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**MIT U TURIZMU: OD RELIGIJE, FANTAZIJE I NEISTINE
DO SEMIOTIKE U VREMENU ZNAKOVA¹**

**EXPLORING THE MEANINGS OF MYTH IN TOURISM:
FROM RELIGION, FANTASY AND FALSEHOOD
TO SEMIOTICS IN THE TIME OF THE SIGN¹**

SAŽETAK: Rad daje pregled osnovnih značenja riječi mit u znanosti o turizmu transponirajući uvide u mit iz tri glavne kategorije konceptualne analize: religije, fantazije/neistine i semiotike. Za svaku od kategorija najprije se navodi nekoliko rječničkih i internetskih definicija, a zatim slijede priloge iz akademskih tekstova koji se bave ovom temom iz jednog ili više ranije spomenutih gledišta. Pregled se oslanja na tekstove Barthesa, Cohena, Danna, Dufoura, Henninga, Nötha, Selwyna, Uzzella i Williamsona. Metodom indukcije istaknuti su ključni elementi definicija i akademskih komentara te su potom primijenjeni na turizam.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Kategorije mita: fantazija/neistina, religija, semiotika, Barthes

SUMMARY: This paper undertakes a preliminary overview of the principal meanings ascribed to myth in tourism studies. It does so by transposing insights from three main categories of conceptual analysis as they relate to myth in general: religion, fantasy/falsehood and semiotics. In each case a few dictionary and online definitions are initially offered. Subsequently, contributions are drawn from academic works that examine this theme from the perspectives of one or more of the foregoing classifications. In particular, the writings of Barthes, Cohen, Dann, Dufour, Hennig, Nöth, Selwyn, Uzzell and Williamson are drawn upon. From these definitions and scholarly commentaries key elements are inductively highlighted and applied to tourism.

KEYWORDS: Categories of myth: fantasy/falsehood, religion, semiotics, Barthes.

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** Izraz "vrijeme znakova" Dean i Juliet MacCannell rabe u naslovu knjige iz 1982. godine. Ovdje je upotrijebljen kako bismo se referirali na eru postmoderne koja obiluje takvim slikama.

The expression "time of the sign" was cleverly adopted by Dean and Juliet MacCannell in the title of their (1982) book. It is used here in order to capture the era of post-modernity in which these *simulacra* flourish.

1. UVOD

Ovaj prikaz istražuje mit u tri kategorije: religiji, fantaziji/neistini i semiotici. Teme- ljem analize većeg broja rječničkih/inter- netskih definicija i akademskih priloga temi istaknuti su ključni elementi mita te je ponu- đen kratki induktivni opis svakoga od njih. U konačnici su elementi mita primijenjeni na turizam i oprimjereni posebnim temama i podtemama. Treba istaknuti da ni primjeri niti kategorije na kojima počivaju nisu me- đusobno isključivi i međusobno se ne iscr- pljuju.

Prvo, u odnosu na religijski orijentira- ne mitove, prikazani su mitovi o podrijetlu iz *prošlosti* koji možda mogu objasniti po- pularnost nekih turističkih atrakcija u *sa- dašnjosti* (npr. Stonhenge, Cundinamarca u Kolumbiji). Zatim su tu i mitovi u turizmu koji nastoje objasniti određeno duhovno po- našanje turista (npr. zašto se turisti vjenča- ju i provode medeni mjesec na Cipru, zašto turisti odlaze na hodočašća u Santiago de Compostela). Drugo, prikazani su i mitovi koji počivaju na fantaziji i/ili neistini. Mitovi o destinacijama kao *mjestima* oprimjereni su slučajevima iz Benidorma i Uzbekistana, a istraženi su i mitovi o odredištima kao *na- rodima* (npr. Australci). Nadalje su ispitane netočnosti koje se odnose na zaposlenike u turizmu unutar regionalnog okvira Kariba, kao i mitovi koji se odnose na vrste turiz- ma (npr. od medicinskog turizma na Fili- pinima do stomatološkog turizma u Indiji). Treće, kako je semiotička kategorija najre- levantnija i najprimjerenija razumijevanju mitova u turizmu, poklonjeno joj je najviše pozornosti. Prikazano je nekoliko slučajeva semiotički orijentiranih mitova u turizmu. Iz Barthove dobro poznate kritike Plavog vodiča prisjećamo se starog alpskog mita o helvetsko-protestantskom moralu i uporabe stereotipa umjesto prikaza stvarnih osobi- na stanovništva nekog turističkog područja (npr. Baskijac kao pustolovan moreplovac a

1. INTRODUCTION

This account explores myth in three cat- egories: religion, fantasy/falsehood and se- miotics. It analyses various dictionary/online definitions of and scholarly contributions to these categories before highlighting their ba- sic key elements in order to assemble a brief inductive description of each. Finally appli- cations are made to tourism and instances are provided of particular themes and sub- themes. Neither these examples nor the cat- egories on which they rely are claimed to be mutually exclusive or exhaustive.

First, in relation to tourism myths that are religion oriented, some tourism origin myths of the *past* are evidenced which can serve as hypotheses for comprehending the visitation of tourist attractions in the *present* (e.g., Stonehenge, Cundinamarca in Colom- bia). There are also religious tourism myths that attempt to explain corresponding tour- ist spiritual behaviour (e.g., why tourists get married and have their honeymoons in Cyprus, why tourists go on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela). Second, examples are supplied of myths that are grounded in fantasy and/or falsehood. While tourism myths about destinations as *places* are in- stanced from Benidorm and Uzbekistan, tourism myths about destination *people* (e.g., Australians) are also explored. Further in- accuracies about tourism are examined in relation to tourism employees within a re- gional framework in the Caribbean, as well as tourism myths surrounding types of tour- ism (e.g., from medical tourism in the Phil-ippines to dental tourism in India). Third, since the semiotic category is the most re- levant and wide-ranging for an understand- ing of the myths of tourism, it receives a more extensive treatment than the preceding two variants. Here some cases of semiotically oriented tourism myths are provided. From Barthes' well-known critique of the *Blue Guide* we recall the old Alpine myth of Hel-

Katalonac kao vješt trgovac primjeri su takvog mitologiziranja biti). Postoji i veći broj općih, značenjem bogatih mitova u turizmu: npr. pastoralni mitovi, mitovi o sretnom životu na otocima, mitovi o jačanju vlastitog ja, mit o ponovno otkrivenom pojmu o sebi i mit o dobrom životu. Ima i mitova o turističkim obilascima mitova u Iranu i na Novom Zelandu.

2. MITOVI I RELIGIJA

Rječničke/internetske definicije

Prema jednom internetskom rječniku (<http://dictionary.reference.com>) mit je:

Tradicionalna priča ili legenda, koja se obično tiče nekog bića, junaka ili događaja, koja nema utvrđive činjenične osnove ili prirodnog objašnjenja, a posebice neka koja se bavi božanstvima ili polubogovima i tumači neki običaj, ritual ili prirodni fenomen (istaknuta mjesta kao u izvorniku).

Jedan drugi izvor (<http://ancienthistory.about.com>) ide korak dalje kad tvrdi da mitovi nude religiozna objašnjenja početka svijeta ili pojedinog običaja. Nema vremenske povezanosti između prošlosti sa sadašnjosti. Umjesto toga, te mitske priče bezvremene su u tolikoj mjeri da su događaji koje prikazuju simbolički, a ne točan prikaz ili precizan redosljed događanja u stvarnosti. Pri tome istinitost ili neistinitost pojedinog događaja nema važnosti.

Ugledni rječnik Merriam Webster (<http://merriam-webster.com>) nastavlja se na diskusiju s tvrdnjom da je mit

... obično tradicionalna priča o navodno povijesnim događajima koja otkriva dio svjetonazora nekog naroda ili objašnjava neku praksu, vjerovanje ili prirodni fenomen. Mitovi govore o događajima, uvjetima i djelima bogova i nadljudskih bića koja su izvan obične ljudske egzistencije a ipak predstavljaju njezinu osnovu. Ti su događaji postavljeni u vrijeme koje je posve drugačije od povijesnog vremena, često na početku stvaranja ili u vrlo ranom

vetico-Protestant morality, while elsewhere in this famous *vade mecum* we see how the text uses stereotypes instead of the real qualities of the visited inhabitants or *tourées* (e.g., the Basque as an adventurous sailor and the Catalan as a clever tradesman as examples of this mythical thinking in essences). There are also general sign-laden tourism myths, e.g., pastoral myths, myths of island happiness, myths of ego-enhancement, the myth of the rediscovered self and the myth of the good life. There are even myths about the actual touring of myths in Iran and New Zealand.

2. MYTHS AND RELIGION

Dictionary/Online Definitions

According to one online dictionary (<http://dictionary.reference.com>), a myth is:

A traditional or legendary story, usually concerning some being or hero or event, with or without a determinable basis of fact or a natural explanation, especially one that is concerned with deities or demigods and explains some practice, rite or phenomenon of nature (emphases in original).

Another internet source (<http://ancienthistory.about.com>) goes one stage further when it maintains that myths offer a religious explanation of how the world or a particular custom began. There is no chronology linking them from their past to the present day. Instead, these mythical stories are timeless, to the extent that the events they portray are symbolic, rather than depicting the exact way or the precise order in which things happened in reality, and regardless of whether they are true or false.

The authoritative Merriam Webster (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>) continues the theme by arguing that a myth is:

... A usually traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the worldview of a people or explain a practice, belief or natural phenomenon. Myths relate the events, conditions and deeds of

pretpovijesnom razdoblju. Mitovi pojedine kulture obično su usko povezani s religijskim vjerovanjima i ritualima.

Prema Éliadeu i Ottou, iz toga proizlazi da su mitovi u svojoj biti religijski.

Druga dva rječnika dopunjavaju gore predstavljene definicije. Dok prvi (*Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (2007: 780) tvrdi da je mit “priča o nadljudskim bićima jednog ranijeg doba, obično o načinu na koji su nastali prirodni fenomeni i društveni običaji,” drugi, stariji izvor (*Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1959: 782)) s prezirom opisuje mit kao “čisto fiktivnu priču koja obično uključuje natprirodne osobe itd., te predstavlja popularna shvaćanja prirodnih fenomenima, itd.”

Akademski prilozi temi

Prema Nöthu (1990:374), etimološki je mit izvedenica grčkog μύθος, što znači «riječ» ili «govor». Međutim, u religioznom smislu μύθος može značiti i “priča o Bogovima”, “priča... koja simbolizira neke dubinske aspekte ljudskog i postojanja koje nadilazi granice ljudskog”; “metaforička pripovijetka, tekst” koji se može “interpretirati na dvije razine”. Na “površinskoj razini” ona sadrži praktično “djelovanje mitskih agenata”; dok se na dubljoj razini bavi “egzistencijalnim pitanjima” ljudskog bića i “kozmosa” (npr. mit o postanku čovjeka)-čice). Kao religija, a ponekad i magija, μύθος je “fiktivni diskurs” i nalazi se u suprotnosti s λογος (riječ/razum/logos) koji predstavlja “znanstveni diskurs”. Unatoč tome, zbog “moderne teologije, psihoanalize, filozofije simboličkih oblika, književne kritike i strukturalne antropologije” mit ostaje “konstantnom dimenzijom ljudskog uma”.

Hennig (2002) također tvrdi da se mit može razmatrati u religioznom smislu (po Cailloisu (1992) /1938)) (str. 174) jer se navodno odnosi na one “krajnje vrednote” (str. 173) koje bez pitanja prihvaćamo kao pred-

gods or superhuman beings that are outside ordinary human life and yet basic to it. These events are set in a time altogether different from historical time often at the beginning of creation or at an early stage of prehistory. A culture’s myths are usually closely related to its religious beliefs and rituals.

It adds that, according to specialists Éliade and Otto, myths are purely religious.

Two other dictionaries complement the foregoing definitions. While the first (*Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (2007:780)) states that a myth is a “story about superhuman beings of an earlier age, usually of how natural phenomena, social customs, etc. came into existence,” the other, older source (*Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1959: 782)) describes myth more disdainfully as a “purely fictitious narrative usu. involving supernatural persons etc. and embodying popular ideas on natural phenomena, etc.”

Scholarly Contributions

According to Nöth (1990:374), etymologically a “myth” derives from the Greek μύθος signifying “word” or “speech”. However, in a religious sense it may also mean a “tale of the Gods”; “a story... symbolizing certain deep-lying aspects of human and trans-human existence”; “a metaphorical narrative, a text” that can be “interpreted on two levels”. At “the surface level” it comprises the practical “actions of mythical agents”; and at a deeper level it contains “existential questions” of (wo)-man and the “cosmos” (e.g., the myth of the origin of (wo)-man). As religion, and sometimes magic, μύθος is a “fictive discourse”, in contrast to λογος (word/reason) which is a “scientific discourse”. Even so, “modern theology, psychoanalysis, the philosophy of symbolic forms, literary criticism and structural anthropology” ensure that myth is “a constant dimension of the human mind”.

Hennig (2002), too, argues that myth can be considered in a religious sense (after Caillois (1992) (1938)) (p.174) since it ostensibly refers to those “ultimate values” (p.173) that

met vjerovanja. Mit tako izražava odnose ljudi prema (otkrivenom) svetom kozmosu koji leži onkraj svakodnevnog života i:

- Sadrži “ideju otkupljenja” – “oslobođenja od patnji” svakodnevnog života (str. 173);
- Pojam “kolektivne obveze koja poziva na djelovanje iz moralnih razloga” (str. 173);
- Doživljava se prije svega kroz prirodni diskurs (npr. zalasci sunca, vrhovi planina) (str. 174). Ovaj fizički dodir s prirodom predstavlja prijenos božanskih kvaliteta kroz procese “rekreacije”, “regeneracije” i “ponovnog rođenja” (str. 175).

Prihvativši stav bliskiji Jungu, Dufour (1978:3-5, 16-26) tvrdi da ljude općenito i posebno turiste “sputavaju mitovi” koji su dio “kolektivnog nesvjesnog”. Mitovi koji potječu iz drevne grčke religije uključuju “mit o zlatnom dobu” (dobra stara vremena), “mit o rogu obilja” (bogata priroda), “mit o izvoru [vječne] mladosti” (vidi Dann (1996) “turist kao dijete”), majčinske mitove o “Heliopolisu” (gradovima), “Olimpu” (planinama) i “Posejdonu” (oceanima), te mit o “Edipu (sukob *homo ludens* i *homo technicus*)”. Svi oni počivaju na nostalgiji, tj. mega-mitu koji kaže da je prošlost bolja od sadašnjosti i budućnosti.

Nastavljajući se baviti temom nostalgije, Cohen (1982) tvrdi da čežnja za rajem uključuje putovanja legendarnih i kulturnih junaka. Ono stapa “Središte” i “Drugo” kao višeglasne simbole. Prema Éliadeu, “Središte” je izvor božanskog stvaralaštva, moralnog poretka, rekreacije i obnove. Suprotno tome, “Drugo” predstavlja pakleni kaos, organsko primordijalno stanje prirode, zadovoljenje seksualnih želja, regresivnu želju da se vratio u maternicu. Ovako konceptualiziran, turizam postaje svjetovno hodočašće u potrazi za “Središtem”, svetim i autentičnim, pri čemu se to “Središte” nalazi u zavičajnom društvu. Putnik traga za “Drugim” onkraj svijeta, u nekom “Izabranom središtu” “tamo negdje vani”.

are accepted without question as matters of belief. Myth thus expresses the relationship of humans to a (revealed) sacred cosmos that lies beyond their everyday lives and:

- Contains an “idea of redemption”—of “deliverance from the sufferings” of quotidian life (p.173);
- Also includes the notion of “a collective obligation calling for action grounded in moral claims” (p. 173)
- Is encountered above all through a discourse of nature (e.g., sunsets, mountain peaks) (p. 174). This physical contact with nature represents a transfer from the divine in the processes of “re-creation”, “re-generation” and “re-birth” (p. 175)

Adopting a more Jungian point of view, Dufour (1978: 3-5, 16-26) maintains that people in general and tourists in particular are “constrained by myths” residing in “the collective unconscious”. From the bygone era of Ancient Greek religion they include “the myth of the Golden Age” (the good old days), “the myth of the Horn of Plenty” (abundant nature), “the myth of the Fountain of [Eternal] Youth” (see Dann’s (1996) “tourist as child”), the maternal myths of “Heliopolis” (cities), “Olympus” (mountains) and “Poseidon” (oceans), and the myth of “Oedipus (*homo ludens* in conflict with *homo technicus*)”. All of these myths are based on a premise of nostalgia, i.e., the mega-myth that the past is superior to the present and future.

Continuing the theme of nostalgia, Cohen (1982) argues that a yearning for paradise includes the journeys of legendary and cultural heroes. It blends the “Centre” and the “Other” as multi-vocal symbols. Following Éliade, the “Centre” is the source of divine creation, moral order, re-creation and renewal. The “Other”, by contrast, represents a hellish chaos, the organic primordial state of nature, the satisfaction of sexual craving, the regressive desire to re-enter the womb. Seen in these terms, tourism becomes a secular pilgrimage in search for the “Centre”, the sacred and the authentic, where the “Centre”

Ključni elementi religijskih mitova iz pojedinih definicija i akademskih priloga raspravi o mitovima

Religijski se mitovi bave pretpovijesnim porijeklom, posebice stvaranjem svijeta ili određenog društva, zajedno s njegovom kulturom, moralom i vjerovanjima. Religijski mitovi nude objašnjenja koja su genetička, bezvremenska i simbolička, a ne činjenična, povijesna ili znanstvena. Često im je polazište u prirodi, ali prirodu nadilaze i povezuju prirodna objašnjenja s natprirodnim, čime premašuju kriterij Maxa Webera (1968) o kauzalnoj primjerenosti i primjerenosti na razini značenja. Religijski se mitovi obično prenose putem legende koja donosi priču o porijeklu sa središnjim junakom ili događajem, a ponekad govori i o djelovanju (polu)božanstava. Takvi mitovi, uključujući i mnoge mitove iz antičke Grčke, nalaze se u kolektivnom nesvjesnom i regresivno se protežu do potrage za nostalgичnom prošlosti koja predstavlja spas od svakodnevnih patnji i strahova od budućnosti. Oni predstavljaju trajnu dualističku napetost između "Središta" i "Drugog".

Specifični primjeri religijskih mitova u turizmu

Primjeri mitova o porijeklu iz daleke prošlosti koji mogu objasniti popularnost aktualnih turističkih atrakcija

Internetska stranica <http://www.timelessmyths.co.uk/stonehenge.html> pita se kako su ljudi podigli kamenje od 50 tona od kojeg je izgrađen Stonehenge. U nedostatku činjeničnih objašnjenja koja bi obuhvatila razdoblje od nekoliko stotina godina, nudi se mitsko objašnjenje o kralju Arturu čijih je 15.000 vitezova u tren oka preotelo kamenje od 7.000 Iraca koje su zatim pobili. Prije tog masakra, kamenje su iz Afrike u Irsku bili donijeli divovi. Prenijeti te masivne blokove

is located in the home society. The traveller's quest is for an "Other" beyond the world, in an "Elective Centre" "out there".

Inductive Key Elements of Religious Myths from Definitions and Scholarly Contributions

Religious myths are concerned with pre-historic origins, particularly the creation of the world or a given society, along with its culture, morality and beliefs. The explanations that religious myths offer are genetic, timeless and symbolic rather than factual, historical or scientific. They often begin with, and yet go beyond nature and its associated natural explanations to supernatural explanations, thereby exceeding Max Weber's (1968) criterion of causal adequacy and adequacy at the level of meaning. The usual medium for imparting religious myths is via the narrative of legend as an origin story that features a hero or event and sometimes the deeds of the (demi)-gods. Such myths, including many Ancient Greek myths, reside in the collective unconscious and reach back regressively to the quest for a nostalgic past as deliverance from present everyday suffering and fears about the future. They represent the ongoing dualistic tension between the "Centre" and the "Other".

More Specific Examples of Myths of Religion in Tourism

Examples of Tourism Origin Myths of the Past as Hypotheses that Can Explain Tourist Attractions of the Present

The website <http://www.timelessmyths.co.uk/stonehenge.html> asks how men were able to lift the 50 ton stones that constitute the Stonehenge of yesteryear and today. In the absence of a factual explanation which would have covered a period of several hundred years it was mythically alleged that, in the twinkling of an eye, King Arthur's 15,000 knights captured the stones from the

iz Irske u Wiltshire ipak nisu mogli čak ni ljudi kralja Artura pa su se za njihovo neobjašnjivo brzo prebacivanje oslonili na vještine nadljudskog čarobnjaka Merlina. Drugi mitovi ove natprirodne vrste vežu se uz Glastonbury, sveti gral i čudovište iz Loch Nessa. Nešto modernija svjetovna varijanta uključuje globalno zatopljenje (dokazi su i dalje nedostadni, a nema niti longitudinalnih podataka) pa ista mrežna stranica podupire dilemu između mita i destrukcije.

U međuvremenu, mitovi bujaju i u novom svijetu. Prema mrežnoj stranici <http://www.colombia.travel>:

U samom srcu Kolumbije čudesna su mjesta bogata poviješću i mitom. Cundinamarca je domovina urođeničkog plemena Muisca (najstarijih stanovnika Kolumbije) koji su stvorili legende o postanku svijeta poput legende o slapovima Tequendana, legende o narodu Muisca i jezeru Guatavita. Prema jednoj legendi nasljednik poglavice (*cacique*) (nećak pokojnog poglavice) proveo bi noć prije ceremonije inicijacije u pećini uz goreći tamjan. Na dan ceremonije ostali poglavice i svećenici ukazali bi mu čast svirajući muzičke instrumente i prekrili njegovo tijelo zlatnom prašinom. Tada bi zajedno otplovili do sredine jezera na splavi izrađenoj od zlata i u tišini podigli zastavu. Na tom bi mjestu nasljednik bacio čisto zlato i smaragde u vodu kao žrtvu bogovima. Kada bi završio s time, bacio bi se u jezero i oprao u svježini voda. Na taj je način bio inauguriran novi *cacique*.

Ovaj mit o porijeklu, također poznat pod imenom "mit o El Doradu", imao je za simbol splav naroda Muisca čija se manja verzija danas može vidjeti u kolumbijskom Muzeju zlata. Iako je splav bila izrađena od zlata, dragocjeni metal nije predstavljao tek znak bogatstva. Vjerovalo se da je splav sveti entitet, primatelj sunčeve energije i izvor plodnosti. Što se tiče same Cundinamarce, ime za ovo veliko područje izvedeno je iz riječi *kundur marka*, što na jeziku naroda Quechua znači "zemlja kondora" ili "kondorovo gnijezdo". Kako je kondor najveća ptica na zemlji, nimalo ne čudi da je ovaj dio Kolum-

7,000 Irish whom they killed, and that, prior to this massacre, the stones had been brought to Ireland from Africa by giants. Yet the transportation of these massive blocks from Ireland to Wiltshire was too much even for King Arthur's men and so, for their inexplicably swift transference, they relied on the skills of the super-human magician, Merlin. Other myths of this supernatural ilk can be found in relation to the UK's Glastonbury, the Holy Grail and the Loch Ness Monster. A more modern secular variant is the issue of global warming (with its typical lack of sufficient evidence and longitudinal data), thereby encouraging on the same website the ongoing dilemma between myth and mayhem.

Meanwhile, over in the new world, and according to <http://www.colombia.travel>:

In the heart of Colombia there are some marvellous places full of history and myth. In Cundinamarca, the Muisca were a native tribe [the earliest inhabitants of Colombia] who created legends that explained the origins of the world such as the legend of Tequendana Falls or that of the Muisca people or that of Lake Guatavita. The legend has it that the heir of the chief (*cacique*) (the nephew of the late chief) spent the night before the ceremony of initiation in a cave to the accompaniment of burning incense. Then on the day itself he had his body covered in gold dust by his fellow chiefs and priests who regaled him with musical instruments. He and they then sailed out on a raft made of gold to the centre of the lake where they raised a flag in silence. There he cast solid gold and emerald offerings into the water for the gods. When he finished doing that, he would then throw himself into the lake and wash himself in the chilly waters. That is the way that each new *cacique* was inaugurated.

This origin myth, otherwise known as "the myth of El Dorado", had as its symbol the Muisca raft, a smaller version of which can be seen today in Colombia's Gold Museum. Although the raft was made of gold, the precious metal was not considered simply a sign of wealth. Rather it was deemed to be a sacred entity, the recipient of solar energy and source of fertility. As for Cundinamarca itself, this vast area

bije postao najvažnijim u državi te da se u njemu nalazi glavni grada Bogotà.

Primjeri religijskih mitova u turizmu/ Pokušaj da se objasni motivacija i ponašanje turista

Zašto se turisti vjenčaju i provode svoj medeni mjesec na Cipru

Tako glasi retoričko pitanje postavljeno na mrežnoj stranici <http://www.cyprustourismguide.com>. Odgovor glasi: "Legende i mitovi o Afroditi, grčkoj božici ljubavi i ljepote, zaštitnici Cipra, koja je poznata kao Venera u rimskoj mitologiji, puni su strasti i intrige a još uvijek su snažni kao prije". Na taj način mitovi prošlosti imaju svoj romantični utjecaj i na one koji nemaju iskustvo opisane prošlosti.

Zašto turisti odlaze na hodočašća u Santiago de Compostela

Kao odgovor na to pitanje, <http://www.iknow-spain.co.uk> kaže:

Prema jednom mitu ovdje je sahranjen apostol Jakov. Ovo vjerovanje privlačilo je hodočasnike pa je na tom mjestu nastalo i naselje Santiago de Compostela. Mit se pokazao vrlo korisnim u vrijeme slabljenja kršćanstva u Španjolskoj pa je asturijski kralj Alfonso II hitro izgradio crkvu povrh navodnog grobnog humka.

U ovom slučaju nije toliko važno je li sv. Jakov zaista posjetio Španjolsku. Ovom drevnom hodočasnničkom stazom sada mogu proći i oni koji iz povijesnih razloga više nemaju tu mogućnost, posebno zbog povijesti Reformacije.

3. MITOVI KAO FANTAZIJA I/ILI NEISTINA

Rječničke/internetske definicije

Prema <http://dictionary.reference.com> mit kao fantazija ili neistina može se odnositi na:

was derived from the Quechua *kundur marka*, meaning "land of condors" or "condor's nest", the largest bird in the world. Therefore it came as no surprise that this Colombian department became the most important in the country, containing as it did the capital Bogotà

Examples of Religious Tourism Myths Attempting to Explain Tourist Motivation and Behaviour

Why tourists get married and have their honeymoon in Cyprus

Such is the rhetorical question posed by <http://www.cyprus-tourismguide.com>. In reply it states that: "The legend and myths of Aphrodite, Greek goddess of love and beauty, patron of Cyprus and also known as Venus in Roman mythology, are full of passion and intrigue and still as strong as ever." In such a manner, the myths of the past exert a romantic influence on those who do not share such a past.

Why tourists go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela

In response to this query, <http://www.iknow-spain.co.uk> responds that:

The myth and source of Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage site is that the Apostel (sic) St James is buried here. The myth proved useful for a flagging Christian Spain, and Asturian King Alfonso II promptly built a church on top of the purported grave site.

Here it is not so important as to whether or not St James actually visited Spain. Rather an ancient pilgrimage route can be partaken by those who no longer have such a possibility open to them on account of history, and in particular the history of the Reformation.

3. MYTHS AS FANTASY AND/OR FALSEHOOD

Dictionary/Online Definitions

According to <http://dictionary.reference.com>, a myth in relation to fantasy or falsehood can apply to:

“Bilo koju izmišljenu priču, ideju ili koncept: To nije istina, to je samo mit.”

“Neku imaginarnu ili fiktivnu stvar ili osobu,”

“Neko nedokazano ili pogrešno kolektivno vjerovanje koje se rabi kako bi se opravdala neka društvena institucija,”

Sinonimi: bajka, legenda, fikcija, fantazija, priča.

Legenda pak prema <http://ancienthistory.about.com> predstavlja priču koja je ispričana kao da se radi o povijesnom događaju a ne o objašnjenju. To je simbolička priča, npr. priča o Robinu Hoodu ili kralju Arturu.

Na mrežnoj se stranici <http://www.choosebritish.co.uk> može pronaći i da se mitovi i legende mogu upotrijebiti za turističku promociju; vidi za primjer čudovište iz Loch Nessa i lambtonskog crva.

Uzevši bajku kao jedan od najranijih sinonima za riječ mit <http://www.ask.com> navodi da neistinite priče uključuju i kratke priče u kojoj glavne uloge imaju životinje s ljudskim osobinama. Iz takvog se antropomorfizma u konačnici izvlači neka pouka.

Suprotno tome, <http://www.merriam-webster.com> navodi četiri definicije koje povezuju mit s neistinom:

Mit je “popularno vjerovanje ili tradicija koja je izrasla oko nečega ili nekoga;

posebice vjerovanje koje otjelotvoruje ideale i institucije nekog društva ili njegovog segmenta” (npr. zaveden američkim mitom individualizma).

Mit je “neutemeljeno ili krivo shvaćanje.”

Mit je “osoba ili stvar koja ima samo imaginarnu ili nedokazivu egzistenciju.”

Navodi se i da je proučavanje mitova izvorno povezano s romantizmom. Za psihoanalitičare poput Freuda mit je izraz potisnutih ideja, dok Jung drži da mitove nalazimo u arhetipovima i kolektivnom nesvjesnom.

‘Any invented story, idea or concept: His account of the event is pure myth’ (italics in original),

‘An imaginary or fictitious thing or person,’

‘An unproved or false collective belief that is used to justify a social institution.’

Synonyms: fable, legend, fiction, fantasy, tall-tale.

Turning specifically to legend, <http://ancienthistory.about.com> indicates that a legend is a story told as if it were a historical event rather than an explanation for something. It is a symbolic narrative, e.g., a tale about Robin Hood or King Arthur.

To the foregoing <http://www.choosebritish.co.uk> adds that myths and legends can also be utilised in tourism promotion; see, for example the UK’s Loch Ness monster and Lambton worm.

Taking fable from one of the earlier synonyms for myth <http://www.ask.com> notes that false tales also include fables, where a fable is a short story featuring animals that uses personification in order to give them human traits. A lesson or moral is to be drawn and learned from such anthropomorphism.

By contrast, <http://www.merriam-webster.com> provides four definitions linking myth with falsehood:

A myth is “a popular belief or tradition that has grown up around something or someone; especially one embodying the ideals and institutions of a society or segment of society” (e.g., *seduced by the American myth of individualism*).

A myth is “an unfounded or false notion”

A myth is “a person or thing having only an imaginary or unverifiable existence”

It adds that the study of myth was initially associated with Romanticism. In psychoanalytical terms, for Freud, myth was the expression of repressed ideas, while for Jung it was to be found in archetypes and the collective unconscious.

Međutim, Holcombe (2012) u nekoj mjeri osporava gore navedene stavove:

Daleko od toga da su primitivne izmišljotine – o prirodi, nekom navodnom pretku ili plemenskoj praksi – mitovi su odraz duboke stvarnosti. Oni dramatično predstavljaju naša instinktivna shvaćanja. Nadalje, različito od Freudovih koncepata, mitovi su kolektivni i komunalni pa tako društvenom životu pružaju osjećaj potpunosti i zajedništva. Nadalje, iako je jezik mitova zatvoren i nezavisan, teško prevodiv i prenosiv iz jedne kulture u drugu, Jungovi arhetipovi sadrže slike, teme i motive koji su zajednički raznim kulturama.

Još dva rječnika povezuju mit s neistinom. Dok *Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (2007:780) tvrdi da je mit “osoba ili stvar čije je postojanje fiktivno ili nedokazano” a u tezaurus uključuje izraze: legenda, alegorija, bajka, fikcija, narodna priča, parabola, saga, tradicija, urbana legenda i urbani mit, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1959:782) jednostavno kaže da je mit “izmišljena osoba ili stvar”.

Konačno, <http://www.phrases.org.uk> usredotočuje se na urbani mit (usporedi s Collinsovim tezausom) navodeći da *urbani mit* jednostavno predstavlja mit koji nalazimo u modernim industrijaliziranim društvima a razlikuje se od tradicionalnih folklornih priča iz predmodernih poljoprivrednih društava. Preciznije rečeno, urbani mit jest:

... Priča, načelno neistinita, ali ponekad se jednostavno radi o pretjerivanju ili senzacionalizmu, koja stječe folklorni status uslijed stalnog ponavljanja. Takve priče, koje mogu biti stare ili prepune klišeja, često stječu određeni stupanj uvjerljivosti smještanjem u suvremeno okruženje ili zbog navodne osobne uključenosti pripovjedača u događaj.

Tipičan je primjer urbanog mita neutemeljeno vjerovanje da je kanalizacijski sustav New Yorka prepun aligatora. Međutim, kad bi njujorška kanalizacija zaista vrvila ovim opasnim reptilima, ne bi baš predstav-

However, as regards this last point, Holcombe (2012) has some ulterior thoughts which, to a certain extent, challenge the foregoing positions:

Far from being primitive fictions—about the natural world, some supposed ancestor or tribal practice—myths are reflections of a profound reality. They dramatically represent our instinctive understandings. Moreover, unlike Freud’s concepts, myths are collective and communal, and so bring a sense of wholeness and togetherness to social life. Furthermore, although the language of myth is closed and self-supporting, not easily translated or transferred from one culture to another, Jung’s archetypes comprise images, themes and motives that are culturally shared.

Two other dictionaries link myth with falsehood. Whereas *Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (2007: 780) asserts that: myth is a “person or thing whose existence is fictional or unproven” and includes in its thesaurus the following terms: legend, allegory, fable, fairy story, fiction, folk tale, parable, saga, story, tradition, urban legend, and urban myth, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1959: 782) simply states that myth is a “fictitious person or thing”.

Finally, <http://www.phrases.org.uk> focuses on urban myth (cf. thesaurus of Collins above) in observing that an *urban myth* simply means a myth found in modern industrialised societies, as opposed to the traditional folklore tales of pre-modern agrarian societies. More specifically, an urban myth is:

[...] A story, generally untrue, but sometimes one that is merely exaggerated or sensationalised, that gains the status of folklore by continual retelling. Such stories, which may be old or cliché-ridden, are often given a degree of plausibility by being updated in a contemporary setting or by the teller’s frequent claims of personal involvement.

A typical example of an urban myth is the unfounded belief that the New York sewage system is full of alligators. However, if it were as replete with these dangerous reptiles as alleged, then surely it would make a good

ljala popularnu turističku atrakciju, ma kako ona mračna ili avanturistička bila.

attraction site for tourism, albeit of the dark or adventure variety.

Akademski prilozi temi

Prema Selwynu (1996) mitovi u turizmu nastaju iz opozicije i ovisnosti između središta i periferije (tj. iz suprotstavljanja bogatog, civiliziranog i industrijskog primitivnom i dalekom). Njih konstruira turistička industrija putem slika i fantazija turističke mašte. Uzmimo za primjer mit o Nepal u njegovim naizgled sretnim, samodostatnim građanima i dobrotivom vladom, bukolički mit o ruralnoj engleskoj idili kotsvoltskog sela Chipping Camden (koje je rezervirano za višu klasu) i mit o Brightonu koji privlači svojim opuštenim glamurom i zločesto-simpatičnim vezama s kraljevskom obitelji. Međutim, pokazalo se da ovisnost koju generira mit ne prolazi bez otpora (npr. Malta sa svojim javnim a privatnim *festi* (festivalima) (Boissevain, 1991, 1996).

Potrebno je navesti da i druga istraživanja slična Selwynovom potvrđuju da zajednice domaćina reagiraju na turizam. Primjerice, Amiši žive u stalnoj napetosti pokušavajući sačuvati svoju religioznu tradiciju u modernom sekularnom društvu (Buck, 1978). U tijeku je i bitka između znanja i bogatstva u meksičkom gradu San Cristóbal de las Casas (van den Berghe, 1994), otuđivanje stanovništva turističkog odredišta od službene turističke promidžbe u Texasu (Hollinshead, 1993), i promicanje vlastite samo-predodžbe kako bi se pružio otpor izvana nametnutom televizijskom imidžu američke sapunice *The Bold and the Beautiful* koja se snima na jednoj lokaciji na Barbadosu (Dann, 2004). Svjedoci smo sukoba između mitova iz turističkih brošura i mita o samoostvarenju (Urry, 1990).

Hennig (2002) uočava da razumjeti turizam kao fenomen nije moguće ukoliko ne razmotrimo realnost turističkog iskustva (str. 170). Vide li turisti društvo "Drugih" objek-

Scholarly Contributions

According to Selwyn (1996), tourism myths are created out of the opposition and dependency of the centre and periphery (i.e., from the corresponding affluent, civilised and industrial to the primitive and remote). They are constructed by the tourism industry through the images and fantasies of the tourist imagination. There is, for example, the myth of Nepal with its seemingly happy, self-sufficient citizens ruled over by a benign government, the bucolic myth of the rural English idyll in the exclusive upper class Cotswold village of Chipping Camden and the myth of Brighton with its promotional lure of raffish glamour and naughty-but-nice, royal connections. Yet these visited people show that such a dependency generated through myth does not go unchallenged (e.g., Malta with its public though private *festi* (feast days) (Boissevain, 1991, 1996).

Here it should be noted that other studies of a similar investigative nature as Selwyn's also confirm an impact backlash from host societies. For example there are the Amish and their constant living tension of trying to preserve religious tradition in a modern secular society (Buck, 1978). There is also the on-going battle between knowledge versus mammon in Mexico's San Cristóbal de las Casas (van den Berghe, 1994), the "dis-identification" of destination people with the official tourism publicity of Texas (Hollinshead, 1993), and self-imagery versus the externally imposed televised image of an American soap opera, *The Bold and the Beautiful*, shot on location in Barbados (Dann, 2004). Thus there is an ongoing conflict between the myths of brochures and the myth of self-actualisation (Urry 1990).

At this juncture Hennig (2002) observes that the main problem in seeking to understand tourism concerns the reality of the

tivno ili tek kao projekciju svojih subjektivnih želja i fantazija? Schutz (1973) (1962) razlikuje svakidašnjicu sa svojim raznovrsnim živućim domenama značenja od svijeta snova, bajki i mitova (Hennig, 2002:170-171). U turističkom svijetu snova, bajki i mitova, iskustvo vremena drugačije je, kao i utjecaj umjetnosti i književnosti na očekivanja i iskustva turista. Priznavanje mitova i oslanjanje na njih vidljivo je u izrazu "odmor iz snova" i u Dickensovoj (1989) oniričkoj viziji Venecije (Dann, 2002) kao buđenju iz sna (str. 173).

Za Henniga:

- Mit predstavljaju slike i priče iz književnosti, likovnih umjetnosti, filma i popularne kulture; on nikada nije izoliran od društvenog diskursa već ga prožima; pomaže pri pronalaženju rješenja za probleme koji se ne mogu riješiti konvencionalnim pristupom (str. 174) te otvara mogućnosti koje norme svakodnevnog života redovito isključuju.
- Mit koji djeluje u turizmu omogućuje osjetilno i stvarno iskustvo izmišljenog svijeta; njegove moderne varijante ukazuju na smisao postojanja prevladavajući ograničenja svakodnevice pojavljuje se u sljedećim oblicima:

Mit o prirodi: kao romantična potraga;

Mit o plemenitom divljaku (str. 175): slike Južnih mora iz 18. stoljeća (stanovnici prirodnih krajolika koji žive sretno i u harmoniji nasuprot otuđenju koje je donijela industrijska revolucija). Turisti se mogu identificirati s Plemenitim divljakom koristeći se inverzionističkim strategijama koje im omogućuju da postanu seljaci na jedan dan (usporedi s Gottlieb, 1982), da nose narodne kostime, usvoje pozitivne stavove prema predmodernom radu, kupuju lokalne rukotvorine, jedu tradicionalne rustikalne obroke i sudjeluju u izvornim proslavama (str. 176);

Mit o umjetnosti (str. 177): duhovna obnova i otkupljenje, potraga za izvornom i

tourist experience (p.170). Do tourists really view the society of the "Other" objectively or are they merely projecting their own subjective desires and fantasies on to it? Here Schutz (1973) (1962) distinguishes between the everyday world with its various living provinces of meaning and a contrasting world of dreams, fairytales and myths (Hennig, 2002: 170-171). In the latter touristic world, the experience of time is different, as well as the influence of art and literature on tourists' expectations and experiences. This reliance on and acknowledgement of myth is evident in the expression "dream vacation" and in Charles Dickens' (1989) oneiric vision of Venice (Dann, 2002) as if awakening from a dream (p.173).

For Hennig, myth:

- Is represented in the images and narratives of literature, the arts, cinema and popular culture; it is never isolated but rather pervades social discourse; it helps find solutions to problems that are not solvable through conventional wisdom (p.174) and opens up possibilities that are typically excluded by the norms of everyday social life;
- When operating within tourism, myth allows the sensuous and real experience of an imaginary world; its modern variant points to the meaning of existence overcoming the restrictions of everyday life. It comes in the following forms:

The myth of nature: as a romantic quest;

The myth of the Noble Savage (p.175): 18th century South Seas image (the inhabitants of nature living happily in harmony vs. the alienation of the Industrial Revolution). Tourists can identify with the Noble Savage via the associated inversionist strategies of becoming a peasant for a day (cf. Gottlieb 1982), wearing national costume, adopting positive attitudes to pre-modern work, purchasing local arts and crafts, engaging in traditional rustic meals and participating in indigenous festivals (p.176);

The myth of art (p. 177): spiritual renewal and redemption, the quest for the original and authentically real, the hankering after

autentičnom stvarnosti, čežnja za starim majstorima, hodočašća na mjesta gdje se nalaze umjetnine, ostaci građevina i seklarizirana svetišta (str. 178);

Mit o individualnoj slobodi i samoostvarenju (razdoblje renesanse, nastanak praznika i kulta tijela). Turisti otkrivaju vlastite sposobnosti, želje i sklonosti radeći što žele kada to žele (str. 179). Doživljaj sebe (posebice vlastitog tijela); iskustvo pravog sebe na praznicima; egzistencijalna autentičnost (Wang, 2000);

Mit o jednakosti: društveni položaj nestaje na plaži (str. 182) jer tamo nema podjele rada, motivi su slični, ciljevi isti, a razlika između putnika i turista nestaje;

Mit o raju: kombinacija je mita o prirodi i o Plemenitom divljaku.

Konačno, Hennig ističe da su mitovi u turizmu raznorodni i selektivni. Nadalje, on primjećuje da "mit kao dio imaginarnog svijeta može postati 'stvarnost' u turizmu" (str. 185).

Za razliku od Henniga [posuđivanje od religije (vidi gore)], Cohen (1982) se više bavi mitom izgubljenog raja. Iako turistička industrija rabi [fantastičnu] predodžbu raja za svoju rekreativnu, novih iskustava i zabave željnu klijentelu, takva promidžba nema učinka na ozbiljnije turiste eksperimentatore i egzistencijaliste. Raj je postao spljošten i unison; "Središte" i "Drugo" nisu više povezani. Izvorni raj više nije u našem dosegu. Turistički raj (obično je to otočni raj) vrhunski je pseudodoživljaj (Boorstin, 1964). Ili lakovjerni turist povjeruje pričama o raju (MacCannell, 1989), ili je samo ludički sudionik u razigrano diskurzivnoj postmodernističkoj igri.

Induktivni elementi mitova koji počivaju na fantaziji/neistini iz definicija i akademskih priloga temi

Mit koji počiva na fantaziji/neistini sazet je u izmišljenoj, imaginarnoj ili fiktivnoj

old Masters, pilgrimages to works of art and relics *in situ*, secularised shrines (p.178);

The myth of individual freedom and self-realisation (Renaissance time, creation of holiday, cult of body). Tourists' self discovery by doing what they want and in their own time (p.179). Perception of self (especially the body); experience of true self when on holiday; existential authenticity (Wang, 2000);

The myth of equality: status dissolves on the beach (p.182) because there is no division of labour, motives are similar, goals are the same, and the distinction between traveller and tourist evaporates;

The myth of paradise: a combination of nature and the Noble Savage.

Finally, Hennig points out that the myths of tourism are heterogeneous and selective. Furthermore, he observes that 'a myth as part of the imaginary world can become "reality" in tourism' (p. 185).

Cohen (1982), by contrast, concentrates more specifically on the myth of paradise than does Hennig (above) [Borrowing from religion (see earlier)], although the tourism industry employs the [fantasy laden] paradise image for its recreational, diversionary and experiential clientele, nevertheless such publicity does not work for more serious experimental and existential tourists. Paradise has now become flattened and univocal; the "Centre" and the "Other" have been disconnected. The original paradise is beyond human reach. Touristic paradise (usually an island paradise) is a supreme pseudo-event (Boorstin, 1964). Either the gullible tourist is taken in by the rhetoric of paradise (MacCannell, 1989), or else s-(he) is a ludic accomplice in a playfully discursive postmodern game.

Inductive Elements of Fantasy/Falsehood Myths from Definitions and Scholarly Contributions

A myth of fantasy/falsehood is encapsulated in an invented, imaginary or fictitious

priči, ideji ili pojmu o stvari ili osobi koja ne može biti pokazana ili dokazana. Takav mit je zapravo jezična figura i nalazimo je i u komunikacijskim medijima kao što su filmovi i oglasi bez povijesnog sadržaja. Ovakvi mitovi uključuju i urbane mitove koji su zapravo pretjerivanja i klišeji a ne očite neistine. Turistički mitovi ove vrste nastaju iz opozicije između centra i periferije pri čemu turistička industrija stanovništvo periferije često predstavlja kao društva bez problema posvećena radosti življenja (Cazes, 1976). S takvim se slikama stanovnici turističkih odredišta odbijaju identificirati. Turističke fantazije i snovi često se razlikuju od svakodnevnice koja ih projicira putem umjetnosti, književnosti i filma. Oni uključuju romantične mitove o prirodi, mit o Plemenitom divljaku, mit o raj, mit o slobodi i čitav raspon individualnih i institucionalnih fantazija koje se protežu od fantazija vezanih uz imena i boje do seksualnih i političkih fantazija (Dann, 1976), a koje omogućavaju pojedincu da pobjegne od društvenih stega *ega* i *superega* te oslobađaju *id* u turistu kao djetetu (Dann, 1996). Paradoksalno je da putem turizma imaginarni svijet može postati stvaran zbog mnoštva načina na koje djeluju definicije situacija. Unatoč tome, nailazimo na zahtjeve da se mitovi koji proizlaze iz fantazije i neistine razobličie, razbiju, razore, smrve, protjeraju i unište, (drugim riječima, nailazimo na jezik koji odražava stalni sukob između stvarnosti kao istine i imaginarnog kao pogrešnog, pri čemu imaginarno treba ukloniti). Kako bi se situacija popravila, slavne osobe bivaju ikonoklastički uklonjene s pijedestala a lažni su osjećaji o osobama, reputacijama i institucijama opozvani, čime se razara njihov «kultni» status i sljedba.

story, idea or concept about a thing or person that cannot be demonstrated or verified. It is a figure of speech and found also in such other media of communication as films and advertisements devoid of historical content. It includes urban myth which is more exaggerated and cliché-ridden than it is patently untrue. Tourism fantasy myths are created out of the opposition between the centre and the periphery, where the population of the latter is often portrayed by the tourism industry as *joie-de-vivre*, no-problem societies (Cazes, 1976), an imagery with which the destination people dis-identify. Tourism fantasies as dreams are frequently distinguished from the everyday world that projects them through art, literature and the cinema. They include the romantic myth of nature, the myth of the Noble Savage, the myth of paradise, the myth of freedom, indeed a whole variety of individual and institutional fantasies ranging respectively from colour and naming fantasies to sexual and political fantasies (Dann 1976) which offer escape from the societal strictures of the *ego* and the *superego*, thereby giving full reign to the *id* in the tourist as child (Dann, 1996). Paradoxically, through tourism, the imaginary world can become real via the many ways that definitions of situations operate. Nevertheless, there are calls for the myths of fantasy and falsehood to be debunked, busted, exploded, shattered, dispelled and destroyed, (i.e., the language is one of on-going conflict between the real as true and the imaginary as erroneous, with the latter needing to be excised). In order to rectify the situation further, celebrities are iconoclastically removed from their pedestals and false sentiment is withdrawn from persons, reputations and institutions, along with their cult-like following.

Specifični primjeri mitova u turizmu koji počivaju na fantaziji ili neistini

Turistički mitovi o destinacijama

Mitovi o Benidormu: Prema www.benidorm-spotlight.com mitovi o Benidormu tek

More Specific Examples of Myths of Fantasy/Falsehood in Tourism

Tourism Myths about Destinations

Myths of Benidorm: According to www.benidorm-spotlight.com the myths of Be-

su nešto više od novinarske hiperbole. Oni uključuju tuđe opise Benidorma kao apartmaniziranog mjesta koje je “nekada bilo malo ribarsko mjesto...”, koje danas uvozi pijesak iz Maroka, a preplavljeno je restoranima koji prodaju ribu i krumpiriće, u kojem živi više od milion britanskih penzionera koji govore samo engleski i na vidiku nema niti jednog Španjolca. Takve mitove može se i treba eliminirati pozivanjem na činjenice koje su dostupne znalcima. U ovom slučaju, primjerice, računa se da ima tek nešto više od 350.000 trajno naseljenih Britanaca duž čitave dužine Costa Blanca (140 km), a samo 15,5% njih umirovljeničke su dobi. Mit o “malom ribarskom mjestu koje je, zahvaljujući turizmu...” koji se ponavlja kao mantra, lako je opovrgnuti mjerenjem plitkih obalnih voda kojima nije moguće ploviti i ribariti još od davnina, a turisti na kruzerima mogu stići na obalu samo pomoću tendera.

Mitovi o Uzbekistanu: Domaći auto-ri mrežne stranice www.orexca.com ističu kako je među nekritičnim strancima široko rasprostranjeno pogrešno mišljenje da je Uzbekistan dio Afganistana i Pakistana. Svi su Uzbekistanci tako predstavljeni kao muslimani; svi muškarci nose narodne nošnje a žene se pokazuju u tradicionalnim opravama. Muškarci su nadalje predstavljeni kao vlasnici harema koji bez prestanka piju i puše dok se žene (među kojima nema plavuša ni politologa) posvuda tretiraju kao građani drugog reda koji izvode trbušni ples isključivo za zadovoljstvo muškaraca. Svi, bez obzira na spol, jedu prstima sjedeći na podu, a kada se ne prežderavaju hranom, čitava populacija trguje na bazaru i živi u tradicionalnim šatorima. Putovanje središnjom Azijom smatra se krajnje opasnim pogotovo ako se putuje arbom (kolima) koja istovremeno predstavlja najuobičajenije prijevozno sredstvo. Nije nikakvo čudo da posjetitelji (pogrešno) vjeruju da nemaju što vidjeti u Tashkentu, da hoteli pružaju lošu uslugu, da se krade na veliko i da su rasprostranjeni negativni stavovi prema masovnim turistima. Ako među poten-

tidorm amount to little more than journalistic hyperbole. They include outsider references to Benidorm as containing only wall-to-wall apartments, as “once a little fishing village...,” as needing to import sand from Morocco, as overrun by fish and chip shops, as home to over one million monolingual British pensioners and virtually no Spaniards to be seen. Such myths can and should be eliminated by recourse to insider facts. In the present case, for example, there are reckoned to be just 350,000 or so British expatriates residing in the whole of the Costa Blanca which stretches for some 140 kilometres, and only 15.5% of them are of pensionable age. As for the “once a little fishing village, now thanks to tourism...,” this mantra-like myth is overturned by simply measuring the shallow draught of its coastal waters which have existed at these non-navigable levels from the distant past all the way to the present, thereby precluding any viable fishing industry and of course making it virtually impossible for cruise ships to visit without tenders.

Myths of Uzbekistan: As pointed out by the indigenous authors of www.orexca.com, Uzbekistan is widely and erroneously regarded by many unquestioning foreigners as part of Afghanistan and Pakistan. All of its people are thus depicted as Muslims; all of its men are shown in national costume and all of its women are paraded in traditional dress. Here the former are solely portrayed as continually drinking and smoking harem owners while the latter (no blondes and no political scientists among them) are ubiquitously treated as second class citizens performing as belly dancers for the exclusively male gaze. Everybody, too, regardless of gender, is shown eating with their hands while sitting on the floor, and when not stuffing themselves with food, the whole population is described in terms of bazaar merchants living in yurts. Travelling in Central Asia is reckoned to be extremely hazardous especially in an arba (carriage) which is said to be the most common form of transport. No small wonder that visitors (falsely) believe that there virtually nothing to see in

cijalnim turistima na zapadu kruže ovakvi neutemeljeni stereotipi (tj. mitovi), kako je turizam uopće moguć?

Mitovi (u turizmu) o narodima turističkih destinacija

Razobličavanje mitova o Australcima

[Nakon TV igre "Istina ili laž?" i u skorije vrijeme "Zar bih ti ja lagao?"] mrežna stranica (<http://www.amazingaustralia.com.au/myths.htm>) ističe sljedeće:

- Kapetan Cook otkrio je Australiju (netočno). On je oduzeo Australiju Nizozemcima (točno).
- Svi Australci piju pivo Fosters (netočno). Većina Australaca pije druge vrste piva, a Fosters uglavnom piju turisti (točno).
- Australci su u dobroj formi i mnogo borave na svježem zraku (netočno). Više od pola Australaca pretelo je i barem je jednom u životu imalo neki tip raka kože (točno).
- Australске kišne šume pune su otrovnih pauka, opasnih zmija i komaraca (netočno). Ima vrlo malo otrovnih pauka i opasnih zmija u tim šumama, a nakon što padne mrak nema komaraca (istina).
- Koale se nadrogiraju kemikalijama iz lišća kaučuka (netočno). Samo u tvojim snovima (točno).

Mitovi o radnicima u turizmu

Neistine o turizmu na Karibima

Godine 2010. u Santo Domingu (Dominikanska Republika) Centar za latinoameričke i karipske studije Michiganskog državnog sveučilišta (Michigan State University) održao je simpozij o mitovima karipskog turizma. Među ostalim ti su mitovi uključivali nedokazana vjerovanja da takav turizam donosi velike prihode, usrećuje radnike, čisti okoliš, razvija infrastrukturu koja je potrebna čita-

Tashkent, that hotels give bad service, that theft is rampant and that there are negative attitudes towards mass tourists. With such unfounded stereotypes (i.e., myths) circulating in the West amongst potential tourists, how is tourism possible?

Tourism Myths about Destination People

Exploding Myths about Australians

[After the TV panel game: "True or Bluff?" as also, and more recently in "Would I Lie to You?"], the website (<http://www.amazingaustralia.com.au/myths.htm>) points out that:

- Captain Cook discovered Australia (bluff). He stole it off the Dutch (true).
- All Aussies drink Fosters beer (bluff). Most Aussies drink other brands. Fosters is mainly for tourists (true).
- Aussies are fit, outdoor types (bluff). More than half are obese and the majority have at one time or another had skin cancer (true).
- Australian rainforests are full of poisonous spiders, dangerous snakes and mosquitoes (bluff). There are very few poisonous spiders or dangerous snakes in these forests and there are no mosquitoes after dark (true).
- Koala bears get stoned from chemicals in gum leaves (bluff). In your dreams and only in your dreams (true).

Tourism Myths about Tourism Workers

Untruths about Tourism in the Caribbean

In 2010 Michigan State University's Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (www.latinamericalearning.org) held a symposium in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic about the myths of Caribbean tourism. *Inter alia* these myths included the undemonstrated beliefs that such tourism brought in a lot of money, made the workers

vom stanovništvu i omogućuje turistima da iskuse izvornu kulturu. Tvrdilo se da su svi ti mitovi popularne, ali pogrešne predodžbe koje jednostavno nisu imale nikakve osnove. Ti su mitovi bili u potpunoj suprotnosti sa stvarnošću i konkretnim dokazima o pravom stanju stvari.

Mitovi o vrstama turizma

Medicinski turizam

Čini se da je među vanjskom populacijom prošireno nekoliko mitova u vezi s medicinskim turizmom na Filipinima (<http://www.tourism-gov.ph>). Radi se o (na mitu utemeljenim) vjerovanjima da medicinske usluge u turizmu nisu vjerodostojne jer su dio turističke industrije, da njihova niska cijena mora podrazumijevati i lošu kvalitetu, da nisu podnijele test vremena, da pružanje medicinskih usluga turistima za posljedicu ima slabiju dostupnost zdravstvenih ustanova za lokalno stanovništvo, te da u svakom slučaju postoje i bolje destinacije za medicinski turizam od Filipina. Istovremeno se čini da se na Kubi događa upravo suprotno zahvaljujući političkim naporima kontroverznog američkog filmaša Michaela Moora i pažnji koju su mediji usmjerili na pokojnog predsjednika Venezuele Huga Chaveza.

Dentalni turizam

U Indiji, a posebno u vezi sa stomatološkim turizmom, potrebno je razobličiti nekoliko mitova kako bi se u potpunosti iskoristile prednosti stomatološke ponude. Ti mitovi uključuju (pogrešno) vjerovanje da uklanjanje gornjih zuba nepovoljno utječe na vid, (krivo) shvaćanje da nakon što se čitavo zubalo izradi i namjesti ono mora potrajati zauvijek (zapravo bi ga trebalo zamijeniti svakih pet godina), te pogrešne pretpostavke da je liječenje bolesnog zuba konačno i potpuno (<http://www.gsi-dentalcare.com>).

happy, cleansed the environment, developed a suitable infrastructure for the entire population and enabled tourists to experience indigenous culture. All of these myths, it was maintained, were popular misconceptions that were simply unfounded. As myths they represented the very opposite of truth based on hard evidence.

Tourism Myths about Types of Tourism

Medical Tourism

In the Philippines there are apparently a number of myths circulating among outsiders that negate the advances made in medical tourism (<http://www.tourism-gov.ph>). They include the (myth-taken) beliefs that because it is part of the tourism industry it somehow lacks credibility, that low cost necessarily means low quality, that because it is new it has not stood the test of time, that the presence of medical tourists leads to difficulty of access to health facilities for locals, and that in any case there are better health care destinations than the Philippines. The reverse situation is said to obtain in Cuba thanks to the political efforts of controversial US filmmaker Michael Moore and the high profile treatment of the late Venezuelan President, Hugo Chavez.

Dental Tourism

In India, and more specifically relating to dental tourism, certain surrounding myths require debunking before the advantages of such a trade can be maximised. These include the (mistaken) belief that removal of the upper teeth adversely affects vision, the (erroneous) understanding that, once a complete denture is made and fitted, it will somehow last forever (in fact, it should be replaced every five years), and the false assumption that, once a decayed tooth is treated, such a dental problem is finally and fully solved (<http://www.gsi-dentalcare.com>).

4. MITOVI KAO SEMIOTIKA

Rječničke/internetske definicije

Vrlo mali broj rječničkih definicija na zadovoljavajući način zahvaćaju značenje mitova u semiotičkom smislu. Moguće je da se semiotički pristup čini pretjerano akademskim u usporedbi s tumačenjima koja se usredotočuju na aspekte religije, fantazije i neistine. Našli smo samo dvije internetske iznimke: <http://voices.yahoo.com> i <http://ot.stlawu.edu>, a obje se definicije oslanjaju na Rolanda Barthesa (o kome ćemo nešto više reći kasnije).

Prema prvom izvoru, mit je jezična figura ispražnjena od povijesnog sadržaja koja pokušava naturalizirati neku ideologiju. Barthesovim riječima:

Mit je iskaz koji je izabrala povijest: on nikako ne može niknuti iz "prirode" stvari... Ništa nije ograničen na usmeno izražavanje. Može se sastojati od pisama ili predodžaba; od pisanog diskursa, ali i fotografije, filma, reportaže, sporta, priredaba, oglasa, svega što može poslužiti kao podloga mitskome iskazu (2009, str. 143)².

U semiotičkom smislu, mit uzima prvotni znak i prazni ga od značenja kako bi mogao postati drugotni znak (vidi Barthes dolje).

Drugi izvor, također utemeljen na Barthesovim idejama, tvrdi da je mit miješanje označitelja i označenog, odnosno miješanje oblika i značenja u način označavanja.

Budući da je mit iskaz, mit može biti sve što pripada djelokrugu diskursa. Mit ne određuje predmet poruke, nego način na koji je izriče: mit ima formalne granice, nema sadržajne granice (Barthes, 2009, str. 143).

Ovaj posljednji navod prirodno vodi drugim akademskim priložima ovoj temi.

4. MYTHS AS SEMIOTICS

Dictionary/Online Definitions

Possibly because it is considered too academic when compared with more popular, religious, fantasy/falsehood myths, there are few dictionary definitions that adequately capture the semiotic orientation. Two online exceptions are: <http://voices.yahoo.com> and <http://it.stlawu.edu>, both of which rely on Roland Barthes (about whom, more later).

According to the former, myth is a figure of speech devoid of historical content that attempts to naturalise some ideology. In the words of Barthes:

Myth is a type of speech chosen by history; it cannot possibly evolve from the "nature" of things... It is by no means confined to oral speech. It can consist of modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, shows, publicity, all these can serve as a support to mythical speech (1972, p. 110).

In semiotic terms, myth takes a first order sign and empties it of meaning in order that it can become a second order sign (see also Barthes below)

The latter source, also basing itself on Barthes, further maintains that myth is the intermingling of a signifier and a signified, i.e., respectively form and meaning, into a mode of signification.

Since myth is a type of speech, everything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by discourse. ...Myth is not defined by the object of a message but according to the way in which it utters that message' (Barthes 1972, p. 109).

This last quote naturally leads to other scholarly contributions.

Scholarly Contributions

According to Selwyn (1996), myth is the recovery of structure in the pre-modern age through signs of difference and the reconsti-

² U engleskom tekstu autor citira Barthesovu knjigu Mitologije prema engleskom izdanju iz 1972. U hrvatskom prijevodu citati su preuzeti iz nagrađenog prijevoda Morane Čale koji je 2009. objavila nakladnička kuća Pelago.

Akademski priloz i temi

Prema Selwynu (1996) mit je povratak struktura predmodernog doba kroz razlikovne znakove te ponovno uspostavljanje tradicija koje je globalizacija iščupala iz korijena. Mitovi su priče koje posjeduju emocionalne i intelektualne funkcije; one prihvaćaju izazov osobnih i društvenih životnih zagonetki kako bi ih razriješile (npr. harmonične društvene odnose, zajednicu i shvaćanje cjeline). "Mitovi o autentičnom ja" (uključujući i mit o hedonističkoj slobodi koju promoviraju turističke brošure) nazivaju se "vrućima", dok je autentično znanje (poput onoga koje ima kustos muzeja) "hladno".

Pišući otprilike u isto vrijeme kad i Selwyn, Dann (1996) je sklon više se koncentrirati na prirodu mita kao seriju kontrasta. Dann primjećuje da mit djeluje kroz dvostruku strukturu suprotnosti (uspoređi promotivno dodjeljivanje spola norveškim Lofoten otocima u turističkim vodičima (Dann, 2003)), kao i turističke priredbe Maasaia u neokolonijalnom okruženju posve izvučenom iz konteksta (Bruner i Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Mit stoga postaje objektom semiotike teksta (Lévi-Strauss, 1958). On ima dvostruku naraciju (Langholz-Leymore, 1985) u kojoj svijest o postojanju okvirnog načela garantira da će suprotstavljena shvaćanja o glavnim životnim problemima biti prevladana (Nöth). Dann (1996) nadalje citira Barthesa (2009) kako bi pokazao da je mit vrsta govora koja se suprotstavlja povijesti i prirodi prazneći ih od njihovog sadržaja i ponovno ih puneći drugotnim kulturnim značenjima: "Opsjenarski je zahvat preokrenuo zbilju, ispraznio je od povijesti i ispunio je prirodom... Funkcija mita je da isprazni zbiljsko" (str. 169).

Mit je i fenomen svakodnevnog života. U ovom je slučaju sekundarna razina konotacije nacijepljena na primarnu razinu denotacije u filmu, oglasima i hrani. Mit kao ideologija (npr. buržoaski mentalitet) koristi se činjeničnim a ne skrivenim porukama kao

tution of traditions that have been uprooted by globalisation. Myths are stories possessing emotional and intellectual functions; they accept the challenge of the personal and social conundrums of living in order to resolve them (e.g., harmonious social relations, community and notions of the whole). "Myths of the authentic self" (including that of a hedonistic freedom portrayed by tourist brochures) are said to be "hot", while authentic knowledge (like that possessed by a museum curator) is reckoned to be "cool".

Writing at roughly the same time as Selwyn, Dann (1996) tends to concentrate more on the nature of myth as a series of contrasts. As he notes, myth operates through a twofold structure of opposites (c.f., the promotional gendering of the Norwegian Lofoten islands in guidebooks (Dann, 2003)), as also the touristic performances of the Maasai in an extra-contextualised neo-colonial setting (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Myth therefore becomes the object of text semiotics (Lévi-Strauss, 1958). It has a binary narrative (Langholz-Leymore, 1985) where awareness of the framework promises an overcoming of the conflicting understandings of life's major problems (Nöth, 1990). Dann (1996) further quotes Barthes (1972) in order to show that myth is a type of speech that contradicts history and nature by emptying them of their content and refilling them with second order cultural meanings: 'A conjuring trick has taken place; it has turned reality inside out, it has emptied it of history and has filled it with nature... The function of myth is to empty reality' (pp. 142-143).

Myth is also a phenomenon of everyday life. Here a secondary level of connotation is grafted on to a primary level of denotation in film, advertising and food. Myth as ideology (e.g., a bourgeois mentality) uses factual messages instead of hidden messages as vehicles of meaning. It deprives objects of their history and avoids questioning under the pretext of universal truths. Thus it is the

sredstvima za prenošenje značenja. Mit oduzima objektima njihovu povijest i izbjegava propitkivanje pod izlikom univerzalnih istina. Stoga se čini da treba raskrinkati znak, a ne mit (Nöth, 1990).

Kako se post-barthovski istraživači turizma snažno oslanjaju na Bartha, bilo bi korisno razmotriti i nekoliko općih biografskih činjenica koje su možda utjecale na Barthove ideje. Trebalo bi uzeti u obzir da je Roland Barth kao homoseksualac, protestant i marksistički orijentiran znanstvenik bio u mnogo čemu atipičan Francuz. Čak je i njegova smrt 1980. bila neobična. U relativno ranoj dobi od 65 godina pregazilo ga je dostavno vozilo praoalice rublja. Kao ljevičarski intelektualac obrazovan na području filozofije, sociologije i lingvistike bio je prirodno opčinjen svojom *bête noire* (crnom zvijeri) buržoaske ideologije, a posebice pripadajućim joj mitovima koje je smatrao proizvodom elitnih grupa koje su se služile do tada neistraženim društvenim kodovima (<http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk>), a koje je trebalo potpuno identificirati, analizirati i razumjeti. Slijedeći svoga zemljaka i kolegu, de Saussurea, osnivača semiologije, Barthes se živo zainteresirao za značenje (signifikaciju) svakodnevnih trivijalnosti koje su ga okruživale: knjiga, slika, slogana, igrački, hrane i nekih popularnih rituala suvremenog života (npr. striptiz točke, hrvanje) jer su za njega, zajedno s dubinskim i stalno ponavljanim porukama, predstavljale nedosljedne mitove (marksističke) masovne kulture. Prema Barthesu, te su riječi i predmeti imali uređen kapacitet da nešto kažu. Istovremeno, te riječi i predmeti bili su znakovi kojima se nije moglo vjerovati: iako su se činili vječnim, istinitim i nužnim, zapravo su bili posve arbitrarni, ambivalentni i uvjetovani (<http://www.slideshare.net>). Međutim, ako su mitovi uvjetovani (danom kulturom), prirodno se postavlja pitanje zašto su mitovi diljem svijeta tako slični. Unatoč tome, a donekle slijedeći stavove Lévi-Straussa, Barthes je tvrdio da njihova značenja ne leže na površini već u njihovoj dubinskoj strukturi (vidi Jungove

sign rather than the myth that needs to be unmasked (Nöth, 1990).

At this point, and because there is a heavy reliance on Barthes by post-Barthian tourism scholars, it is worth taking into account some general biographical observations about Barthes that may have had an influence on his thinking. In this respect it should be noted that Roland Barthes, as a gay, Protestant and Marxist academic, was in many ways an atypical Frenchman. Even the manner of his death was statistically abnormal when, as ill luck would have it, he was fatally knocked down by a laundry van in 1980 at the relatively young age of 65. As a leftwing intellectual with a wide scholarly background in philosophy, sociology and linguistics, he was naturally fascinated by his *bête noire* of bourgeois ideology and, in particular, its associated myths, which for him were the products of elite groups using a hitherto unexamined social code (<http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk>) that now required complete identification, analysis and understanding. Following his compatriot and colleague, de Saussure, the founder of semiology, Barthes became intensely interested in the meaning (signification) of the everyday trivia that surrounded him: books, paintings, slogans, toys, food and some popular rituals of contemporary life (e.g., striptease acts, wrestling matches), since for him these constituted the inconsistent myths of a (Marxist) mass culture with their underlying ever-circulating messages. According to Barthes, these words and objects had the organised capacity to say something. At the same time, because these words and objects were signs, they demonstrated bad faith because, while they always appeared to be eternal, true and necessary, they were in fact quite arbitrary, ambivalent and contingent (<http://www.slideshare.net>), all of which naturally raises the question that, if the content of myth is contingent (on a given culture), why are myths throughout the world so similar? Nevertheless and partially following Lévi-Strauss, Barthes argued that their meanings lay not on the surface but

arhetipove). Njihovo značenje nije se moglo shvatiti na denotativnoj ili deskriptivnoj, doslovnoj razini koja je zajednička većini članova neke kulture. Moglo ga se dokučiti samo na konotativnoj razini mita gdje se značenje generiralo uslijed povezivanja njihova značenja sa širim kulturnim temama: npr. vjerovanjima, stavovima i ideologijama (<http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk>). Sljedeći izravni navodi ilustriraju i proširuju Barthov stav. Zabilježeni su bez dodatnih komentara a čitatelju je ostavljeno da raspetlja njihova paradoksalna značenja.

“Mit ili o-m(it)-aška?": “Treba sačuvati Bar(thes) ono dobro”. Korisni citati iz Barthesovih Mitologija

... već od početka treba izričito ustanoviti da je mit komunikacijski sustav, on je poruka. Po tome vidimo da mit ne može biti predmet, pojam ili ideja; on je način označavanja, on je oblik (143).

Semiologija je znanost o oblicima, budući da značenja proučava neovisno o njihovu sadržaju... Mitologija... je dio semiologije kao formalne znanosti i ideologije kao povijesne znanosti: proučava ideje-u-formi (145).

U mitu ponovno nailazimo na trodimenzionalni obrazac o kojemu sam upravo govorio: označitelj, označeno i znak. No mit je poseban sustav po tome što se gradi od semiološkog lanca koji postoji prije njega: on je *drugotan semiološki sustav* (str. 147). ... Kao što vidimo, u mitu postoje dva semiološka sustava, od kojih je jedan izgubljen u odnosu prema drugome: jezični sustav, jezik (ili načini predstavljanja koji se s njime poistovjećuju), koji ću nazvati *jezikom-predmetom*, jer je on jezična djelatnost koju mit preuzima da bi izgradio vlastiti sustav; i sam mit, koji ću nazvati *metajezikom*, jer je on drugotan jezik, kojim se govori o prvome (148). Kao što sada znamo, označitelj se u mitu može promatrati s dvaju stajališta: ili kao završni član jezičnoga sustava, ili kao početni član mitskoga sustava. ... Na razini jezika, to jest kao završni član prvoga sustava, označitelj ću nazivati *značenjem*; na razini mita, nazivat ću ga *oblikom*... Treći član mita ću nazivati *smisao*. Tu

in their underlying structure (see the archetypes of Jung). Their signification could not be grasped at the denotative or descriptive, literal level shared by most members of a culture; rather it had to be captured at the connotative level of myth where meanings were generated by connecting their significance to such wider cultural concerns as beliefs, attitudes and ideologies (<http://www.poetrymagic.co.uk>). The following direct citations illustrate and expand on Barthes' position. They are simply recorded without further commentary. It is left to the reader to untangle their paradoxical meanings.

“Myth or Myth-take?": “Throwing out the Baby with the Barthes-water?” Useful additional quotes from Barthes' *Mythologies*

Myth is a system of communication... a message... Myth cannot possibly be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is a mode of signification, a form (109).

Semiology is a science of forms, since it studies significations apart from their content... Mythology... is a part both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is a historical science; it studies ideas-in-form (p. 111)

In myth, we find (again) the tri-dimensional pattern (which I have just described): the signifier, the signified and the sign. But myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a *second-order semiological system* (p. 114)... It can be seen that in myth there are two semiological systems, one of which is staggered in relation to the other: a linguistic system, the language (or the modes of representation which are assimilated to it), which I shall call the *language-object*, because it is the language which myth gets hold of in order to build its own system; a myth itself which I shall call *meta-language*, because it is a second language, in which one speaks about the first (p. 115)... We now know that the signifier can be looked at, in myth, from two points of view: as the final term of the linguistic system, or as the first term of the mythical system... On the plane of language, that is, as the final term of the first system, I shall call the signifier; on

riječ opravdava činjenica da mit doista ima dvostruku funkciju: označava i obavještava, omogućuje razumijevanje i nameće (str. 149). ... baš kao mitski pojam, upravo je ono namjera ponašanja. Označeno može imati više označitelja: takav je poglavito slučaj jezičnoga označenog i psihoanalitičkoga označenog. Tako je i u slučaju mitskoga pojma: na raspolaganju mu stoji neograničena množina označitelja (151).

Koliko god se to moglo činiti paradoksalnim, *mit ništa ne skriva*: funkcija mu je da izobličuje, a ne da potire (152).

Mit ima naredbodavnu, prozivačku narav: budući da je potekao iz povijesnog pojma, nikao izravno iz kontingencije... on traži upravo *mene*: okrenut je prema meni, trpim snagu njegove namjere, obvezuje me da primim njegovu ekspanzivnu dvosmislenost (154).

Mit je, naime, *ukraden i vraćen* iskaz (155).

Znamo da je znak u jeziku arbitrar: akustičku sliku *stablo* ništa "prirodno" ne obavezuje da znači pojam *stablo*; znak je tu nemotiviran... Mitski smisao pak nije nikad potpuno arbitrar, uvijek je djelomično motiviran, neumitno sadrži neku analogiju. ... nema mita kojemu oblik nije motiviran (156)... Analogija između značenja i pojma uvijek je samo djelomična: oblik ispušta mnogo analognih elemenata, a zadržava samo neke; čuva nagib krova i vidljivost greda na baskijskoj kolibi, dočim napušta stubište, sušu, nagriženost zubom vremena itd. Treba poći čak i dalje: *potpuna* slika bi isključila mit (156).

Kako se prima mit? Tu se moramo još jednom vratiti na dvostrukost njegova označitelja, koji je istovremeno i značenje i oblik. Ovisno o tome ravnaj li se prema jednome, prema drugome ili prema oboma odjednom, čitat će ga na načine koji se mogu razvrstati u tri tipa (157).

Mit nije ni laž ni priznanje: on je promjena naglaska (158)...Tu dospjevamo do samoga načela mita; on povijest preobražava u prirodu (158)... uzrok koji čovjeka navodi da izrekne mitski iskaz savršeno je izričit, ali se on smjesta zamrzava u nekoj prirodnosti: ne očitava se kao pobuda, nego kao razlog (159)... mit je uvijek jezična krađa (160).

the plane of myth, I shall call it: form... I shall call the third term of myth the *signification*. This word is here all the better justified since myth has in fact a double function: it points out and notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us (pp.116-117)... It is, just like the mythical concept, the very intention of behaviour. A signified can have several signifiers: this is indeed the case in linguistics and psycho-analysis. It is also the case in the mythical concept: it has as its disposal an unlimited mass of signifiers (p.120).

However paradoxical it may seem, *myth hides nothing*: its function is to distort, not to make disappear (p. 121).

Myth has an imperative, buttonholing character: stemming from an historical concept, directly springing from contingency...it is *I* whom it has come to seek. It is turned towards me, I am subjected to its intentional force; it summons me to receive its expansive ambiguity (p. 124).

Myth is speech *stolen and restored*. (p. 125).

In a language the sign is arbitrary: nothing compels the acoustic image *tree* "naturally" to mean the concept *tree*: the sign, here, is unmotivated.... The mythical signification, on the other hand, is never arbitrary; it is always in part motivated, and unavoidably contains some analogy... There is no myth without motivated form (p.126)... The analogy between the meaning and the concept is never anything but partial: the form drops many analogous features and keeps only a few: it keeps the sloping roof, the visible beams in the Basque chalet, it abandons the stairs, the barn, the weathered look, etc. One must even go further: a *complete* image would exclude myth (p. 127).

How is a myth received? We must here once more come back to the duplicity of its signifier, which is at once meaning and form. I can produce three different types of reading by focusing on the one, or the other, or both at the same time. (pp. 127-128).

Myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflexion (p. 129)... We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature (p. 129)... What causes mythical speech to be uttered is perfectly explicit, but it is immediately frozen into something natural;

Pjesništvo zauzima položaj suprotan mitu: mit je semiološki sustav koji stremi da prevlada sam sebe i postane sustav činjenica; pjesništvo je semiološki sustav koji stremi da samo sebe opovrgne i postane sustav biti (162).

Mit je depolitiziran iskaz. Mit stvari ne nije-će, funkcija mu je naprotiv da o njima govori; on ih naprosto čisti, čini nevinima, utemeljuje ih u prirodi i vječnosti, pridaje im jasnoću koja nije jasnoća objašnjenja, nego jasnoća tvrdnje (169).

Statistički, mit se smješta desno. On je bit desnice: dobro uhranjen, blistav, nametljiv, stalno se izmišlja. Zahvaća sve: pravosuđe, moral, estetiku, diplomaciju, vođenje kućanstva, književnost, priredbe (173).

Mit teži da bude poslovice (177)... Mitovi samo neprestano, neumorno salijeću, podmuklo i neumoljivo zahtijevaju da se svi ljudi prepoznaju u toj vječnoj a ipak zastarjeloj slici samih sebe koju je netko jednoga dana načinio kao da će trajati za sva vremena (178).

Sigurno je da se mitologija ... *slaže* sa svijetom, ne takvim kakav jest, nego kakav teži postati (179). Mitolog je osuđen da društveno živi u teoriji; za njega biti društven znači u najboljem slučaju biti na strani istine: njegova najbolja društvenost počiva na njegovoj najvećoj moralnosti. Njegova veza sa svijetom je sarkastične naravi (179). Mitologu prijeti da bude isključen na još jedan način: neprestano je u opasnosti da izazove nestanak zbiljskoga koje kani zaštititi (180).

Kontekstualizacija Barthesovih mitova u carstvu oglašavanja i promidžbe

Većina Barthovih eseja o pojedinim mitovima prvo se pojavljuju u *Les Lettres Nouvelles* pod naslovom "mit mjeseca". U ovim vinjetama iz svakodnevnoga života on uzima relativno neprimijećen, neproučen i sveprisutan fenomen (npr. "Novi Citroen", "Odrezak s krumpirićima") i zatim ga dekonstruira, tj. pokazuje da su očite konotacije koje fenomen nosi zapravo pažljivo konstruirane. Dobar je primjer tjestenina Panzani (Barthes, 1977:33-35). U ovom slučaju prvu poruku predstavlja stvarni tekst oglasa. Njegova je denotacija

it is not read as a motive, but as a reason (p. 129)...Myth is always a language-robbery. (p. 131).

Poetry occupies a position which is the reverse of myth: myth is a semiological system which has the pretension of transcending itself into a factual system; poetry is a semiological system which has the pretension of contracting into an essential system (p. 134).

Myth is depoliticized speech... Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact (p. 143).

Statistically, myth is on the right. There, it is essential; well-fed, sleek, expansive, garrulous, it invents itself ceaselessly. It takes hold of everything, all aspects of the law, of morality, of aesthetics, of diplomacy, of household equipment, of literature, of entertainment (p. 148).

Myths tend towards proverbs (p. 154)... Myths are nothing but this ceaseless, untiring solicitation, this insidious and inflexible demand that all men recognize themselves in this image, eternal yet bearing a date, which was built of them one day as if for all time (p. 155).

Mythology *harmonizes* with the world, not as it is, but as it wants to create itself (p. 156)... Any myth with some degree of generality is in fact ambiguous, because it represents the very humanity of those who, having nothing, have borrowed it (p. 157)... The mythologist is condemned to live in a theoretical sociality; for him to be in society is, at best, to be truthful: his utmost sociality dwells in his utmost morality. His connection with the world is of the order of sarcasm (p. 157)... One last exclusion threatens the mythologist: he constantly runs the risk of causing the reality which he purports to protect, to disappear (p. 158).

Contextualisation of Barthes's myths in the realm of advertising/promotion

Most of Barthes' essays on particular myths first appear in *Les Lettres Nouvelles* under the title "myth of the month". In these vignettes of everyday life he takes a relatively unnoticed, unanalysed, and ubiquitous phenomenon (e.g., "The New Citroen", "Steak and

francuski jezik kao kod dok je konotacija oglasa znak Panzani koji se odnosi na jedan talijanski grad. Prvi je znak povratak s tržnice gdje je označeno svježina proizvoda i domaća priprema, a označitelj poluotvorena torba iz koje se prosipa sadržaj. Kako bismo pročitali taj znak potrebno je razumijeti kulturu svakodnevnog kupovanja namirnica za vlastite potrebe u specijaliziranim trgovinama kao nešto različito od povremenog kupovanja većih zaliha u supermarketu koji nudi raznovrsnu robu. U drugom znaku označitelj se očituje u stapanju boja: crvena boja rajčice, zeleni papar i žuti talijanski grad, a konotacija je jamstvo tvrtke Panzani. Francusko značenje i talijanski turist su stereotipi. Treći znak predstavlja ukupnost kulinarske usluge. Panzani pruža sve što je potrebno za dobro izbalansirani obrok. Konačno, umak je estetski označitelj mrtve prirode. I ovdje su na djelu "usidrenost" i "prijenos", pri čemu su u tekstu usidrene višeznačne slike kako bi pružile određeno značenje (signifikaciju) (<http://people.ucalgary.ca>).

Proširenje Barthovskih shvaćanja na oglašavanje

Prema Judith Williamson (1983:153), mit je nevidljiva struktura priče. Predmeti su ekstrahirani iz mita i priča je prepričana. Prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost stapaju se u simultanoj i bezvremenskoj strukturi mita, baš kao što se stapaju u "staroj mitsko-poetskoj slici" svetoga Jurja i zmaja. Ovdje slika prikazuje "ideologiju sinhronosti": "povijest kao priču (punu mitologija)".

Prema Saussureu, kod riječi K-O-NJ, kojom je označen pojam konja, udara referent. Tako referent uvijek znači stvarni predmet u svijetu oko nas na kojeg riječ ili pojam ukazuju. Referent nije dio znaka, dok je označeno dio znaka. (Ipak, vanjska "stvarnost" na koju ukazujemo zbirkom znakova u nekom oglasu po sebi je sustav mitova, još jedan skup znakova. Ove mitologije nazivam Sustavima referenata (str. 20).

Chips") and then deconstructs it, i.e., he shows that the obvious connotations which it carries have been carefully constructed. A good example is the advertisement for Panzani pasta (Barthes, 1977: 33-35). Here the first message is constituted by the actual words of the ad. Its denotation is the code of the French language while its connotation is the sign Panzani relating to an Italian city. The first sign is the return from the market where the signified is the freshness of the products along with their domestic preparation, while the signifier is a half-open bag which lets its contents spill out. In order to read the sign it is necessary to understand the culture of shopping daily for oneself at specialist outlets as opposed to stocking up at a one-stop supermarket. In the second sign its signifier lies in the bringing together of colours: the red tomato, the green pepper, the yellow Italian city, while the connoted sign is the assurance of Panzani. The French meaning and the Italian tourist are stereotypes. The third sign comprises the collection of total culinary service. In Panzani there is everything one needs for a balanced meal. Finally the fourth sign is the aesthetic signified of still life. Here also one can see "anchorage" and "relay" at work, where the text anchors polysemic images in order to provide a given meaning (signification) (<http://people.ucalgary.ca>).

The extension of Barthian insights applied to advertising

According to Williamson (1983: 153), myth is the invisible structure of a story. Objects are extracted from myth and the story is retold. The past, present and future come together in the simultaneous and timeless structure of myth, just as they do in "the old mythopœic picture" of St George and the Dragon. Here the painting portrays "an ideology of the synchronic": "history as a story (full of mythologies)".

Saussure says that with the word H-O-R-S-E, where the concept of horse is what is signified, the referent is what kicks you. Thus the

Judith Williamson nastavlja:

Oglas (na kojem se nalaze Catherine Deneuve i Chanel) koristi jedan drugi, već postojeći mitološki jezik ili sustav znakova te prisvaja odnos koji postoji u tom sustavu između označitelja (Catherine Deneuve) i označenog (glamur, ljepota) kako bi govorio o svom proizvodu u smislu istog odnosa”, tj. prevođenjem jednog sustava na drugi (str. 25).

Ona dodaje: “U mitološkom sustavu mode i promidžbe” oglasi prisvajaju formalne odnose starijih sustava razlika. “Oni se služe razlikama koje postoje u društvenim mitologijama kako bi stvorili razlike između proizvoda” [Catherine Deneuve i Margaux Hemingway]: dakle postoji razlika među njihovim značenjima, ne kao ženama već kao znakovima (str. 27).

Stoga za Judith Williamson:

Znak je tek stvar – bila ona objekt, riječ ili slika – koja ima određeno značenje za neku osobu ili grupu ljudi. Znak nije niti samo stvar niti samo značenje, već oboje zajedno. Znak se sastoji od označitelja, materijalnog objekta, i označenog, koje predstavlja njegovo značenje. Podijeljeni su tek zbog analize: u praksi je znak uvijek stvar-plus-značenje (str. 17).

Induktivni elementi semiotičkog mita iz definicija i akademskih priloga temi

Mit je nevidljiva struktura priče, latentna komponenta govora ili drugog oblika verbalne i slikovne komunikacije kojom se prenose poruke. Njegov je smisao dosegnut kvazi-magičnim uklanjanjem povijesnog sadržaja koji biva nadomješten prirodom. Drugim riječima, mit se prazni od stvarnosti koja biva zamijenjena drugotnim kulturnim značenjima. Na taj se način prelazi s razine denotativnosti na razinu konotativnosti. Građanska ideologija mita koju čuvaju elitne skupine pomoću neistraženog društvenog koda traga za nostalgичnom, predmodernom, dubokom strukturom tradicije kao riješenja svih životnih problema putem binarne struk-

referent always means the actual thing in the real world, to which a word or concept points. The referent is external to the sign, whereas the signified is part of the sign. (However, the external “reality” referred to by the collection of signs in an advertisement is itself a mythological system, another set of signs. These mythologies I call Referent Systems (p. 20)

Williamson continues:

The ad [featuring Catherine Deneuve and Chanel] is using another already existing mythological language or sign system and appropriating a relationship that exists in that system between signifier (Catherine Deneuve) and signified (glamour, beauty) to speak of its product in terms of the same relationship, i.e., a translation from one system to another (p. 25)

She adds that: “In the mythological system of fashion and publicity” advertisements appropriate the formal relations of pre-existing systems of differences. ‘They use distinctions existing in social mythologies to create distinctions between products’ [Catherine Deneuve and Margaux Hemingway]: there is thus a difference between their significances, not as women but as signs (p. 27)

Hence for her:

A sign is quite simply a thing—whether object, word or picture—which has a particular meaning to a person or group of people. It is neither the thing nor the meaning alone, but the two together. The sign consists of the Signifier, the material object, and the Signified, which is its meaning. These are only divided for analytical purposes: in practice a sign is always thing-plus-meaning (p. 17).

Inductive Elements of Semiotic Myths from Definitions and Scholarly Contributions

Myth is the invisible structure of a story, the latent component of speech or other *form* of verbal and pictorial communication that is used to convey messages. Its signification is reached by the quasi-magical hollowing out of history and filling it with nature, of empty-

ture suprotnosti. Mit se sastoji od tridimenzionalnog modela (označitelj, označeno i znak) koji je prenesen iz prvotnog u drugotni semiološki sustav. Mit tako može imati neograničeni broj označitelja kroz koje apelira (Althusser, Williamson, 1983: 53) ili proziva (Barthes) primatelja poruke (Hej, ti!). Čineći to mit ne niječe stvari već im daje prirodno i vječno opravdanje vraćajući se činjenicama a ne objašnjenjima. Prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost stapaju se u bezvremenskoj strukturi mita upravo kao što se stapaju u umjetnosti. Objekti su ekstrahirani iz mita i priča je ponovno ispričana.

Specifični semiotički mitovi u turizmu

Kako se sam nije bavio izučavanjem turizma, većina tema kojima se Barthes bavio u svojim esejima prvog dijela *Mitologija* u najboljem slučaju imaju tek neke dodirne točke s turizmom. Primjerice, imamo "Krstarenje plave krvi" tijekom kojeg se članovi kraljevskih obitelji igraju običnih ljudi ustajući u 6 sati ujutro i noseći jeftinu, masovno proizvedenu odjeću (znak demokracije). Istu temu kasnije razvija Gottlieb (1982) pod nazivom "seljak na jedan dan". Tu je i esej o filmu *Izgubljeni kontinent* u kojem se mit o egzotičnosti propituje kroz pogled četiri talijanska istraživača Malezije koji nose dječju maskotu, a analiziraju se dihotomije istok-zapad, čovjek-bog, uslijed čega možda utječu na Saidova (1991) zapažanja u *Orijentalizmu*. I u Barthesovom "Piscu za vrijeme praznika" nalazimo neka zanimljiva zapažanja jer autor (možda kao pisac putopisa?) postaje na neki način ljudskim kroz identifikaciju s radnikom koji kao turist uživa u svom plaćenom odmoru. Ovo je dio proleterskog svijeta u kojem vlada razlika između prozaičnog (materijalističkog) i glamuroznog (buržoaskog). Ako na to gledamo drugačije, pisac je jednostavno lažni radnik, nalazi se na pseudo-praznicima i ne prestaje proizvoditi. Nema sumnje da ovakve kontradikcije leže u srži otuđenja koje motivira proleterijat

ing reality and replacing it with second order cultural meanings. In such a fashion it moves from the level of denotation to that of connotation. Its bourgeois ideology preserved by élite groups with an unexamined social code seeks the nostalgic pre-modern deep structure of tradition for the solution of life's problems through a binary structure of opposites. Myth comprises a three-dimensional pattern of signifier, signified and sign that is carried over from a primary semiological system to a secondary order. Myth can thus have an unlimited number of signifiers through which it appellates (Althusser, Williamson, 1983: 53) or buttonholes (Barthes) the addressee ("Hey, you!"). In so doing it does not deny things but gives them a natural and eternal justification through recourse to fact rather than to explanation. The past, present and future come together in the timeless structure of myth just as they do in art. Objects are extracted from the myth and the story is retold.

More Specific Semiotic Myths in Tourism

Since he was not in any way a tourism scholar most of the subjects chosen by Barthes as the topics of his essays in the first part of *Mythologies* are at best only tangentially connected with tourism. There is "The Blue Blood Cruise", for instance, in which royals play at being ordinary people by getting up at 6 am and by wearing cheap, mass-produced clothes (a sign of democracy), a theme later developed by Gottlieb (1982) as being "a peasant for a day". Then there is the essay on the film *The Lost Continent* where the myth of exoticism is examined through the eyes of four Italian explorers in Malaysia, bearing a child's mascot, and where such dichotomies as East vs. West, man vs. God are analysed, becoming in turn an influence perhaps on Said's (1991) subsequent observations in his *Orientalism*. There are also some challenging observations in Barthes' "The Writer on Holiday" where the author [as travel writer perhaps?] becomes somehow more human by identifying with

na pronalaženje užitka u masovnom turizmu, što je tema koju nalazimo u osnovi kasnijih Krippendorfovih radova (1987). Ipak je čudno da niti jedan od spomenutih pisaca ne citira Barthesa kao izvor vlastitih ideja.

Moguće je da isto proračunato izbjegavanje nalazimo i u Barthesovom eseju "Plavi vodič" čiji je utjecaj očit i priznat u primjerice Dannovim (1996, 2003), Febasovim (1978) i Grittovim (1967) istraživanjima turizma. Prema Barthesu, *Vodič* zamjenjuje prirodni okoliš slikovitim prikazima za buržoasku promidžbu planina. Ovaj stari alpski mit povezan je se helvetsko-protestantskim moralom koji aktivno potiče na "obnovu života zahvaljujući čistom zraku, moralne ideje bliske vrhuncima, penjanje kao građanska vrlina" (90). "Panteon putovanja" koji uključuje samo uzlazno kretanje (planine, kanjone, gorske bujice) podupire "moral napora i samoće" (90). Autor *Vodiča* u svojoj je nepromišljenosti čak napisao da "cesta postaje vrlo slikovitom" kad je na vidiku jedino tunel, "dostatan znak planine", skrivene realnosti ispod koje prolazi, a ostatak prirodnog planinskog krajolika posve je skriven oku. Isti ideološki redukcionizam možemo naći i analizirajući način na koji se *Vodič* bavi stanovnicima opisivanih područja kao tipovima. Primjerice "Baskijac je pustolovni moreplovac, a Katalonac vješt trgovac". Ovakvo razmišljanje boluje od "virusa biti koji se krije u temeljima svake građanske mitologije o čovjeku (pa zato na bit i nailazimo tako često)" (91). Zaista se čini da ljudi kao društvena bića postoje samo dok putuju vlakom, a i tada samo ako putuju trećom klasom, koja se tvrdnja kasnije često odražava u brojnim radovima Paula Theroux koji koristi ovo transportno sredstvo dok doslovce s visine gleda svoje suputnike ("prezir iz vlaka"). Što se tiče zemalja, ova ih vrsta turističke promidžbe često prikazuje samo kao zemlje povijesnih vjerskih spomenika i kipova (odnosi se na kršćanstvo, a dobar je primjer Španjolska) (91) (usporedi s Febas, 1978; Aramberri, 2008:271) a ne donosi nikakav

the worker, now tourist, who is enjoying his holiday with pay. That is part of the proletarian world where there reigns the distinction between the prosaic (materialistic) vs. the glamorous (bourgeois). Otherwise, of course, the writer is simply a false worker, a pseudo holidaymaker who does not stop producing. Such contradictions no doubt lie at the heart of alienation that in turn motivates the proletariat to enjoy mass tourism, a theme underpinning a later work by Krippendorf (1987). Yet strangely, in all three of these examples, none of the foregoing academics quotes Barthes as the inspiration for his/her ideas.

The same studious avoidance cannot be said for Barthes' essay on "The Blue Guide" the influence of which is evident and duly acknowledged in conceptual tourism research by Dann (1996, 2003), Febas (1978) and Gritti (1967) for instance. According to Barthes, the *Guide* replaces natural scenery with the picturesque in its bourgeois promotion of mountains. This old Alpine myth is associated with a Helvetico-Protestant morality that actively encourages "regeneration through clean air, moral ideas at the sight of mountain tops, summit climbing as civic virtue" (74) The "pantheon of travel" which solely includes the vertical (mountains, gorges, torrents) thus encourages "a morality of effort and solitude" (74). The author of the *Guide* even has the temerity to write that 'the road becomes very picturesque' when all that can be seen is a tunnel, "a sufficient sign of the mountain" the hidden reality under which it passes, and where all other complementary natural scenery has also been eliminated. A similar ideological reductionism can be found in the *Guide's* treatment of destination people as types where, for example 'the Basque is an adventurous sailor... the Catalan a clever tradesman'... a "disease of thinking in essences, which is at the bottom of every bourgeois mythology of man" (75). Indeed it would appear that people only exist as social entities when travelling by train, and then only in Third Class, a point subsequently reflected in many of Paul Theroux's writings

osvrt na suvremeni život. *Vodič* je zbog dvostrukog procesa nestajanja i mistifikacije postao “sredstvom zasljepljivanja” (92). Nije nikakvo čudo da “mit putovanja postaje potpuno anakroničan, čak i u srcu buržoazije” (92) i da se tekst *Vodiča* mogao upotrijebiti u korist Francovog režima jer republikance naziva “ekstremistima” dok narodnjaci donose “oslobođenje spretnim strateškim potezima i junačkome otporu” (92-93), tako da je Španjolska postala zemljom blagostanja (pri čemu nema nikakvog dokaza da je bogatstvo pravedno raspodijeljeno). Ali takav je svijet mitova – jezik u kojem je izostavljeno ono važno, diskurs s rupama.

Prema Dannu (1996), najčešći društveni mitovi uključuju kult prirode, veličanje tijela, prirodni imperativ, seksualnu mitologiju otoka i “mit o sebi” (samo-ostvarenje – Urry, 1990). Promidžbena grana turističke industrije uglavnom se služi pastoralnim mitovima (Hopkins, 1998), mitovima otočne sreće (Minca, 1994), mitovima o herojskoj prošlosti i mitovima o putnicima. U tom svjetlu turiste se može vidjeti kao ljude koji trče za slikama (Selwyn, 1996) i atrakcijama koje se ne smiju propustiti; a zapravo, poput Narcisa, u konačnici promišljaju sebe same. Možemo razmotriti i mitove o destinacijama poput Galapagosa i Havaja (gdje predodžba o destinaciji nema veze sa stvarnošću, gdje sunce uvijek sja a domaći se ljudi vječno smješkaju). Mit o Veneciji nešto je dublji jer uključuje tri fundamentalna značenja života – snove, ljubav i smrt – koji su također prastari mitovi turizma (Dann, 2002).

Tom Selwyn (1996) dodaje da turista možemo smatrati osobom koja sudjeluje u potrazi za mitskim strukturama i pripadajućim im slikama. Promidžbeni diskurs turističke industrije pruža oblike takvih slika u pretjeranoj komunikaciji; istovremeno smo suočeni s vrlo stvarnom opasnošću prikriivanja stvarnosti o kojoj se nedovoljno komunicira, pa mitovi postaju “sredstva zaborava” (gubi se kvalitetna komunikacija sa samim sobom i drugima) (vidi Lévi-Strauss (1986, 1987).

using this mode of transport as he literally looks down on his fellow passengers (“disdain from the train”). As for countries, they are often treated by this form of tourism publicity solely as lands of historic religious monuments and statues (here read Christianity and for a good example see Spain) (75) (c.f., Febas 1978; Aramberri 2009: 271), without any references to modern living. It is in fact due to the twin processes of vanishing and mystification that the *Guide* has become “an agent of blindness” (76). No small wonder, that ‘the myth of travel is becoming quite anachronistic, even among the bourgeoisie’ (76) and that the *Guide* was able to lend textual support to the Franco regime by referring to the Republicans as “extremists” and to the Nationalists as “liberating by skilful strategic manoeuvres and heroic feats of resistance” (77), so that Spain became a land of prosperity (without the necessary evidence showing how these riches were actually and evenly distributed). But such is the world of myth—a language of significant omission, a discourse with holes.

According to Dann (1996), prevailing social myths include the cult of nature, the exaltation of the body, the imperative of nature, the sexual mythology of islands and the “myth of me” (self-actualisation—Urry, 1990). Myths utilized by the promotional arm of the tourism industry include pastoral myths (Hopkins, 1998), the myths of insular happiness (Minca, 1994) the myth of the heroic past and the myths of travellers. Seen in this light, tourists may thus be regarded as chasers of images (Selwyn, 1996) and must-sees; yet they end up, ironically, like Narcissus, contemplating their own selves. There is also the destination myth of the Galapagos Islands, the myth of Hawaii (where image does not equal reality, where the sun always shines and the natives are forever smiling). The myth of Venice is somewhat more profound since it comprises the three fundamental meanings of life—dreams, love and death—which are also, of course, the perennial myths of tourism (Dann, 2002).

To this, Selwyn (1996) adds that the tourist can be understood as taking part in a quest for mythical structures and their as-

Nastavljajući se na svoju analizu ranije spomenute slike Jurja i zmaja koja promatrača odvodi iz prednjeg plana prošlosti i sadašnjosti u svijet budućnosti, tj. mjesto zalaska sunca izvan slike prema kojem Juraj trijumfalno jaše kao i brojni junaci vesterna koji su došli nakon njega, Judith Williamson (1983:78) analizira oglas koji se služi istom tehnikom nestale osobe. Iako nije niti prisutna niti vidljiva, ona, vjerojatnije on, prikazuje se kao netko tko kroz prozor vlaka gleda na (žensku) obalu Istambula. (Muževni) je vlak vjerojatno *Orient Express*, što asocira na luksuzna putovanja na egzotična odredišta. Uz to vezani znak (muškog) bogatstva (koje je omogućilo jačanje ega kroz ovakvo putovanje) prenosi nam čaša konjaka koja se ističe na stolu vagona prve klase zajedno s tajanstvenim tamnim naočalama i primjerkom novina *Times* za "vrhunske ljude". "Čisto zlato" luksuzne verzije cigareta Benson & Hedges rabi se kako bi procesom prenošenja znaka (tijekom kojeg su značenja predmeta prenesena na ljude (npr. "Recite to cvijećem") a ljudi su pretvoreni u stvari (npr. "Pepsi ljudi")) nevidljivi čovjek bio zamijenjen s promatračem koji je pozvan da sudjeluje u njegovim užicima (Dann, 1996: 48; Williamson, 1983:12).

Sljedeći oglas koji analizira Judith Williamson (1983:66) neki je promidžbeni materijal putničke kompanije Thomson. "Kada ste posljednji put bili to što jeste?" pita taj oglas služeći se kvazi lakanovskim izrazima. Odgovor se nudi u obliku organizacije koja preuzima brigu o svemu i tako omogućuje korisniku usluge da bude slobodan i sretan, dok ga vode prema njegovom "dobrom, starom, vedrom ja koje zna da je život za življenje". Tako je svijet stezanja remena i otuđenja zamijenjen svijetom u kojem se pojedinac "budi i osjeća se sjajno zato što je živ", što naglašava razliku između "preplašenog ja" koje čeka "da se desi nešto ružno" i "ponovno otkrivenog ja", "nečega što je skriveno u vama i očajnički želi izići", a što bijeg putovanja čini mogućim.

sociated imagery. The tourism industry in its promotional discourse supplies these images in abundance through over-communication; at the same time there is an additional very real danger of concealing reality through under-communication, thereby transforming myths into "vehicles of forgetfulness" (failing to communicate adequately with oneself and with others) (see Lévi-Strauss (1986, 1987).

Building on her analysis of the previously mentioned painting featuring George and the Dragon which takes the viewer out of the foreground of the past and present to the world of the future, the extra-pictorial sunset location to where George triumphantly rides just like the western cowboys who succeed him, Williamson (1983: 78) analyses an advertisement that employs the same missing person technique. Though absent and unseen, she, but more probably he, is portrayed as gazing out of a train window on to the [feminine] waterfront of Istanbul. The [masculine] train is probably the *Orient Express*, thereby connoting luxury travel to an exotic destination. Related signs of [male] affluence (which make such ego-enhancing travel possible) are communicated by the brandy prominently positioned on the first class carriage table, alongside the *de rigueur* mysterious dark glasses and the copy of *The Times* for "top people". The "pure gold" of the nearby upmarket brand of Benson & Hedges cigarettes is associated via the process of indexical transference (where objects are transferred to people (e.g., 'Say it with flowers') and people are converted into objects (e.g. "Pepsi People")), and the invisible man is replaced by the targeted viewer of the ad and invited to participate in its delights. (Dann 1996:48; Williamson 1983:12)

The next ad to be examined by Williamson (1983:66) is some publicity from the travel company Thomson. 'When were you last yourself?' the ad asks in quasi Lacanian terms. The answer it supplies is one of an organisation that does all the caring thereby allowing you to be free and happy, and leading you to your tautological "good old chirpy, life-is-for-living self". Thus the world of belt tightening

Sa svoje strane Uzzell (1984:85-86, usporedi Dann, 1996:48) se usredotočuje na stranicu iz brošure za praznike u Medini koja predstavlja tipičnu sliku nasmiješene mlade žene u kupaćem kostimu koja trijumfalno u ruci steže bocu vina. Unutar ove dobro poznate scene, jer nema izravne i očite veze između boce i osobe, i stoga što brošura nema za cilj povećati prodaju vina, osobine vina prenose se na kupačicu putem semiološkog sustava (vidi Barthes). Ovdje vino predstavlja dobar život, a vino u kombinaciji s dobrim životom, tvori ontološki znak "dobrog života" prvotnog semiološkog jezičnog sustava. Međutim, kako taj sustav nije konačan, on nas vodi na drugotnu semiološku razinu na kojoj znak "dobri život" postaje označiteljem za osobu na odmoru, a "dobri život" i osoba na odmoru prožimaju se kako bi stvorili još jedan znak: osobu na odmoru u Medini. Nadalje, drugotna razina semiološkog sustava u kojem se dešava prijenos simboličkog značenja zapravo je razina mita, a konotativna poruka drugotnog značenja predstavlja mitsku ili ideološku komponentu transfera. I zašto se onda ta žena smiješi? Je li to stoga što drži bocu vina iako je očitko kako joj to baš nije udobno? Teško da je tako! Vjerojatnija je mogućnost da uslijed svoga višestrukog značenja (tj. vino je višeglasno) vino, primjerice, asocira na odsustvo seksualne inhibicije i tako nagoviješta jednu posve drugačiju interpretaciju.

Primjeri mitova u turizmu koji okružuju mitski turizam

Mitski turizam

Vraćajući se mitovima kao takvima i razlozima koji su mitove učinili izravnim objektom specijaliziranog turizma, na mrežnoj stranici <http://english.irib.ir/radioculture/iran/tourism/item> saznajemo kako je južnokorejska ambasada u Teheranu nedavno organizirala razgled perzijskih mitova kako

and alienation is replaced by one where "you wake up and actually feel great to be alive", thereby heightening the difference between "the frightened self" waiting for "something nasty to happen" and "the rediscovered self", "something inside you screaming to get out" made possible by the escape of travel.

For his part, Uzzell (1984:85-86, c.f., Dann 1996:48) focuses on a page from a Medina holiday brochure that features a typical picture of a smiling young woman in a swimming pool triumphantly clutching a bottle of wine. In this otherwise familiar holiday scene, because there is no immediate and obvious connection between the bottle and the person, and since the brochure is not trying to sell wine, the properties of the wine become transferred to the bather via a semiological system (see Barthes). Here the wine comes to signify the good life, and the wine, combined together with the good life, constitutes an ontological sign of "good liveness" in the first order semiological system of language. However, because the system is continuous, it leads on to a second order semiological system in which the sign of "good liveness" becomes a signifier signifying the holidaymaker, and "good liveness" and the holiday-maker combine to yield another sign, that of a Medina holiday-maker. Moreover this second order semiological system in which symbolic transference occurs is the order of myth, a connoted second order message as the mythical or ideological component of the transfer. So why is the woman smiling? Is it because she is holding a bottle of wine at some apparent discomfort to herself? Hardly! More likely is the possibility that since the wine may have more than one meaning (i.e., is multi-voiced) it could, for example, connote lack of sexual inhibition, thereby suggesting an entirely different interpretation.

Examples of Tourism Myths Surrounding Myth Tourism

Myth Tourism

Turning to myth itself and how this can

bi omogućila sudionicima da iskuse ponešto od “veliĉanstvene povijesti i kulture Irana”. Voditelj razgleda predstavljen je kao nitko drugi do proslavljeni Gong Wonkuk, u svojoj zemlji poznat kao “hodajući mitolog”. Razgled je bio planiran za 12. svibnja 2012., a osim iranskih lokacija Ahwaza, Kermanshaha, Kashana, Yazda i Shiraza, razgled je uključivao i dodatni doživljaj mitova Sibira, Kine, Himalaja i Turske.

Drugi primjer razgledavanja mitova dolazi iz Južnih Alpa Novog Zelanda. Zahvaljujući knjizi Samuela Butlera (1872) o Erwhonu, utopijskom društvu u planinama, u Gornjoj Rangitata dolini još uvijek su u modi književni mitovi, a turisti često dolaze da vide piščevu kuću. Mnogo kasnije, tek kada je super uspješna serija filmova o Gospodaru prstenova snimljena na obližnjoj lokaciji Edoras, uspostavljen je i mitski filmski turizam. Nije stoga nikakvo čudo da nacionalni turistiĉki ured promovira Novi Zeland kao zemlju mitova (Buchmann, 2006), što je vrsta turizma za koju se tvrdi da prkosi samom pojmu autentiĉnosti.

Sliĉan primjer nalazimo u “Posjetu Škotskoj” (2012) koji promovira Škotsku samostalnim putnicima koristeći analogni izraz “legenda” u sloganu “Škotska, mjesto na kojem oživljavaju legende.”

Konaĉno, imamo i nedavni oglas za regiju Siciliju Odjela turizma, sporta i spektakla (2012). Prema njihovom sloganu Sicilia (je) mit na otoku svjetla (“Sicilia (é) mito in un’ isola di luce”), dok se u engleskoj verziji rijeĉ mit prevodi u množini. Kako bi oprijemila tu tvrdnju, oglas navodi “ima jedna zemlja u kojoj turizam i dobar ukus žive u skladu”, dok prateća slika prikazuje polje suncem okupane loze. U kasnim modernim društvima koja obiljeŹavaju razliĉite razine nesklada izmeĊu svakodnevnog života i tehnologije, moŹemo pretpostaviti da to znaĉi kako je potrebno vratiti se predmodernoj eri (“ima jedna zemlja”) kako bismo autentiĉno doživjeli svijet oko sebe, a za to je potreban

become the direct object of specialised tourism, we learn from <http://english.irib.ir/radioculture/iran/tourism/item> how the South Korean embassy in Teheran recently organised a Persian myth tour in order to allow participants to experience something of “the glorious history and culture of Iran”. The tour leader was identified as none other than the celebrated Gong Wonkuk, familiarly known in his own country as a “walking mythologist”. The tour was planned for May 2012 and, apart from the Iranian sites of Ahwaz, Kermanshah, Kashan, Yazd and Shiraz, incorporated additional exposure to myths in Siberia, China, the Himalayas and Turkey-

Another instance of touring myths comes from the Southern Alps of New Zealand. There in the Upper Rangitata Valley literary myths were and still are in vogue due to the influence of Samuel Butler’s (1872) book about Erewhon a utopian society in the mountains where tourists currently travel to view the author’s house. Much later, it was only when the highly successful *Lord of the Rings* was shot on location at nearby Edoras, that a mythical film tourism became established. It is thus not surprising to find the national tourist board promoting New Zealand as a land of myths (Buchmann, 2006), a type of tourism which is said to challenge the very notion of authenticity.

There is also a similar example from “Visit Scotland” (2012) which markets that country for independent travellers through the analogical term of “legend” under the slogan ‘Scotland, where legends come to life.’

Finally, there is some recent publicity from the Dipartimento Turismo, Sport e Spettacolo (Department of Tourism, Sport and Sights) (2012) in relation to the Region of Sicily. According to its strap-line “Sicilia (é) mito in un’ isola di luce” (Sicily, (is) myth in an island of light), where the English version interestingly translates myth in the plural. As an instance of what it means, the advertising copy continues, ‘there is a land where tourism and taste live in harmony’ where the accompanying picture shows a field of sun-drenched grapevines. Subse-

turizam. Figura stila “bila jednom jedna...” omogućila je ovu nostalgичnu vezu.

5. ZALJUČAK

Ovaj pregled ispitao je tri inačice mita: mitove koji se vezuju uz religiju, fantaziju / neistinu i semiotiku, a zatim ih primijenio na fenomen turizma. Iako zasebno ispitane, sve tri vrste mitova imaju zajednički smisao koji nam omogućava da ih obradimo zbirno. Iz dosadašnjih razmatranja proizlazi da je svima zajednički pristup analizi turista i turizma: svi polaze od duboke, potporne strukture. Točka konvergencije nalazi se u području turističke motivacije jer upravo je to pitanje od najveće važnosti: zašto turisti putuju? (Dann, u pripremi). Ipak, prije nego se ostvari njihov zajednički doprinos, recimo i par riječi o zasebnim učincima religije, fantazije / neistine i semiotike na motivaciju turista.

Počevši s religijom, ali ovaj put u odnosu na motivaciju za putovanje, pokazalo se da religijski mitovi označavaju povratak u prošlost, regresiju do izvorišta, potragu za Središtem u izvanjskom svijetu predmoderniteta, nostalgичno putovanje prema svijetu kakav je nekada bio, potragu za individualnim identitetom u globaliziranom svijetu, zamjenu otuđenja svojstvenog modernosti otkupljujućim izvornim moralom. No upravo se to događa u pokušaju otkrivanja ultimativnog razloga za postojanje turizma. Ukoliko se ne ostvaruje veza sa svetošću, možemo pretpostaviti da ova vrsta turizma ne daje zadovoljavajućih odgovora. Ipak, još uvijek je prisutna jedna ranije spomenuta zamjerka. Ako turistička motivacija predstavlja dio prirodnog svijeta, zašto je nužno tražiti odgovore u natprirodnom svijetu? Odgovor na ovo pitanje zasigurno počiva na spoznaji da turizam nije tek isključivo društveni fenomen materijalnog *hic et nunc* (Lanfant, 1980) nego da ga nadilazi kao bezvremensko sveto putovanje (Graburn 1989; 1994) koje predstavlja potragu za po-

quently there is a photograph of historic remains in a naturally rural setting where there is a slight alteration to the wording: ‘There is a land where tourism and archaeology live in harmony.’ The meaning presumably is that, whereas late modern societies display various levels of disharmony between everyday life and technology, it is necessary to return to a pre-modern era (“there is a land”) for true authenticity of the senses, and hence of tourism. The “once upon a time” imagery makes this nostalgic connection possible.

5. CONCLUSION

This account has examined three variants of myth: those pertaining to religion, fantasy/falsehood and semiotics, and applied them to the phenomenon of tourism. Although they have been investigated separately there is a sense in which they can be treated cumulatively. Seen in this final light, what they share is a common approach to the analysis of tourists and tourism that explores this facet of reality from its deep underpinning structure. This point of convergence lies in the realm of tourist motivation since it is precisely in this dimension that the most fundamental question of all is posed, namely: why do tourists travel? (Dann, forthcoming) However, before their combined contribution is realised, a brief word about the separate contributions of religion, fantasy/falsehood and semiotics to tourist motivation is necessary.

Commencing, as before, with religion, but now specifically in relation to motivation, it has been shown that religious myths signal a return to the past, a regression to origins, a quest for the Centre-out-there in the world of pre-modernity, a journey of nostalgia for the way things used to be, a search for (lost?) individual identity in a globalised world, a replacement of the alienation of modernity with a redemptive roots morality. But this is precisely what happens in the attempt to discover the ultimate why of tourism. Unless it is linked to the sacred, then, arguably, it pro-

djednako uzvišenim objašnjenjem u duhovnoj sferi.

Poveznica između fantazije, neistine i turističke motivacije je mašta. Ukoliko prvo razmotrimo komponentu fantazije, zaključit ćemo kako turist prije puta zamišlja razne scenarije za događaje na putu i nakon njega. O njima razmišlja kao o osobnim projektima (Schutz, 1972) koji su se već realizirali. Upitan o tim projektima (na način kako se to radi tijekom bilo kojeg ispitivanja motivacije), ona ili on odgovaraju u pluskvamperfektu jer jedino to glagolsko vrijeme odgovara maštovitom promišljanju koje slijedi nakon djelovanja. Upravo takav misaoni unutarnji dijalog s vlastitim ja (*egom*) omogućuje turistu da odgovori voditelju intervjua (koji djeluje kao *alter*) izrazima samo-opravljanja. Ipak, važno je primijetiti i da se pozivanje na fantaziju ne može razumjeti u *racionalnim* okvirima, već da se to objašnjenje može smatrati *racionalnim* samo u odnosu na određenog pojedinca. Time se uspostavlja povezanost s neistinom jer ono što je iracionalno ne može istovremeno biti i istinito (Pareto, 1935). Možda se stoga za neistinu ponekad rabi izraz čisti mit.

Konačno, ispitivanje povezanosti između mita i motivacije učvršćuje konotativnu praksu i potrebu da se odstrane slojevi značenja kako bi se došlo do razine znaka u osnovi nekog motiva. U nastojanju da uspostavi jačanje vlastitoga ega kao motiva za putovanje, turist juri za kopijama super-znakova bogatstva (npr. dugačka limuzina, odijelo Armani, sat Rolex) koji nadilaze svakodnevnu zbilju u pogledu transporta, odjeće i mjerenja vremena kako bi doprijeti do mitske konotacije bogatstva. Na sličan način turista može privlačiti neki tropski otok svojim mitom o vječnom suncu i zaista će tim riječima i odgovoriti o razlozima za posjet otoku čak i ako u trenutku intervjua lijeva kiša. Sve to daje nam naslutiti da je potrebno razotkriti kontradikcije koje su povezane s mitovima kako bi istraživač mogao nadići klišeje i doprijeti do dubljih razina smisla. Slično

vides no satisfactory answer at all. However, one previously raised objection still remains. If tourist motivation itself forms part of the natural world then why is it necessary to seek an understanding of it in the supernatural world? The response to that question surely resides in the realisation that tourism is not simply a total social phenomenon in the material *hic et nunc* (Lanfant, 1980) but beyond that, it is ultimately a timeless sacred journey (Graburn 1989, 1994) seeking a similarly elevated explanation in the spiritual.

As far as fantasy/falsehood is concerned, its relation to tourist motivation resides in the imagination. Taking the fantasy component first, the pre-trip tourist imagines various on-trip and post-trip scenarios that constitute personal projects (Schutz, 1972) as if they had already happened. When asked about these projects (as in any valid motivational probe) s-(he) replies in the pluperfect tense because only that tense represents the imaginative reflection that has taken place as if the related course of action had also occurred. It is precisely such reflective internal dialogue with the self (*ego*) that enables the tourist to respond to the interviewer (as *alter*) in self-justificatory language. However, it is also important to note that admission of fantasy cannot be conceived in *rational* terms but rather as what is *reasonable* for a given individual. Thus the link to falsehood becomes established since what is irrational cannot at the same time be true (Pareto, 1935). Maybe that is why it is sometimes described as *pure* myth.

Finally, examining the connection between myth and motivation reinforces the praxis of connotation and the need to peel off layers of meaning in order to arrive at the sign value of a given motive. In seeking to establish ego-enhancement as a motive for travel, for instance, the tourist pursues "me too" super-signs of affluence (e.g., the stretched limo, the Armani suit, the Rolex watch) which go beyond the corresponding mundane realities of transport, clothing and time-keeping to arrive at the mythical connotation of wealth. Similarly a tourist may be

razobličavanje mita možda je nužno i u slučaju prikazivanja prirodnog krajolika (npr. kristalno plavih voda, ružičastih pješćanih plaža, lelujavih palmi), životinjskog svijeta (umiljatih koala medvjedića, šarenih, brbljavih papiga itd.) i domaćina (zauvijek sretni), u slučaju da je stvarnost moguće točnije opisati referirajući se na razorne uragane, otrovne životinje i biljke, i sveprisutno siromaštvo stanovništva trećeg svijeta. Ipak svi jure za upravo ovakvim promidžbenim slikama (Selwyn, 1996), znakovima koje turisti neumorno slijede (poput “neopjevane vojske semiotičara koji se lepezasto šire svijetom u potrazi za znakovima” (Culler, 1981:127) umjesto da se okrenu autentičnim alternativnim znakovima (jer je i autentičnost sama postala znakom). Primjerice, turist traži *pub* kao znak za englesko, a gondolu kao kulturni znak Venecije pa su u skladu s time ovi tipični odredišni znakovi prikazani pred-oznakama kao nešto što vrijedi vidjeti (*videndum; à voir*) (npr., brošure (Selwyn, 1990), vodiči (Gritti, 1967)) i post-oznakama (npr. razglednice) (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1989; Sharpley 1994:142-143). Postmoderni turisti žude za neobičnim i drugačijim iskustvima kako bi imali što prepričavati nakon svoga povratka. To će im omogućiti da se služe jezikom mitova i simbola. Štoviše, njihova publika budućih turista razumjet će ove aktualne i bivše turiste (sada već transformirane u promicatelje turizma) jer i jedni i drugi žive u doba *simulacruma* – vremenu znakova.

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motivationally attracted to a tropical island by the myth of eternal sunshine and indeed answer in those terms when asked about reasons for a visit even when it is pouring with rain at the time of questioning, all of which suggests that the contradictions of the associated myth need to be exposed before the interviewer probes deeper for more valid justifications than mere cliché. A similar debunking of myth may also be required when it comes to the portrayal of natural scenery (e.g., crystal blue waters, pink sandy beaches, swaying palm trees) or fauna (cuddly koala bears, brightly-coloured, talking macaws, etc.) or the native hosts (eternally happy), when the reality of the situation may be more accurately described in terms of ravage by hurricane, poisonous animals and plants, and a Third World population steeped in poverty. Yet it is the promotional imagery that is chased (Selwyn, 1996), the signs that are relentlessly pursued by tourists (as “the unsung armies of semiotics fanning out [all over the globe] in search of signs” (Culler, 1981:127)) rather than the authenticity of their alternatives (because authenticity itself has become a sign). The tourist looks for a pub as a sign of Englishness, for example, or a gondola as a cultural sign of Venice, and these typical destination signs are correspondingly conveyed as worth seeing (*videndum; à voir*) by pre-markers (e.g., brochures (Selwyn, 1990), guidebooks (Gritti, 1967)) and post-markers (e.g., postcards) (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1989; Sharpley 1994:142-143). Tourists as post-moderns crave these out-of-ordinary experiences based on pre-modern difference so that they *in turn* can recount them on their *re-turn*. In so doing they will be talking in signs and myths. Moreover, their audience of tourists-to-be will understand these actual and past tourists (now transformed into present promoters of tourism) because both the former and the latter are living in the age of the *simulacrum*—the time of the sign.

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