988). *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Barcelona: Península.
- Wilkinson, R. (2007). *Norse Mythology and its meaning*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Antropomórfica
- Wood, D. & Graham, S. (2006). Permeable Boundaries in the Software-sorted society: surveillance and the differentiation of mobility. In M. Sheller & J. Urry, *Mobile Technologies of the city*. Londres: Routledge.
- Zusman, P. (2007). Paisajes de la Civilización y Progreso: el viaje de Sarmiento a los Estados Unidos (1847). In P. Zusman, C. Lois & H. Castro (eds.), *Viajes y Geografías* (pp. 51-66). Buenos Aires: Prometeo.

Submitted 01/22/2012

Accepted 09/14/2012