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# *Hybrid networks: sacred itineraries towards Santiago and Finisterre*

## Volume 1

**Lorena Bello Gómez**

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**Hybrid Networks: Sacred itineraries towards Santiago and Finisterre**  
**Redes Híbridas: Itinerarios significados hacia Santiago y Finisterre**

by

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## Abstract

*Hybrid Networks* explores in detail the slow geography of the *French Camino* network in northwest Spain, giving an account of the network at the scale of the Iberian Peninsula and Europe. This old itinerary is a hybrid of infrastructure, architecture, landscape and urbanity that linked the *End of the World* for the Romans, Finisterrae and Santiago de Compostela, with the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. Its scale in that time made it comparable to the celestial Milky Way, with each of its stars a navigator for the thousands of pilgrims beginning their walk towards the tomb of Saint James the Great in Galicia. Today, in a world that urbanizes very rapidly and that shrinks at high speed as well, this thesis argues that the *Camino's* hybrid network could shed light on a sensible way of occupying, recycling and symbolizing territory through artifacts and infrastructure across scales. Wandered at three miles per hour, the *camino* has become an example for *slow lines* that could be used in modern metropolises to counterweigh the speed at which other *fast lines* are consumed. A *palimpsest* and *panopticon* with the potential of being re-linked at the scale of Europe, a territory that once again starts to rise the walls that in the past pilgrimage was able to erase.

*Redes Híbridas* explora en detalle la geografía lenta de la red del *Camino de Santiago* en el noroeste de España, dando cuenta de la red a la escala de la Península Ibérica y Europa. Este antiguo itinerario es un híbrido de infraestructura, arquitectura, paisaje y urbanidad que unió el *Fin del Mundo* para los romanos, Finisterrae y Santiago de Compostela, con el resto de Europa en la Edad Media. Su escala en su tiempo la hizo comparable a la Vía Láctea, con cada una de sus estrellas un navegador para los miles de peregrinos que comenzaron su viaje hacia la tumba de Santiago el Mayor en Galicia. Hoy, en un mundo que se urbaniza rápidamente y que mengua a gran velocidad también, esta tesis argumenta que la red híbrida del Camino, podría arrojar luz sobre una manera sensible de ocupar, reciclar y simbolizar el territorio con artefactos e infraestructura a través de escalas. Caminado a tres millas por hora, el *camino* se ha convertido en un ejemplo de *líneas lentas* que podrían utilizarse en metrópolis modernas para contrarrestar la velocidad con la que otras líneas rápidas se consumen. Un *palimpsesto* y *panóptico* con el potencial de ser re-enlazado a escala de Europa, un territorio que una vez más comienza a levantar las murallas que en el pasado la peregrinación fue capaz de borrar.

## Sumario

*Hybrid Networks* explora en detalle la geografía lenta de la red del *Camino Francés* en el noroeste de España, enmarcándola también a la escala de la Península Ibérica y Europa. Este antiguo itinerario es un híbrido de infraestructura, arquitectura y urbanidad que enlazó el *Fin del Mundo* para los romanos, Finisterrae y Santiago de Compostela, con el resto de Europa durante la Edad Media. Hoy, en un mundo que se urbaniza rápidamente y que mengua a la misma velocidad, esta tesis argumenta que la red híbrida del *Camino* podría arrojar luz sobre una forma sensible de ocupar, reciclar y simbolizar el territorio a través de artefactos e infraestructura a través de escalas.

En la introducción, el estudio se posiciona entre principales discusiones contemporáneas entorno a la gran escala e infraestructura en urbanismo. El propósito de dicha visión de conjunto es, preparar el terreno para ir más allá de la comprensión del *camino* sólo como un artefacto medieval, hacia aquella de una red contemporánea de escala Europea. También la de establecer algunas relaciones entre importantes trabajos contemporáneos de infraestructura y esta red milenaria. Le sigue una breve introducción histórica del *camino* antes de explicar las motivaciones, objetivos y método de estudio, para concluir con un sumario de los estudiosos y trabajos que han informado investigaciones previas. Con los últimos, se revelan las áreas todavía por cubrir, como la de una aproximación actual que va más allá de los estudios medievales que han informado la reciente protección del *camino*.

El **capítulo 1** guía al lector a lo largo del *camino* histórico de la red, en paralelo a un análisis cartográfico de su evolución. Explica como la invención en dos tiempos de los restos de Santiago, han sido seguidas por miles de peregrinos siguiendo los *caminos* a Compostela, y describe las instituciones e infraestructura que lo hicieron posible. Junto con “*una línea hecha de tiempo y caminar,*” guío al lector a través de la evolución de las distintas redes que formaron la red de *caminos* en Europa, y termino mirando con más cercanía al tronco principal de la red en la Península, el *Camino Francés*. En ambas escalas, descubro el rol del *camino* como estrategia geo-política, un proyecto de control territorial para re-conquistar o conquistar, territorios perdidos o recién descubiertos en Europa y las Américas.

El **Capítulo 2** coloca al *camino* en su contexto teórico y geográfico, la peregrinación como fenómeno global omnipresente y explica, el estado de la peregrinación global a Santiago hoy, en comparación con otras importantes infraestructuras peregrinas en el mundo. Esta comparación es posible tras revelar los arquetipos de la peregrinación, así como algunas similitudes en protocolos contemporáneos de peregrinar y caminar. Entonces examino una literatura más amplia sobre caminar para contextualizar al *camino* con discursos filosóficos sobre la relación entre mente, espacio, movimiento y cartografía. Un diálogo que proporciona direcciones para entender cómo el *camino* debería ser estudiado hoy.

El **Capítulo 3** emprende un paseo cartográfico a lo largo de las diez etapas del *camino* en Galicia y analiza este viaje a través de los lentes de un lenguaje visual y tectónico de la experiencia del *camino*. Cada etapa se diagrama y analiza en paralelo, mientras guio al lector a lo largo de la línea hacia el *fin del mundo*. Cada *ciudad-etapa* se retrata como un lapso de cincuenta años de superposición. Las lecciones aprendidas en el viaje se explican en las conclusiones que siguen en el **Capítulo 4** donde explico que el camino se ha convertido en un ejemplo para *líneas híbridas lentas* que podrían ser usadas en metrópolis modernas como contrapeso de la velocidad a la que otras líneas rápidas se consumen. Un palimpsesto y panóptico con el potencial de ser re-enlazado a la escala de Europa, un territorio que de nuevo comienza a levantar las murallas que el pasado la peregrinación fue capaz de borrar.



To Rosa María and Javier,  
in the loving memory of Isidro Bello and Manuel de Solà-Morales

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- figure [S.6] Stage 6. Arzua - Lavacolla : [S.6a] plan+viewshed, [S.6b] sections + slope [S.6c] territorial prospect + panoramas. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [S.7] Stage 7. Lavacolla - Santiago : [S.7a] plan+viewshed, [S.7b] sections + slope [S.7c] territorial prospect + panoramas. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [CS.9] Santiago: [CS.9a] Orthophoto 1956, [CS.9b] topography + water [CS.9c] figure-ground 1956, [CS.9d] figure-ground 2012, [CS.9e] *Camino Santiago* 2012. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [S.8] Stage 8. Santiago - Negreira: [S.8a] plan+viewshed, [S.8b] sections + slope [S.8c] territorial prospect + panoramas. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [CS.10] Negreira: [CS.10a] Orthophoto 1956, [CS.10b] topography + water [CS.10c] figure-ground 1956, [CS.10d] figure-ground 2012, [CS.10e] *Camino Santiago* 2012. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [S.9] Stage 9. Negreira – Olveiroa: [S.9a] plan+viewshed, [S.9b] sections + slope [S.9c] territorial prospect + panoramas. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [S.10] Stage 10. Olveiroa - Finisterre: [S.10a] plan+viewshed, [S.10b] sections + slope [S.10c] territorial prospect + panoramas (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [CS.11] Cee-Corcubion: [CS.10a] Orthophoto 1956, [CS.10b] topography + water, [CS.10c] figure-ground 1956, [CS.10d] figure-ground 2012, [CS.10e] *Camino Santiago* 2012. (© Lorena Bello)
- figure [CS.12] Finisterre: [CS.11a] Orthophoto 1956, [CS.11b] topography +water [CS.11c] figure-ground 1956, [CS.11d] figure-ground 2012, [CS.11e] *Camino Santiago* 2012. (© Lorena Bello)

## **i. Introduction: Walking along the networks towards the end of the World**

### **i.1 Summary**

In this introductory chapter, *Walking along the networks towards the end of the World*, this study of the *camino* is positioned within contemporary urban conversations on infrastructure and networks, ranging from the social infrastructures that have shaped contemporary globalization to the technological ones reshaping perceptions of the city and territories; while in urban design, the reality and imagination of infrastructural urbanism has generated concepts that transcend traditional understandings of urban form, and that try to establish some relationships between major infrastructural works today and this millenary infrastructure. I then briefly introduce the history of the *camino* before explaining the motivations, aims, and method for my own study. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the *camino* scholars and works that have informed previous investigations. With the latter, I reveal the areas on the topic that are still to be covered and explored, such as a contemporary approach that goes beyond the necessary Medievalist studies that have informed the *camino*'s recent protection.

Chapter 1 *Pilgrim networks, a project of territorial control*, guides the reader along the historical path of the *camino* in combination with a series of cartographical analyses of this slow path today over time, explaining how *the two tempo invention* of the remains of St. James in Compostela has both times been followed by thousands of pilgrims making their ways to the Roman's end of the world and describing the reasons, institutions and infrastructure that made these pilgrimages possible. Together with "A line made by time and walking" –a timeline that records all the historical information provided by the above mentioned scholars provided as appendix, it brings the reader through the evolution of the different networks that created the *Pilgrim Network of Caminos* in Europe, ending by looking closely to the principal branch of the network in the Iberian Peninsula, the *French Camino*. At both scales, is explained how this infrastructure was used first to control the broken territory of the Roman Empire after barbarian invasions, and later as a territorial strategy to re-gain control over the lands lost to the Moors.

Chapter 2 *Drawing the line from pilgrimage to walking*, places the *camino* in its theoretical and geographical context. Pilgrimage is a ubiquitous global phenomenon, and the state of the global pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is explained today in comparison to other major pilgrim infrastructures. Within this frame, I search for the archetypes that constructed the original language of pilgrimage before Christianity, while revealing the layers of such a language along the *camino* network in Galicia. With them, I tried to divert from a prevalent and unilateral approach to the *camino* as a Roman Catholic infrastructure, towards a more contemporary reading that places a cadence into its multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-faceted values today. While doing so, I then examine a broader literature on walking to contextualize the *camino* within major philosophical discourses on the relationship between mind, space, motion, art and mapping; a dialogue which provides directions for understanding how the *camino* should be further studied and designed.

Informed by the above mentioned findings Chapter 3 *Ten stages to Finisterre*, takes a cartographical journey along the French *Camino*'s ten last stages in Galicia and analyzes that journey through the lens of a visual, tectonic language of the *camino* experience that describes the *camino* as a palimpsest and a panopticon. With the same lens, it proposes five elements defining the *camino* language today, and two units to measuring and exploring the potentials of this slow line in the territory. The former are the hostel, path, crossings, archetypes and liquid prospects along the way. The latter its one meter section of the walker at every step --amplified by its view shed, becoming an averaged twenty five kilometer line by the end of the daily walk. Understood as the overlay of layers underneath our feet, and the continuous portray of sectional panoramas, each stage is diagrammed and analyzed in parallel, as it guides the reader towards Finisterre. In parallel, the mapping exercise compares the city-stages described by Galician writer Alvaro Cunqueiro with their actual state fifty years later, allowing us to sense the different speeds of urbanization along these stages.

Chapter 4 *A Geography of Hybrid Slow Lines* brings to the fore the discoveries made along the way with the potential of synthesizing together a new way of understanding and approaching the evolution of this millenary infrastructure of the *camino* in the twenty first century, as well as the lessons that we can extract at the different scales that it has been studied to shed light into ways of using slow rhythms to counterweight faster ones across scales. At the scale of Europe for instance we could start re-linking the broken network as a symbol of bounding that counterweights the forces of rupture that once again are rising walls within this broken territory. Starting at the region and growing into the Peninsula and Europe as well, we could start using the viewshed of the walker from the camino to re-forest thinly populated stages along its way with the potential of creating a European network of linear hybrid parks. Within city-stages, and following the pedestrianization of many city-centers in Europe, the *caminos* could be pedestrianized at the scale of the city in the future as well.

## Overview

In these days many are the disciplines that are interested in the study of the territory at *big scale*. This interest results from the perception of a global world, economically and technologically intertwined, which urbanizes at great speed, where one million people per day are expected to become urban in the next fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> In this global sphere, infrastructure and technology have evolved to connect centers of production in the antipodes of their consumers, allowing travelers to circumvallate the globe in only one day, or to Skype in with the East to bring commerce to the West. Far away are the times when Marco Polo had to leave Venice to follow the *Silk Road* as a wayfarer to establish connections with the court of Kublai Kahn --and many are the adventures gone with them.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, this territory at big scale is in the spotlight of a new ecological awareness that reacts against the social and natural disequilibrium that this way of inhabiting the planet causes, as well as the *new urban questions* posed by them.

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<sup>1</sup> UN-HABITAT, Global Urban Observatory, 2001 estimates

<sup>2</sup> POLO, M., & LATHAM, R. E., 1958. *The travels of Marco Polo*. (Penguin classics). Harmondsworth, Middlesex; New York: Penguin Books.

Responding to the social disequilibrium, sociologist Saskia Sassen writes about the *global city*, trying to rise our awareness of the destabilization and inequality that this political economy produces.<sup>3</sup> In parallel and continuing Lefebvre's Marxist debate, geographers such as David Harvey, Neil Smith and Neil Brenner criticize the absence of urban public space accessible to citizens, and attack the powers of control that prevent its public use, to collectively protest against them.<sup>4</sup> Together, all denounce the social injustices that this new system of global capital creates, continuously augmenting the differences between rich and poor in the global cities that they describe. Urbanists who expand this criticism are, among others Roy, Soja and Secchi-Viganò. Ananya Roy analyses urban poverty and inequality in the *global south* revealing the causal forces of informality and how informal settlements have become the prevalent way to settle in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Within his ideas of a post-metropolitan *third space*, Edward Soja seeks *spatial justice* in cities provided by social networks, cultural education and spatial assets such as housing, work location and mobility, which he calls *spatial capital*. Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò, continuing the critique of Bourdieu, Barthes or Samonà, define an *isotropic* and *porous territory* that tries to erase hierarchies by providing an equal distribution of infrastructural and environmental conditions to all its urban dwellers.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> SASSEN, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokio*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press

<sup>4</sup> LEFEVRE, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell; HARVEY, D. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism*. London; New York: Verso; SMITH, NEIL. 2006. *The Politics of Public Space*. New York: Routledge; BRENNER, N., MARCUSE, P., MAYER, M. 2011. *Cities for People not for Profits: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. Routledge.

<sup>5</sup> BOURDIEU, P., 1993. *La misere du monde*. Paris: Seuil; \_\_\_\_, 1979. *Distinction. A social critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press; See also: BARTHES, R., 2002, *Comment vivre ensemble. Cours et seminaires au College de France 1976-77*. Paris: Seuil Imec

SOJA, E. 2010. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. \_\_\_\_. 2010. "Regional urbanization and the end of the metropolis era." Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson Eds. *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*.

Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, pp. 679-689; see also: \_\_\_\_, 2000. *Postmetropolis: critical studies of cities and regions*.

Cambridge, MA: Blackwell; SOJA, E., & KANAI, M., 2007. "The urbanization of the world." *The endless city: The Urban Age project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*. Burdett & Sudjic Eds.

London: Phaidon. pp.54-69

ROY, A., 2008. "Global Norms and Urban Forms: The Millennium Development Goals" *Planning Theory and Practice* 9:2, 251-274; see also: \_\_\_\_, 2005. "Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* (71:2), pp 147-158

SECCHI, B., 2013. *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri* (1.st ed., Anticorpi; 36). Roma: Laterza. \_\_\_\_, 2010. "A new urban question. Understanding and planning the contemporary European city." *Territorio*, 53; VIGANO, P., 2014.

*Territorialism*. Cambridge: Harvard GSD; SECCHI&VIGANO, 2009. Grand Pari(s). Consultation of research on the future of great Paris metropolitan area.

Responding to the technological revolution that we live in these days together with growth on the other hand, sociologist Manuel Castells projects the birth of an *informational society*. A society that would live in *constellations* of metropolitan areas bigger than metropolis, which he calls *urban villages*, where spaces of networks and fluxes touch Earth.<sup>6</sup> Continuing his ideas, urbanists such as William Mitchell at MIT and his *Smart Cities* group at the Media Lab pushed without prejudices at the beginning of the 2000s for the integration of design and technology to the limit.<sup>7</sup> Their goal was for cities to become more sensible and responsive to citizen needs and to use city resources more efficiently. Mitchell and his successors Kent Larson and Carlo Ratti, with their respective labs Changing Places and SENSEable City, project the future city as a big scale sensor that responds quickly to external shifts. As a double of the Earthly city, Mitchell's *Digital City* physically materializes the space of networks and fluxes that Castells describes.

To continue, the discipline of *landscape urbanism* in the US is the one that describes and reclaims the emergent *landscape of logistics* resulting from the time-sensitive demands of this neo-liberal global market in North America. Lyster, Waldheim and Berger --continuing the work of Zaera, Snyder and Wall -- describe the networked landscape based on global supply chains, and vast territories given over to accommodating the shipment, staging and delivery of goods.<sup>8</sup> A territory of big volumes sustained by the new economy of 'just-in-time' manufacturing, surface transportation and global air freight, all enabled by the flexible mode of the shipping container. In this light, Castells and Hall's *technopoles* would materialize at the intersection of information and goods such as *trade zones*, *intermodal business parks* or *free zones*, which for Susan Snyder and Alex Wall are the figure of all

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<sup>6</sup> CASTELLS, M. 1999. *The Informational City*. Oxford: Blackwell. See also: *The Rise of a Network Society. Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* Vol. I. Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell (1996). From the same author: "Local and global: cities in the network society," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 93, (5), pp. 548-558  
Good explanation about spaces of networks and fluxes in STALDER, F. 2006. "Flows and places." *Manuel Castells: The Theory of the Network Society*. Cambridge/ Malden: Polity Press, pp. 141-166

<sup>7</sup> MITCHELL, B. 2003. *Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City*. Cambridge, Mass; London, UK: MIT Univ. Press;  
\_\_\_\_\_, 1999. *E-topia : "Urban life, Jim--but not as we know it"*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.  
CHANGING PLACES [<https://www.media.mit.edu/research/groups/changing-places/>]; SENSEable CITY [<http://senseable.mit.edu/>](Last Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>8</sup> LYSTER, C. 2012. "Learning from FedEx: lessons for the city." *Journal of Landscape Architecture*. 7:1, 54-67;  
WALDHEIM, C., BERGER, A. 2008. "Logistics Landscape." *Landscape Journal*, 27:2-08; SNYDER, S., WALL, A. 1998. "Emerging landscapes of movement and logistics". *Architectural Design Profile* 134:16-21

this ground of distribution and consumption.<sup>9</sup> None of the former authors seem to establish any critique towards the continuous re-allocation, permanent recalibration, and rapid obsolescence of labor or infrastructure that goes hand in hand with these “just-in-time” processes –all in lieu of *speed, economical gains and efficiency*. Nor do they make any comment about the urban form/urbanity or lack thereof of these *big figures of logistics*.

Only Alan Berger observes the resulting urbanization supported by this economy at the regional scale that he calls *drosscape*; the space of waste, wasted or made of residues that logistics, consumerism and individualism produces. This is the landscape of sprawl, the sameness of repetition, abandoned brownfields, and thousands of land fields full of discarded products. Drosscape continues the discourse started by Lynch in “*Wasting Away*” and Lerup in “*After the City*” where the term *dross* appears for the first time.<sup>10</sup> Other urbanists, ecologists and landscape architects however, try to pick up the pieces that this neo-liberal economy has brought to the post-industrial territory of the USA. This is the case of Brent D. Ryan, Richard T. Forman and Niall Kirkwood who with their *patchwork urbanism* for shrinking cities like Detroit, *land mosaics*, or *remedial landscape processes*, respectively try to reestablish some order out of this American *drosscape* that Berger describes.<sup>11</sup> With the same principles, Mohsen Mostafavi and Gareth Doherty collect in their *ecological urbanism* the knowledge of critical design thinkers that propose a more sensitive approach to inhabit an urban world that is growing fast and is being consumed at the same rate<sup>12</sup>. A pioneer of this discourse in North America is Anne W. Spirn who worked with Ian McHarg<sup>13</sup> and over thirty years ago, in her book *The Granite Garden* set some of the theoretical ground for a later landscape or ecological urbanism.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> CASTELLS, M. and HALL, P., 1994. *Technopoles of the world*. London: Routledge.

<sup>10</sup> BERGER, A. 2006. *Drosscape: wasting land in urban America*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press; LYNCH, K., 1990. *Wasting away*. San Francisco: Sierra Club; LERUP, L. 2000. “Stim and dross: rethinking the metropolis.” *After the City*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 47

<sup>11</sup> RYAN, B. 2012. *Design after decline*. Philadelphia: Penn Univ. Press; FORMAN, R. 2008. *Urban regions*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press; KIRKWOOD, N. 2001. *Manufactured sites: rethinking the postindustrial landscape*. London; New York: Spon Press

<sup>12</sup> MOSTAFAVI, M., DOHERTY, G.ed. 2010. *Ecological Urbanism*. Switzerland: Lars Muller Publishers

<sup>13</sup> Famous Landscape Architect and author of “*Design with Nature*” published in 1969. Garden City, N.Y.: Published for the American Museum of Natural History [by] the Natural History Press.

<sup>14</sup> SPIRN, A., 1984. *The granite garden: Urban nature and human design*. New York: Basic Books.  
See also: \_\_\_\_, 1998. *The language of landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.



Within this context, mobility infrastructure for people, energy or goods, as just described, has become paramount in this century. The more we are globally connected and our cities with surrounding regions grow and sprawl, the more we rely on mobility infrastructures to support our daily activities. Many are the urbanists that have employed themselves in studying this supporting infrastructure at big scale. Marcel Smets & Kelly Shannon have claimed mobility infrastructure to be a new field for design to break up the capsules that engineers have built surrounding them in cities.<sup>15</sup> In Smets' terms, *interchanges* between different modes could become new areas of *centrality* today if designed as civic public/private spaces, improving the form and flows of their surroundings. Following the previous argument of technopoles, Smets argues, in my view, for an interchange where the techno is simplified to its limits in order to give space to the humane. This has been the work of urban designers Joan Busquets and Manuel de Solà-Morales in their explorations around high-speed train *interchanges* and *multi-modal* stations or *ports* respectively<sup>16</sup>. On a similar wavelength, Stan Allen has claimed *infrastructural urbanism* to be the way out from an era of too much symbolism and formalism in architecture.<sup>17</sup> For Allen, the lessons learned from this practice should stop architecture from the production of autonomous objects and instead shift towards the design of flexible platforms for program, events and activities. Both former and latter approaches stand for an antithetical approach to Pier Vittorio Aureli's possibility of an *absolute architecture* or Rem Koolhaas' *Hotel Sphinx* in Manhattan that paved the road for *bigness* or the possibility of large architecture. Bigness being in architecture nothing more than the *capsules* that Smets uses to describe the autonomous interchanges of mobility today.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> SHANNON, K., & SMETS, M., 2010. *The landscape of contemporary infrastructure*. Rotterdam: New York, NY: NAI ; SMETS, M., ?. *The urban form of mobility: open up the capsule*. (Online PDF); \_\_\_\_\_, 2014. *Passages. Transitional spaces for the 21st-century city* (Online PDF)

<sup>16</sup> BUSQUETS, J. 2008. *Catalunya continental: rail infrastructure as the backbone of development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, GSD. See also: BUSQUETS, J. 2008. *Mastricht Urban Surplus*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, GSD. Urban projects: 2010. *Coimbra, urban project for the mix-use development of the TGV station area* (Portugal); 2008. *Lisboa, regeneration area TGV station and Estacao do Oriente* (Portugal); 2008. *Redeveloping Railway triangle*. (Amsterdam)

SOLÀ -MORALES, M. d. 2008. *A matter of things*. Barcelona: G.G.; His project on Leuven or the urban ports of Genoa, Thessaloniki, Trieste, Antwerp and Almere, with special mention to the Moll de la Fusta in Barcelona, the port of Saint-Nazaire, Porto's Atlantic seafront or the Scheveningen Boulevard

<sup>17</sup> ALLEN, S., 1999. "Infrastructural urbanism". *Points+ lines: diagrams and projects for the city*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, pp. 52

<sup>18</sup> AURELI, P., 2011. *The possibility of an absolute architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press;

Finally, I will end this overview of mobility infrastructures with the studies of movement of energy and people at big scale from the work of Rem Koolhaas, Yona Friedman and Constantinos Doxiadis. In collaboration with the European Climate Foundation and a group of experts, Koolhaas' *Roadmap 2050* [i.1a,1b,1c] spatially articulated in 2010 the possibility of overlapping the European *high-speed train* [i.2a,2b,2c] with the *energy network* at a continental scale. This new *Eneropa* network, made of energy savings lines with regions defined by their energy source, parallels the high-speed train to share renewable resources at the European scale --reducing carbon emissions by 80% when North Africa is included.<sup>19</sup> If well implemented, *Roadmap 2050* could well continue Yona Friedman's 1961 & 1994 *City-States* proposal against American *megalopolis* and *urban sprawl*,<sup>20</sup> a network of 150 city-nodes relatively modest in size set at a distance around 200Km and one hour away of high-speed travel along a *mesh* of farmlands.<sup>21</sup> This global pattern for sustainable human habitat that Friedman proposed, was in his words an ancient scheme of habitat enhanced through rapid transit technology.<sup>22</sup> In the same days, Konstantinos Doxiades scaled up a similar scheme at his center for *Ekistics*; a multi-center network of *World-Cities* linked by mobility lines that he called *Ecumenopolis*. As in Friedman's city-states, Doxiadis' world-cities were also a mechanism to control density before it became too dangerous. In the *City of the Future* he kept explaining this city-world as a network of centers and lines of communication, in which all parts of settlement and all lines of communication would be interwoven into a meaningful organism. As Allen, Doxiades also pushed architects to reduce their fixation on shells and to become responsible

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KOOLHAAS, R., 1994. *Delirious New York: A retroactive manifesto for Manhattan*. New York: Monacelli Press; \_\_\_, 1995. "Bigness, or the problem of large." *S, M, L, XL: Office of Metropolitan Architecture*. Jennifer Sigler Ed. New York: The Monacelli Press, pp. 514

<sup>19</sup> KOOLHAAS, R. d. 2010. *Roadmap 2050*. [<http://www.roadmap2050.eu/project/roadmap-2050>]; see also: MOORE, R. 2010. *Roadmap 2050 by Rem Koolhaas's OMA*. The Guardian [<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2010/may/09/roadmap-2050-eneropa-rem-koolhaas>] (Last Accessed May'15)

<sup>20</sup> FRIEDMAN, Y. 1994. *Continent-Cities*. Paper written for UNESCO, later published in: \_\_\_, 2006. "Continent-Cities." *Pro domo*. Barcelona: Actar, pp. 75-93; see also: "Cities in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium." *Pro domo*. Barcelona: Actar, pp. 96-108; RODRÍGUEZ, M. I. 2011. *Arquitectura con la gente, por la gente, para la gente = Architecture with the people, by the people, for the people: Yona Friedman*. Barcelona; New York: MUSAC ; Actar.

DOXIADIS, C. A., 1967. *The Coming World-city: Ecumenopolis*. Print; see also \_\_\_, 1968. "Man's movement and his city." *Science*. 162(3851), pp. 326-334

<sup>21</sup> Cities with populations between 300,000 and 3 million inhabitants.

<sup>22</sup> City-states were the settlement pattern that Greeks and Romans used to settle and colonize Europe.

for *networks*.<sup>23</sup> It is Mark Wigley who collected all the evolution of this previous line of work in *network fever*, an article where he portrays this 60's network discourse as the food for thought that will later nurture Kenzo Tange's *megastructures*; Fumihiko Maki's *metabolism*; the Smithson's *streets in the sky*; Candilis & Woods' *mat buildings*; Aldo van Eyck *network of services*; Louis Kahn & Anne Tyng's *Philadelphia's traffic scheme*; Archigram's series of *Plug in city*, *Walking city*, etc.; or Constant's *New Babylon*. These are practices with bright and dark sides but nonetheless all attempt to cope with high density and rapid urbanization at the time.<sup>24</sup>

The lessons learnt from these above mentioned studies and proposals are many, as the following paragraphs will explain. Coming out of the Modern Era, these proposals still preserved the separation of uses that characterized the modern approaches to deal with the complexity of the city and its expansive nature. As Smets proposes, mobility infrastructures should evolve and hybridize to accommodate more civic and natural functions together with movement. Besides, as he highlights in Manuel de Solà -Morales' ideas, these infrastructures should be designed from kilometers to centimeters to enhance continuity and establish social and natural relationships along their ways, placing special attention to their crossings and intersections. As Manuel de Solà would have said: *Ojo a los cruces!* (Watch out for the crossings). Secchi and Viganò would add that this can only happen when the designer leaves the comforts of the map and studio to set one's feet on the ground and absorb all the nuances of the traversed territory.<sup>25</sup> Of course we are not reinventing the wheel, Olmsted's Boston *Fens and Riverway* was already designed in this manner in the nineteenth century. The *Riverway*, as Bostonians call it, became a linear park for its citizens that allowed for the movement of people and cars while managing the flow of the Muddy River –a far better section than the Big Dig provides today.<sup>26</sup> Besides, the value Olmstead created attracted many institutions to settle along the Fens' sides, including nine colleges and universities and the museum of Fine Arts. Spirn also explains that this ambitious

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<sup>23</sup> WIGLEY, M., 2001. "Network fever." *Grey Room*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 88

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, pp 83-122

<sup>25</sup> They explained this approach in their practice in a lecture they gave at the GSD on October 24, 2012

<sup>26</sup> The Big Dig was an elevated high way in Boston demolished and re-directed to a tunnel underground.

project was the result of a participatory process with public hearings together with public-private investors.<sup>27</sup> Parisian *boulevards* on the other hand are also an earlier typology of a hybridized street, and the *Scheveningen Boulevard* [i.3] in The Hague is a beautiful contemporary waterfront that blends the two previous examples together by providing for a stroll along the water, while managing the high tides from flooding the low lands of its hinterland.<sup>28</sup> In the US a good example of this multi-function practice is the winning proposal for the aftermath of the Sandy hurricane in New Jersey organized by *Rebuild by Design*.<sup>29</sup> Proposed by CAU, ZUS and URBANISTEN, the *Meadowlands* [i.4] is a resilient city of logistics within a regional park that is able to manage the flows of people, goods, and water.<sup>30</sup> However, to end with poetics and not logistics, I will recall a twelfth century hybrid of water infrastructure and sacred pilgrim destination for Hindus and Buddhists: Angkor Wat in Siem Reap, Cambodia [i.5]. This stone temple complex was designed to manage the Spring flooding within the geometry of its master plan as a Mandala, projecting the movement of water and people from its periphery to its center. Even in the best practices today, the proven efficiency given by quantitative engineers continuously wins over the blending of management and beauty that designers can bring into the same equation.<sup>31</sup>

Infrastructure has also proven an intelligent mechanism to blur the physical and spatial boundaries between rich and poor in the global south. In a MIT studio visit to Medellin, the urban designer under Sergio Fajardo's tenure named Alejandro Echeverri, and architect of

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<sup>27</sup> For more info about this project look at: SPIRN, A. W., 1988. "Poetics." *Landscape Journal*. Special Issue: Nature, form, and meaning. V7, i.2, pp. ii ".... the Fens and Riverway created an integrated system of park, parkway, storm drain, and streetcar line that formed the skeleton for growth of new suburban (now inner city) neighborhoods ..... Frederick Law Olmsted and his partners designed the Fens as a salt water marsh that would function as a flood control reservoir and that would be a counterpoint to the surrounding city. This marsh was a human construct dug out of the polluted mudflats, but it was designed to appear like a natural salt marsh around which the city had happened to grow." See also: SPIRN, A.W., 1996. "Constructing nature: The legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted." *Uncommon ground. Rethinking the human place in Nature*. New York: W. W. Norton, pp.102-110

<sup>28</sup> [[http://manueldesola-morales.com/proys/Scheveningen\\_eng.htm](http://manueldesola-morales.com/proys/Scheveningen_eng.htm)]

<sup>29</sup> [<http://www.rebuildbydesign.org/>]

<sup>30</sup> The Center for Advanced Urbanism at the Media Lab was the coordinator for this project. To learn more look at : [<http://cau.mit.edu/project/rebuild-design>] where you can find more links to the project: [<http://www.rebuildbydesign.org/teams/mit-zus-urbanisten/>] (Last Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>31</sup> PETROTCHENKO, M. 2011. *Focusing on the Angkor Temples: The guidebook*. Thailand: Amarin. A good description of mandala can be found in Chapter Two

famous *escalators* Carlos Escobar, explained the multiple effects of both *metrocable* and *escalators* to improve the everyday life of the informal settlers.<sup>32</sup> The metrocable does so by connecting physically and mentally the formal with the informal city and reducing the previous one hour travel to only seven minutes; the escalators by creating safety nets, or safe havens as they call them, along their way in these informal neighborhoods.<sup>33</sup> Metrocable and escalators, together with the *library-parks* they linked, enormously improved their users' *spatial capital* in Soja's words. Back in the formal world we have also learnt that as technology obliges continuous recalibration, *resilience* should always get inserted in these new hybrids in order to sustain their endurance. Designers should anticipate the design of their projects' afterlives and therefore adjust size and investment to this fact. The *High Line* in Manhattan [i.7] is a successful example of this kind as well as its Parisian predecessor the *Promenade Plantée*. The first is a decommissioned elevated train line that used to serve a former industrial area of the city, transformed today into an elevated linear park that links museums, art galleries and public amenities along its over two kilometers of length. One of its designers, Elizabeth Diller, explained in a recent lecture at MIT that the High Line has become the space for informal art performances and spectacles in the city, and because of NYC's branding success, its idea is being copied in many cities in the world. Those walking the highline today are 21<sup>st</sup> century *world voyeurs*.<sup>34</sup> Even the Promenade Plantée, she explained, is having a resurgence in these days after the acclaimed success of its American counterpart. Furthermore, the highline is also a good example of the combination of public and private efforts to build a public civic space as well as an equilibrated endeavor between bottom up and top down design. It was thanks to grassroots actions of people, today an NGO called *Friends of the Highline*, that this infrastructure was saved from being demolished by the city; but by facilitating its recalibration, the surrounding property values have gone up enormously and gentrification

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<sup>32</sup> The Urban Design studio that I co-taught at MIT in the Spring of 2015 explored the possibilities of infrastructure in informal settlements when provided before encroachment. The studio syllabus can be consulted here: ([https://architecture.mit.edu/sites/architecture.mit.edu/files/attachments/course/4.163%20UD%20Syllabus\\_Bello\\_Samper.pdf](https://architecture.mit.edu/sites/architecture.mit.edu/files/attachments/course/4.163%20UD%20Syllabus_Bello_Samper.pdf))

<sup>33</sup> The Metrocable together with Porto's metro received the Veronica Rudge Green Prize in Urban Design in 2013. The webpage prepared by the board directed by Joan Busquets explains the Medellin project with a lot of detail. [<http://urbandesignprize.org/medellin/>] These projects are called PUI from Proyecto Urbano Integrado (Integrated urban project)

<sup>34</sup> Pietro Belluschi Lecture on April 9<sup>th</sup> 2015. She said that around 5 million people visited the High-line in 2014.

is booming in the area.<sup>35</sup> Last, but actually more important, even if infrastructures need to be technically engineered to accommodate movement, we should never forget that they are also the paths for discovery, culture and adventure that many experience along their ways.

## **i.2 Thesis goals and method**

In the light of some of the previous discoveries –many were learnt along the way— this dissertation entitled *Hybrid Networks* began. Since January 2010 I have been studying and analyzing a network that was also built for slow paces and, like the Highline, recycled from a previous faster one. In the same manner as Friedman’s *city-states* and covering the entire western continental Europe, this network that I study was also formed by cities and wilderness in between, linked by the fastest thoroughfares of their time. Like the Medellin’s PUI, these networks welcomed everybody without distinction of class and sponsored their travel by providing for infrastructure, safety, ceiling, health care and money exchange along their journeys. These services were the seeds of bridges, universities, cathedrals, hospitals, police or credit cards today. The project was supported by public and private institutions -- the kingdoms of Spain and France, the Roman Church and the Abbey of Cluny-- who used this infrastructure as a mechanism to re-conquer a territory lost to Visigoths and Moors; and which, by doing that, opened their *intramuros* land closed within the walls of its medieval cities. From this time on, the *Roman Roadmap* and its infrastructure, described in the *Pentunguine Table*, was recycled to add to Rome and Constantinople a new sacred destination, Santiago de Compostela, once Jerusalem had been lost to the Moors as well.<sup>36</sup> The materialization of their endeavor and topic for this dissertation, was precisely the network of *pilgrim paths* that linked the *end of the world* for the Romans—Finisterrae and Santiago de Compostela—with the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. Recycling Roman roads when possible, new paths and bridges linked together already established worship sites and Christian centers across France along four routes from Tours, Vezelay, Le

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<sup>35</sup> In my last walk along the Highline in May 2015, I observed that Real State is booming in this area. The new housing apartments are publicizing their units for 2 million dollars/one bedroom or 20 million for a 5 bedroom apartment. Gentrification processes that usually go hand in hand with this upgrading of previously derelict urban areas.

<sup>36</sup> Explained in Chapter One in Roman Network

Puy and Arles that, entering through the Pyrenees' passes of Cize and Somport, joined at Puente la Reina to continue as a single path towards Compostela. The scale of the network, for its time, made it comparable to the celestial Milky Way, with each of its stars a navigator for the hundreds of pilgrims beginning their walk towards the *invented* tomb of Saint James in Galicia.<sup>37</sup> The *Caminos de Santiago*, as they are known today and that were well described in the twelfth century *Calixtinus Codex*, opened up the feudal and closed Medieval system: and by transforming it into a network where Art and knowledge flourished from *Romanesque to Gothic*, many argue that Europe was able to evolve into its Renaissance.<sup>38</sup> The Council of Europe has recognized this value by naming the Spanish branch of the network from Roncesvalles, known as the French *camino* or just *camino* --as I will refer to it from now on-- the first European cultural itinerary; later on Unesco joined this recognition by adding the *camino* and the network of the *caminos* in France to their list of cultural itineraries.<sup>39</sup> The *camino* is today, as this dissertation will show, a hybrid of infrastructure, architecture, landscape and urbanity that from a medieval pilgrim path was able to evolve along the last century into a *global cultural itinerary* walked yearly by an average of two hundred thousand modern pilgrims.<sup>40</sup> This update or recalibration was accomplished with the support of many bottom up actions that saved it from obsolescence and served to counterweigh the touristic campaigns that promoted only its medieval destination, Santiago de Compostela; like the Highline in NYC, these grassroots are the *Friends of the Camino* that together with the confraternities of Saint James form a global network in these days [i.6,7,8].

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<sup>37</sup> "*Inventio*" is the name the Church used during the Middle Ages to designate the discovery of something related to Christ or his life. The Latin verb *invenire* had the double meaning of finding and imagining. In the Middle Ages *invention* was used with the meaning of finding. I will use it in this work with the meaning of imagining. See: SORIA i PUIG, A. 1991-1992. *Vol.1: Vías, Viajes y Viajeros de antaño*. Madrid:MOPU, pp. 23

<sup>38</sup> The Codex Calixtinus is considered the first guide book for travel in the West. It would be explained in further detail in the State of the Art of this chapter. The network of the *camino* will be also explained by the end of the following chapter. Online Access [<https://sites.google.com/site/caminodesantiagooproject/chapter-i-roads-to-santiago>]

<sup>39</sup> The Council of Europe is the cultural branch of the European Union. This happened in 1987. UNESCO. 1993. Inscription of the route of Santiago de Compostela in its course through Spain. 1998 Inscription of the routes through France. Later in 2006 UNESCO included the French camino in Spain within the list of cultural itineraries. For more info [<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669/>]

<sup>40</sup> Statistics forms from the Pilgrim's Office in Santiago can be consulted at: [<http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>]. Modern pilgrims walk at least the last 100 Km or bike the last 200 Km to Santiago. International pilgrims usually start in Saint Jean Pie de Port in France, Roncesvalles, Leon, Cebreiro or Sarria

For all these reasons, in a world that urbanizes very rapidly and that shrinks at high speed as well, I argue that the *camino*'s hybrid network could shed light on a sensible way of occupying, recycling and symbolizing territory through infrastructure, artifacts, archetypes and landscape. Wandered at three miles per hour, the *camino* has become an example, as I will try to portray, for *slow infrastructures and itineraries* that could be used in modern metropolises to counterweigh the speed at which other lines are consumed today. To probe this potential, discover its lessons and decipher its DNA, this study traveled across the different scales of this sacred geography, from the human scale of its walkers to their traversed larger territory through cartographical analysis and charts that search through history, urban form and landscape. Those scales that frame this cartographical study are the following: The global scale of its modern pilgrims as well as other mayor pilgrim paths in the world today; the evolution of the *camino* network at the scale of Europe; the contemporary network of the *caminos* in the Iberian Peninsula paying special attention to the linear city-stages of the French *camino*; the scale of one stage of the cultural itinerary; and the human scale of its walkers. These scales are points of entry to explain the construction, evolution and recalibration of this millenary network that, as all pieces of archeology, demand to be understood as *palimpsests*.<sup>41</sup> Therefore in parallel to the cartographical analysis; I provide a thorough literature review; and by walking, driving and photographically framing *the last ten stages* of the *camino*, I started a timeline back in 2010 where I have been collecting all the historical events provided by scholars related to its evolution. I have included this timeline as an Appendix called "*A line made by time and walking*" for those interested in a more detailed history of events.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica's *Palimpsest* definition: Manuscript roll or codex from carrying a text erased, or partly erased, underneath an apparent additional text. The underlying text is said to be "in palimpsest" and, even though the parchment or other surface is much abraded, the older text is recoverable in the laboratory by such means as the use of ultraviolet light. The motive for making palimpsests usually seems to have been economic –reusing parchment was cheaper than preparing a new skin. Another motive may have been directed by Christian piety, as in the conversion of a Pagan Greek manuscript to receive the text of a Father of the Church.

See also: GENETTE, G., 1997. *Palimpsests. Literature in the second degree*. Trans. Channa Newman & Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: NB, pp.1-10; or BERRIZBEITIA, A. 2009. "On Palimpsest." *Hargreaves: The alchemy of landscape architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 63

<sup>42</sup> I borrow this title from Landart's Robert Smithson work: "*A line made by walking*" from 1967.



I spent the academic year (2010-2011) researching and drawing the European and Iberian scale of the network, the evolution of the Reconquista war, as well as the trace and stages of today's *camino* cultural itinerary. In parallel to this work I started "*A line made by time and walking.*" During the following (2011-2012) academic year I built an annotated literature review and started to collect digital data from the Galician government. This was a turning point in the research; after this review I decided to start a more detailed study of the last ten stages of the *camino* in Galicia linking the castrum of Cebreiro with the mythical cape of Finisterre. This decision was taken for many reasons: the first and most important being that none of the previous studies had been focused at this scale in Galicia but for the work done by the heritage department to protect the *camino* from Cebreiro to Lavacolla in 2011-- and its path within Santiago one year later.<sup>43</sup> My study could then continue the discussion further from the *camino* as a protected artifact to one being more deeply explored and rethought. Besides, the scale of these ten stages still preserved the linear character of the whole network and marked the East-West direction at a regional scale, something I thought could be of interest for these days' discussions about how to structure regions, but also relevant to the original walk of our ancestors towards the setting sun day by day. I also considered extending the end of the *camino* to Cape Finisterre in response to too much government and ecclesiastical attention being placed on Santiago and very little on the implementation of the network.<sup>44</sup> Cape Finisterre has today a directing plan by architect Cesar Portela which will help maintain the slow and pure end in the *horizontal line* of the land of Helios,<sup>45</sup> Hades and the Hesperides that a modern pilgrim does not find in Santiago.<sup>46</sup> In addition, I also felt that being Galician myself will allow me to decipher

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<sup>43</sup> The work of Nardiz Ortiz looks at the evolution of the infrastructure in Galicia. The work of Menéndez de Luarda looks at the different infrastructural networks that constructed the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula. The work of Arturo Soria looks only at Sarria from the work of Manuel Gallego Jorroto. The work of Emilia Ferreira Priegue looks at the network of the medieval paths in Galicia. The work of Jean Passini looks only at the scale of the towns.

DECRETO 227/2011, 2 of December. (DOG nº 237, de 14/12/2011)

DECRETO 144/2012, del 29 of June (DOG nº 133, de 12/07/2012) Protection approved from O Pino to Lavacolla.

DECRETO 247/2012, de 22 of November, Protection approved within the City Council of Santiago de Compostela.

<sup>44</sup> Many of the international pilgrims that I met discovered the existence of Finisterre along their way from the Pyrenees as Finisterre as a pilgrim destination is not supported by the church and poorly described by the government. See: FREY, N.L., 1998. *Pilgrim stories: On and off the road to Santiago*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 171

<sup>45</sup> Cesar Portela's director plan can be found [[http://urban-e.aq.upm.es/pdf/Plan\\_Director\\_Cabo\\_de\\_Fisterra.pdf](http://urban-e.aq.upm.es/pdf/Plan_Director_Cabo_de_Fisterra.pdf)] (Last Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>46</sup> The city's sacred character is contested today with being a regional capital and a touristic destination.

things along its path that I could lose in a French or even a Castilian context but, more importantly, will allow me to repay the Galician foundation who sponsored my studies in the US with the potential promise that the acquired knowledge will give something back to the region.<sup>47</sup>

These reasons sufficed my advisers Solà and later Busquets; therefore in May 2012 I walked from Cebreiro to Santiago to gain the real scale of everything along the way; the *camino*'s language, its walkers, the experience, the archetypes and its connection with the *camino*, the *camino*'s relationship with the landscape, Solà's important crossings and intersections and so on.<sup>48</sup> After my Thesis Project was approved by the committee, I spent the summer in Galicia and drove the *camino* in July 2012 from Cebreiro to Finisterre taking notes and pictures along the way –as I also took pictures while walking. I tried to find the same vistas as Alvaro Cunqueiro, who drove his car with a photographer friend from Cebreiro to Santiago in 1962, to understand the changes the *camino* had undergone in these last fifty years.<sup>49</sup> I also made field trips along some tracks of the English, Portuguese, Silver, and Primitive *caminos* out of curiosity to know their differences, if any. After this field work, in the academic year (2012-13) I prepared the cartographical analysis of the last 10 stages in Galicia at the scale 1:20,000 and extended my literature review of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela today to analyze the global character of the route and make a comparison with other international sacred destinations. The following year (2013-2014) I went down in scale and compared the evolution of each of the Camino's important settlements, a total of twelve, from pre-modern Galicia to today, using orthophotos from a 1956 American flight. Finally, in this last academic year (2014-2015) I have visited the Arthur Kingsley Porter, Kenneth Conant and Walter Muir Whitehill archives to gain more knowledge about the American pioneers in the recovery of the *camino*'s knowledge and I

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<sup>47</sup> My Masters in Architecture in Urban Design studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Design during the academic years 2008-2010 were sponsored by the Barrie de la Maza Foundation in La Coruna.

<sup>48</sup> As the *camino* is a once in life experience I deliberately decided not to carry on any interviews out of respect for the modern pilgrims. However, I established many informal conversations with national and international pilgrims explaining that this was the topic of my dissertation and they happily shared many of their thoughts with me.

<sup>49</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A., MOLINA, C. A., 1989. *El Pasajero en Galicia*. Marginales ; 105. 1st ed. Barcelona: Tusquets Editores. Cunqueiro uses the Licenciado Molina's description of Galicia from 1550 A.D and drives from Cebreiro to Santiago with his photographer friend Cesar Antonio Molina; see also: SAGRARIO DE MOLINA, B. 2003. [1550] *Descripción del Reyno de Galizia*. Licenciado Molina 1550. Noia: Toxosoutos; Coruña: Orbigo

have assembled the notes and drafts done along the way in order to complete the writing of my dissertation. After I defend this Dissertation, I will continue to explore the human scale of the pilgrim and walker in the *camino* within Santiago and Finisterre, with a fellowship earned from the Andrew Mellon foundation in the Spring of 2016 as explained in the next subchapter.<sup>50</sup>

### **i.3 State of the Art**

I will end this introduction by explaining the scholarly *State of the Art* of the *camino*. For those studying the topic in the future, I hope that this section will help urbanists to reveal the most important work within the more than 8600 entries, expanding as we speak, of the *camino* literature today.<sup>51</sup> No doubt this millenary sacred network could be paved with all the literature that has been produced to describe it, not only because of the legacy of time but especially since its multiple dimensions and character allows for many disciplines to be interested in it. But even if the value and richness of the *camino* is sustained by this interest, it also transforms its literature review into a very challenging step in a dissertation.

Therefore what it follows is an edited list of scholars and works that could help in a good synoptic understanding of origins, history, evolution and built form of the network as well as its actual state without having to lose a long time in their definition at the beginning of research. I will also give the best sources regarding pilgrimage literature and personal accounts in Chapter Two.

Three main American figures from Harvard University excel, in the first and second third of the twentieth century, in the recovery of the lost medieval knowledge of the *pilgrim roads*, as they called them. These are **Professor Arthur Kingsley Porter**, a renowned scholar who wrote “*Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrim roads*” (1923) and “*Spanish*

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<sup>50</sup> Link to Colegio Complutense’s program: [<http://rcc.harvard.edu/people/francisco-prado-vilar>]

Link to the Santiago Cathedral project: [<http://www.programacatedral.com/becas-mellon?lang=en>]

<sup>51</sup> REYES GÓMEZ, F., DE LOS, 2000. *Bibliografía del Camino de Santiago*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Subdirección General de Información y Publicaciones

*Romanesque Sculpture*” (1928);<sup>52</sup> together with his two PhD students at the time **Kenneth John Conant** and **Walter Muir Whitehill** who respectively defended their dissertations on “*The early architectural history of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*” (1925),<sup>53</sup> and on “*Spanish Romanesque architecture of the eleventh century*” (1934).<sup>54</sup> Their work followed Bryn Mawr Professor **Georgiana Goddard King**’s observations, who first established the relationship between pilgrimage and sculpture in New England in 1914,<sup>55</sup> and later **Joseph Bedier**’s work on the “*Chansons de Geste, 1908-12*” proving that music and poetry were flowing freely along the routes to Santiago.<sup>56</sup> Kingsley Porter proved that architects and sculptors did that as well by establishing sculptural similarities between towns that were not in geographical proximity. For Kingsley Porter there were no real national boundaries to Romanesque Art but an international and homogeneous school following the lines of the pilgrimage routes to Compostela, Rome, and Bari. As he explained at his lecture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1921 -- I have fully transcribed its beginning as I consider it crucial to show an early understanding of the *caminos* as a network:

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<sup>52</sup> PORTER, A.K., 1923. “The pilgrimage to Compostela.” *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrim roads*. Boston: M. Jones. , pp. 171-196 (v. 1. Text.-v. 2-10, plates: v. 2. Burgundy.-v. 3. Tuscany and Apulia.-v. 4. Aquitaine.-v. 5. Catalonia and Aragon.-v. 6. Castile, Asturias, Galicia.-v. 7. Western France.-v. 8. Auvergne and Dauphine.-v. 9. Provence.-v. 10. Ile-de-France. Bibliography v. 1, pp. 343-356) This publication is formed by one bound volume of text and nine slip cases of illustrations containing more than 1500 reproductions of Romanesque sculpture. Online at [\[https://archive.org/stream/romanesquesculpt01portuoft#page/170/mode/2up\]](https://archive.org/stream/romanesquesculpt01portuoft#page/170/mode/2up)

PORTER, A. K., 1928. *Spanish Romanesque sculpture*. Firenze: Pantheon Series. New York: Casa Editrice; Harcourt, Brace

<sup>53</sup> CONANT, K. J., 1926. *The early architectural history of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

<sup>54</sup> WHITEHILL, W.M., 1941. *Spanish Romanesque architecture of the eleventh century*. London: Oxford University Press.

<sup>55</sup> KING, G.G., 1920. *The way of Saint James*. New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons

Kingsley Porter cites Professor King as the first scholar he listened to establish the relationship between sculpture and the pilgrim roads in 1914, cited by MANN, J., 1997. Romantic Identity, Nationalism, and the Understanding of the Advent of Romanesque Art in Christian Spain. *Gesta*, 36 (2, Visual Culture of Medieval Iberia), pp. 156-164. In her book Professor King dedicated 7 years to studying the *camino* in Spain and published this 3 vol. book in 1920 after having been to Spain many times since 1913.

<sup>56</sup> BEDIER, J., 1908-1912. *Les legendes épiques*. 4 vol. Paris; Bedier demonstrated that the movement of jongleurs and pilgrims along the roads to Santiago de Compostela and other shrines stimulated and disseminated medieval epic poetry, the *Chansons de Geste*. Bedier established the paradigm of the roads as a site where new artistic forms were forged, Kingsley Porter was aware of him in 1920.

PORTER, A.K., 1924. Spain or Toulouse? And Other Questions. *The Art Bulletin*, 7(1), pp. 2-25

*“If time permitted it would amply repay our pains to explore all four of the routes leading to Santiago, for we should find that they, together with the other pilgrimage routes leading to Rome and to Jerusalem, pass by nearly all the creative centers of sculpture of the first half of the XII century. After such a journey, we should come to suspect that the pilgrimage played no less a part in the formation of plastic art than M. Bedier has shown that it played in the chansons de geste. We should find that the road formed a river of sculpture, flowing through a region otherwise nearly desert in Southern France and Spain. We should find that artistic ideas traveled back and forth along the road with the greatest facility, so that monuments separated by hundreds of miles of distance show the closest stylistic relationship. We should find that the old theory of a school of sculpture at Toulouse, and another in Spain must be discarded, and that there was instead one school which was neither Toulousan nor Spanish, but international of the pilgrimage, and that this school centered at Santiago rather than Toulouse. We should find at Santiago the focal point, both of architecture and of the sculpture of the XII century; we should find the type of church originally created in France but consecrated at Santiago, copied in minor sanctuaries all along the road, echoed at Acerenza in the Basilicata, at Venosa in Apulia, and inspiring whole schools of architecture in Burgundy, Auvergne and Poitou. We should find the same sculptors who worked upon the Puerta de las Platerias at Santiago were some years later called to Conques where they executed the glorious Portal of Ste. Foy. We should remark that the jamb sculptures of Santiago, executed between 1102 and 1124 present analogies with those made by Guglielmo at Cremona between 1107 and 1117, and that both are not without points of contact with the sculptures of Armenia which have recently been made known by Strykowski. We should remark that the Christ of the Puerta de las Platerias, which dates from before 1124 already possesses the essential characteristics of the Gothic sculpture of northern France of a century later, and that this figure, the St. James of the Portico de la Gloria and the Beau Dieu of Amiens form a direct line of evolution. We should find reason to believe that the Portico de la Gloria occupied as important a position in the development of Art in the XIII century, as the Puerta de las Platerias did it in that of the XII; that the sculptures of Reims owe much to this source, and that the Reims smile is inspired by the Daniel of Santiago. We should find at Santo Domingo de Silos irrefutably dated sculptures of the last quarter of the XI, connecting on the one hand with English manuscripts of Bury St. Edmunds, and on the other with Soulliac, Moissac, St. Guilhem le Desert and St Trophime of Arles. We should find how vitally and undeniably right Professor Morey was in pointing out the influence of manuscripts and especially English manuscripts of the school of Winchester upon sculpture of the early XII century, and we should find the school of Burgundy seeking its inspiration almost exclusively in this source. All this and much more of the most intense interest lies upon the road of St. James.”<sup>57</sup>*

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<sup>57</sup> PORTER, A. K., 1921. *The sculpture of the West. A lecture delivered at the Metropolitan Art Museum of Art, New York. Decemeber 3, 1921.* Boston: Privately issued for the Author by Marshall Jones Company, pp. 5

Famously refuting **Émile Mâle**'s declarations of Toulouse's Saint-Sernin being the archetype for Compostela, Porter looked at the *caminos* as a network without a clear center, but as a continuous flow of artists from all over Europe sponsored by the order of Cluny, who worked along these routes exchanging ideas.<sup>58</sup> The *Portal of Glory* in the Compostela cathedral is described by Kingsley Porter as the sum of perfection of medieval sculpture.<sup>59</sup> Kingsley Porter says that he learned about the pilgrim routes thanks to Catalan Jesuit **Fita i Colomé** who published *the guide* from the *Calixinus* in 1882; he adds that the absence of a critical edition of the entire Codex at the time is the more unfortunate, because appreciation of the quality of the book as a whole depends upon grasping its unity.<sup>60</sup> The *Codex Calixtinus* is a compilation of five books thought to be written in the twelfth century by Pope Calixtus and Benedictine French monk Aymeric Picaud. The oldest version of this compilation called "*Liber Sancti Jacobi*" is preserved,<sup>61</sup> back from robbery, at the Compostela cathedral Archive today.<sup>62</sup> Its Book V, known as *Pilgrim's Guide*, is a primary source for the study of pilgrimage, towns, people, food, water, churches and relics in the twelve century along the French and Spanish routes to Compostela and therefore a major source for urbanists interested in the state of the *camino* in the Middle Ages. As Kingsley Porter explained in 1923, a complete edition of this manuscript had yet not appeared. Even

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<sup>58</sup> MÂLE, E., 1902. L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France: étude sur l'iconographie du moyen age et sur ses sources d'inspiration. Paris: Colin.

<sup>59</sup> PORTER, A. K., 1923. "The Portico de la Gloria." *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrim roads*. Op. Cit., pp.261 "...The Portico de la Gloria is in quality less fine than the Camara Santa of Oviedo. This or that detail has been surpassed by this or that master of northern France. But for the sum of the impressions it remains, perhaps, the most overwhelming monument of mediaeval sculpture."

<sup>60</sup> PORTER, A.K., 1923. "The pilgrimage to Compostela." *Op. Cit.*, pp. 171. In his introduction Kingsley Porter explains: "... The cult of the students began when Fita published, a half century ago, the itinerary of the pilgrims, contained in the last part of the pseudo-Callistine codex. His was, certainly a beautiful discovery; and a paper-bound pamphlet of a few badly printed pages has guided scholars toward the solution of their difficulties, much as the stars of the Milky Way reminded the medieval sinner of the road to Compostela. And the modern pilgrimages have also been illuminated with miracles. **On the road to St. James M. Bedier has found the key which unlocks medieval literature.....** There is in the place, and in the road, a singular poetry. One feels as nowhere else, wrapped about by the beauty of the Middle Age. One is, as perhaps never before, emotionally and intellectually stimulated. Chords of the memory, long unused, are set vibrating. The actuality of the pilgrimage, like a cosmic phenomenon, overwhelms with the sense of its force, its inevitability."

FITA, F., VINSON, J., 1882. *Le codex de saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle (Liber de miraculis S. Jacobi)*. Livre IV. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie [Online:

[<http://books.google.com/books?vid=HARVARD:32044019020775&printsec=titlepage#v=onepage&q&f=false>]

<sup>61</sup> SANCTI JACOBI: CODEX CALIXTINUS . Anonymous. Santiago de Compostela Cathedral Archive. The full and oldest text is a beautiful manuscript of 225 folios. No more copies exist of this five book compilation.

<sup>62</sup> The book was stolen on July 5<sup>th</sup> 2011 from the Archive of the Santiago cathedral and recovered one year later on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2012 [[http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2012/07/04/actualidad/1341408469\\_649818.html](http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2012/07/04/actualidad/1341408469_649818.html)]

if Professor Conant translated some pages for his PhD on the Santiago cathedral<sup>63</sup>, it would be **Whitehill** who, animated by Kingsley Porter, would be the first to transcribe the entire Codex Callixtinus in 1931-2 with the help of **Jesús Carro García** and **Germán Prado**, printed in 1944 due to the Civil War.<sup>64</sup> Whitehill's contributions to the knowledge of the Codex are important. He unveils the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* as not being the archetype of this compilation but a later version.<sup>65</sup> Following Bedier's arguments he agrees with him on disclaiming authorship from Pope Calixto,<sup>66</sup> Aymeric Picaud, Turpin or Charlemagne among others<sup>67</sup> in favor of a collective and organized work instead, probably compiled at **Cluny** and destined to serve the sanctuaries along the pilgrim roads for the glory of Compostela at some point between 1139-1179.<sup>68</sup> Whitehill explains this *fraud* as result of the Codex being a work of *propaganda for the pilgrimage* that used these big names in order to secure its fame in the future, as pilgrims walked by the thousands already towards Santiago when the books were written.<sup>69</sup> Whitehill remarks that this can be observed in its

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<sup>63</sup> CONANT, K. J., 1926. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 49-58. Conant translated the *folios* from the Codex's Book V where the cathedral is described.

<sup>64</sup> WHITEHILL, W.M., PRADO, G., CARRO GARCÍA, J. 1944. *Liber Beati Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*. Santiago de Compostela: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos, pp. XV and XLII. On page 15 and 42 Whitehill explains that he studied the Codex for the first time in 1927 when he goes to Santiago with Porter, who takes pictures for him of some of the pages. On a second visit in the spring of 1931 Whitehill took more photos and the following winter transcribed its text. Jesús García Carro Gallegos proposed the Seminario de Estudios Gallegos that Whitehill should transcribe the entire Codex. To do this, Whitehill returned to Santiago in the Spring of 1932 and gave its transcription in May 1932 to the Seminar publishers who finished editing in 1934 and printed in 1935. The Civil War stopped publication that does not happen until 1944.

<sup>65</sup> This is revealed by the musical notation of a copy made by a Ripoll monk in 1179 being older than the one at the cathedral today in WHITEHILL, W.M., et ALL. 1944. *Liber Beati Jacobi. Op. Cit.*, pp. 25. The Codex of Ripoll can be studied at the Archive of the Reign of Aragon in Barcelona today as MS 99.

<sup>66</sup> BEDIER, J., 1908-1912. *Les legendes epiques III. Op. Cit.*, pp. 87-88

<sup>67</sup> WHITEHILL, W.M., et ALL. 1944. *Liber Beati Jacobi. Op. Cit.*, pp. 51. German Prado cites all the authors mentioned at the Codex: Pope Calixtus II; Fulberto (Bishop of Chartres); Aton (Bishop of Troyes); Master Droardus of Troyes; Alberico (Archbishop of Bourges); Master Airado of Vezelay; Old Bishop from Benevento; Gosleno (Bishop of Soissons); Master Gauterio of Chateaufort; Master Juan Legalis; Anonimus doctor from Galicia; Venancio Fortunato; Bishop of Poitiers; Master Roberto, Roman Cardinal; Guillermo, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Anonymous Bishop, pilgrim to Jerusalem; Master Anselmo; Aymeric Picaud of Parthenay-le-Vieux

<sup>68</sup> WHITEHILL, W.M., et ALL. 1944. *Liber Beati Jacobi. Op. Cit.*, pp. 28-29. Whitehill gives the connection between Pope Calixtus, who died in 1124 before this work had started in his opinion 1939 at least. The Pope was brother of Raymond count of Galicia and friend of Diego Gelmírez whose See he elevated to metropolitan in 1119.

<sup>69</sup> WHITEHILL, W., M., et all. 1944. *Liber Beati Jacobi. Op. Cit.*, pp. 27

Between two hundred and five hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Santiago Cathedral during the XII century as studies by SORIA i PUIG, A. 1991-1992. *Vol. I: Op. Cit.*, pp. 15

Book I, chapter II in the *Veneranda Dies Sermon*. This Sermon is known today as the text that promotes the Pilgrimage to Compostela in the Codex:

“...To this place come Barbarian people and those who inhabit in all orb summits that is to say: Franks, Normandy, Scottish, Irish, Gauls Teutons, the Iberians, the Gascon, the Bavarians, wicked Navarre, the Basque, the Goths, Provençal, the Garascos, the Lorrainers, the Gautos, the English, the Bretons, Cornish, Flemish, the Frisians, the Allobroges, Italians, Apulia, the Pottevinos, the Aquitaine, Greeks, Armenians, Dacians, Norwegians, Russians, joriantos, the Nubians, births, Romanians, Galatians, the Ephesians, the Medes, the Tuscans, the Calabrians, the Saxons, the Sicilians, those of Asia, Pontus, the Bithynian, Indians, Cretans, the Jerusalem, those of Antioch, the Galilee, the Sardis, the Cyprus, Hungarian, Bulgarian, the Slavonians, African, Persian, Alexandrian, Egyptians, Syrians, Arabs, the Colossians, the Moors, the Ethiopians, the Philippians, the Cappadocian, the Corinthians, the Elamites, those of Mesopotamia, the Libyans, the Cyrene, Pamphylia, those of Cilicia, the Jews and and other countless people of all languages, tribes and nations come with him in a caravan or phalanges , fulfilling their vows in thanksgiving to the Lord and taking the prize praise. Besides naming all the people the Sermos added: The doors of the church are never closed and through them enter poor, knights, soldiers, satraps, crippled and blind, nobles and heroes, potentates, bishops and abbots, because who comes close to the sepulcher with a penitent and constricted heart will receive absolution of their sins ...”<sup>70</sup>

For Whitehill the Book V, known today as the *pilgrim guide*, was also a guide for those projecting the pilgrimage that advanced the style of *Baedekers* and *Guide Bleus* seven centuries later.<sup>71</sup> This guide was published in Latin first in France in 1882 as Kingsley Porter explains, and translated into French in 1938 before Whitehill’s was published by Jeanne Viellard.<sup>72</sup> Whitehill continued his PhD studies under Kingsley Porter on the Spanish Romanesque architecture of the eleventh century at the Monastery of Silos with the help of father Justo Perez Urbel and left Spain in 1936 at the beginning of the Civil War. Back in America he continued other research directions while directing the Boston Athenaeum and teaching at Harvard – as explained in his archived letters at the MHS.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 31. We can find the whole list of nationalities in the Codex itself: LIBER SANCTI JACOBI: CODEX CALIXTINUS., 1951.”Sermón Veneranda Dies” Trad. A. Moralejo, C. Torres, y J.Feo. Santiago: CSIC, pp.198

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*., pp. 38

<sup>72</sup> VIELLIARD, J., 1938. *Le Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle; édité et traduit en français d’après les manuscrits de Compostelle et de Ripoll*. Macon: Protat frères, imprimeurs.

<sup>73</sup> WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL PAPERS, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (MA)  
Perez de Unbel, O.S.B., R.P.D. Justo. Carton 48. Barcode: H 18AV 9



However, his contributions were one important step in the recovery of the *camino*'s early history through the information revealed in the Codex.<sup>74</sup> Thanks to his work a Spanish translation followed in 1951, directed by **Abelardo Moralejo** with the help of **Torres** and **Feo**.<sup>75</sup> Moralejo added very detailed annotations that Whitehill's edition missed. More translations followed,<sup>76</sup> and the absent critical edition that Kingsley Porter noted in 1923 was eventually published in 1988 by **Manuel Díaz y Díaz** who gave a new date for the Codex of ca.1160CE.<sup>77</sup> The Book V or pilgrim's guide was translated later into German (1986), Italian (1989) and Dutch (1993) as well.<sup>78</sup> First copied by an English scribe in the late fifteen century, it was only translated into English in 1975 by **Constantine Christofides** and again by **William Melczer** in 1993.<sup>79</sup> The translation was improved and complemented in 1995 by the work of **Paula Lieber Gerson**, **Annie Shaver-Crandell** and **Alison Stones** with a gazetteer that showed the stage of all churches along the pilgrim roads

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Introduction to Codex Calixtinus. Carton 60. Barcode: SH 18B8 U  
<http://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0134?terms=>

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (MA)

Porter, Mrs A.K.; Porter, Kingsley; Porter, Kingsley and Mrs. Bryant Wallace, Carton 49. Barcode: SH 18AW A  
 Whitehill kept helping Kingsley Porter's Widow Lucy B. Wallace Porter to re-publish the work of his mentor. The correspondence and relationship between the two lasted till at least 1959. In this correspondence we learn that Porter's widow went back to Santiago in 1951 where she met with D. Jesus—Probably Jesus Carro (as I found in a letter from Whitehill on October 9<sup>th</sup> 1951 thanking her for the postcard that she had sent to him) On April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1959 she was willing to publish "The Pilgrimage to Compostela" included in Part II of the text of "Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrim Roads" as an independent book, but she decides against it two months later (June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1959). She passed away in 1962 leaving their property, Elmwood, to Harvard where the president of the University lives today.

<sup>75</sup> MORALEJO A., TORRES C., FEO J., 1951. *Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*. Traducción. Santiago: CSIC –Professor Abelardo Moralejo thanks Whitehill in his prologue

<sup>76</sup> ROMERO DE LECEA, C., GUERRA CAMPOS, J. FIGUERIA VALVERDE, J. 1971. *Libro de la Peregrinación del Códice Calixtino*. Madrid:

BRAVO LOZANO M., 1989. *Guía del Peregrino Medieval (Codex Calixtinus)*. Introducción, traducción y notas. Sahagún:

LÓPEZ PEREIRA X.E., 1994. *Guía Medieval do Peregrino Códice Calixtino, libro V*. 2nd Edit. Galician translation with annotations, and a transcription of the Latin text of the Guide from MS C.

<sup>77</sup> DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, M., C., 1988. *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago: estudio codicológico y de contenido*. Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos.

<sup>78</sup> In German: HERBERS, K., 1986. *Der Jakobsweg, mit einem mittel alterlichen Pilgerfuhrer unterwegs nach Santiago de Compostela*. Tubingen. Incomplete but with much supplementary information

In Italian: CAUCCI VON SAUKEN P., 1989. *Guida del Pellegrino de Santiago. Libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus, secolo XII*. Milan: (incomplete)

In Dutch: HERWAARDEN, J. VAN., 1993. *O Roemrike Jacobus Beschern Uw volk. Pelgrimsgis naar Santiago*. Amstelveen.

<sup>79</sup> CHRISTOFIDES, C. G., 1975. *Notes toward a history of medieval and Renaissance art: with a translation of the pilgrim's guide to Saint-James of Compostela*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

MELCZER, W. 1993. *The Pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela*. New York: Italica Press. Good historical introduction in pages 1-72.

with pictures, surveys, plans sections and elevations.<sup>80</sup> A critical edition followed by the same authors with **Jeanne Krochalis** where they investigated the twelve existent copies of the pilgrim's guide, book V of the Codex.<sup>81</sup> While Whitehill and Bedier thought of a French origin for the guide, Gerson et al., as Kingsley Porter did before with the Romanesque sculpture, shifted it westwards to place its origin at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in the XII century during the tenure of **Diego Gelmírez**, whose See was elevated to archbishopric by Pope Calixtus in 1120 and who died in 1140.<sup>82</sup> Gerson et al. think that the Codex's compilation started in Santiago (ca.1135-40CE) --an origin sustained today by major historians in Compostela such as **Fernando Lopez Alsina** or **Francisco Singul**.<sup>83</sup> Like Whitehill's, they also read the Codex as propaganda for the monks in other monasteries along the routes.

The Codex was therefore written for the medieval *intelligenza* who lived in the monasteries along the pilgrim routes. Those walking towards Santiago, not knowing how to read in paper, had to interpret its lessons in the carved stones that Kingsley Porter so beautifully described in his research. Porter's work on *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrim roads* that he did as a fieldwork pioneer --and recorded in his 35,000 pictures-- was first continued after his early disappearance by his already mentioned PhD student Kenneth Conant.<sup>84</sup> Later Professor at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard until 1955, Conant started by giving many clues about the early history of the Santiago Cathedral to finish by publishing

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<sup>80</sup> SHAVER-CRANDELL, A., LIEBER GERSON, P., STONES, A. 1995. *The pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela : A gazetteer*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers.

<sup>81</sup> STONES, A., KROCHALIS, J., LIEBER GERSON, P., AND SHAVER-CRANDELL, A., 1998. *The pilgrim's guide: A critical edition; at head of title: Pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela*. London: Harvey Miller  
“...Ten of the twelve manuscripts were made in the Iberian Peninsula, although the earliest manuscript (the copy at Compostela) was made under strong French influence and probably in part by a Frenchman. ... The Pilgrim's Guide was certainly compiled by a Frenchman, probably writing in Compostela for French pilgrims, but it has left hardly a trace in France, and no French manuscript survives. There is one copy in Pistoia, Italy. The late fifteen-century English copy was written by an English scribe from the Cistercian monastery of Kirkstall in Yorkshire. No accounts left by French, Italian or English medieval pilgrims show any knowledge of the text of the Guide”

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*. pp. 13

<sup>83</sup> Fernando Lopez Alsina also believes in the Santiago origins of the Codex. Seen at Moledo, A., 2010. “El Codice Calixtino se redactó en Compostela.” *La Voz de Galicia*. (2010/01/22); SINGUL, F., 1999. *Historia cultural do Camiño de Santiago*. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.

<sup>84</sup> They can be searched today at the Arthur Kingsley Porter Papers at Harvard University Archives. Cambridge, US  
Kingsley Porter disappeared in Ireland in 1933, where he had gone to study archaeology and Celtic mythology --published in his book *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*.”

a life work on “*Carolingian and Romanesque architecture, 800 to 1200*” (1959).<sup>85</sup> Even if his studies centered around the Abbey of Cluny, Conant’s PhD research about the evolving stages of the Santiago cathedral that he beautifully drew are today at the archive that he donated at his *Alma Mater*.<sup>86</sup> In the department of Fine Arts at Harvard and recognized by his colleagues with the sad news of his departure,<sup>87</sup> **Serafin Moralejo Alvarez** also continued Kingsley Porter’s research direction, first as a Professor of Medieval Art at Santiago de Compostela University and then as a visiting professor at Harvard where from 1993 he held the Fernando Zóbel de Ayala Professorship of Fine Arts.<sup>88</sup> Son of Abelardo Moralejo --mentioned above, Serafin Moralejo was an expert on medieval sculpture along the *camino*, especially on the Santiago Cathedral and its *Portal of Glory* and *Platerias* that Kingsley Porter so fondly admired.<sup>89</sup> In 1988 Moralejo deciphered the code to understand Maestro Mateo’s inspiration for the creation of this Portal in the liturgical drama *Ordo Prophetarum* or *Procession of the Prophets*. This was the key for Moralejo to explain this medieval major work that he had been studying as a History of Art student and later in his PhD.<sup>90</sup> I will end this entry on the American pioneers on the *camino* with **Francisco Márquez Villanueva**, Arthur Kingsley Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, *Emeritus* till his passing on June 2013. Villanueva’s major research work was Cervantes, however he dedicated ten years of research to disassemble the myth of Santiago in “*Santiago, trayectoria de un mito*” in 2004, strongly criticizing the use and abuse that the Church of Santiago and the Franco government made of the Apostle from the Reconquista War through the end of the dictatorship.<sup>91</sup> Besides, Villanueva’s work helps to understand

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<sup>85</sup> CONANT, K. J., 1926. *Op. Cit.* See also: CONANT, K.J., 1993. *Carolingian and Romanesque architecture, 800 to 1200*. 4th ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>86</sup> THE CLUNY COLLECTION. Special Collections. Harvard Graduate School of Design. Cambridge, US  
The Cluny Collection includes a broad range of materials related to Professor Kenneth Conant’s decades of research at the Burgundian abbey at Cluny. It also has his drawings from the Santiago Cathedral.

<sup>87</sup> MARY GAYLORD, JEFFREY HAMBURGER, HENRI ZERNER, IOLI KALAVREZOU, CHAIR submitted a *Memorial Minute* at the Faculty of Fine Arts and Sciences at Harvard in December 3, 2013. Later published at the Harvard Gazette on June 11<sup>th</sup> 2014. Online [<http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2014/06/serafin-moralejo/>]

<sup>88</sup> He would hold this position till 1998 when Alzheimer determined his return to Santiago.

<sup>89</sup> Abelardo Moralejo was in charge of the translation of the Codex into Spanish in 1951.

<sup>90</sup> His graduate thesis in Art History reconstructed the original programs of the two Romanesque portals of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. From there on he devoted much of his work to the Gothic sculpture, topic of his dissertation and to the Romanesque peninsular sculpture.

<sup>91</sup> MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. *Santiago: trayectoria de un mito*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

the beginning of the myth that has consumed so many pages of literature and that this dissertation will therefore not discuss further. He also shares the opinion that the Codex was the work of many hands, but even if with a Gelmirez signature he places the compilation outside the Peninsula.<sup>92</sup> Finally, in recent days the Colegio Complutense at Harvard University under the direction of **Francisco Prado-Vilar** started a program in 2012 called “*The Santiago Cathedral Project*” supported by the Andrew W. Mellon and Pedro Barrie de la Maza foundations to advance the knowledge about Santiago and its cathedral.<sup>93</sup> I have been honored to be accepted as a fellow in this program during the academic year 2015-2016. During this tenure, I will be using this wonderful opportunity to study the human scale of the pilgrim and walker within the city of Santiago de Compostela and Finisterre.

Back in Spain there are also several pioneers of a scientific and detailed approach to study the *camino*. These are the historians **Luis Vazquez de Parga**, **Jose M<sup>a</sup> Lacarra** and **Juan Uría Riu** whose work is extremely useful to learn about history and evolution of the *camino* network in Spain. The three volumes of “*Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*” were sponsored by the Franco administration in 1944-45 to start the recovery of the *camino* as a touristic medieval route.<sup>94</sup> These authors used Whitehill’s pilgrim’s guide, the *Historia Compostelana* and *Historia Silense* within other historical sources, to assemble three volumes full of information to understand the pilgrimage to Santiago and network in Spain during the Middle Ages.<sup>95</sup> Volume 1 studies the History. Volume 2 describes the *Caminos de Compostela* in northern Spain –French, Bayonne-Burgos, Leon-

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibidem*. “La militarización del Mito Jacobeo,” pp.183-222. *Ibidem*. “Liber Sancti Jacobi,” pp. 165-180

<sup>93</sup> Link to Colegio Complutense’s program: [<http://rcc.harvard.edu/people/francisco-prado-vilar>]

Link to the Santiago Cathedral project: [<http://www.programacatedral.com/becas-mellon?lang=en>]

<sup>94</sup> LACARRA, J.M, VAZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., URÍA RIU, J. 1949. *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*. 3Vols. Madrid: CSIC. Rpt. Asturias: Exma. Diputación Provincial. Due to the dictatorship its authors advise about the impossibility to expand the research over the Pyrenees; a similar publication, also sponsored by the Franco administration is: HUIDOBRO SERNA, L., 1949. *Las peregrinaciones jacobeanas*. Madrid: Instituto de España].

<sup>95</sup> FLÓREZ, E., 2000. *Historia Compostelana. España sagrada*. Tomo 20. 4. ed. edn. Madrid: Editorial Revista Agustiniana. SANTOS COCO, F., & CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS. (1921). *Historia silense* (Textos latinos de la edad media española. Sección primera: crónicas. 2). Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra (s.a.).Online [<https://archive.org/details/historiasilense00sant>]

Oviedo and Oviedo-Santiago-- with much detail.<sup>96</sup> Volume 3 transcribes all the study's historical primary sources --from 971CE to the fifteenth century-- also adding lists of pilgrims who stayed at hospitals in the nineteenth to end with a list of 600 bibliographical references. In the revised edition of 1993 this bibliography goes up to 700 references, and in 1998 to 1600. This is the result not only of having access to more sources after the dictatorship ended, but also to the expanding interest that the *camino* now gets after many efforts to recover it. Vazquez de Parga et al.'s work has been used by scholars in all the disciplines that have studied the *camino* network in the Iberian Peninsula, and constitutes one of the best references for the study of the medieval *camino*.

In the same context, the *camino* network as an **urban artifact** has been studied by three major scholars Jean Passini, Arturo Soria i Puig and Ramon Menéndez de Lurca y Navia Osorio in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The French architect and historian **Jean Passini** has thoroughly studied the morphology of the urban settlements along the *camino* since the late 70's, defending his dissertation on the topic in 1981 in Tours University: "*Villes médiévales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, de Pampelune à Burgos*", published in 1984.<sup>97</sup> Plenty of publications came later, within them "*El camino de Santiago: itinerario y núcleos de población*" in 1993 extends his previous studies in terms of topography and chronology to all the main settlements along the route.<sup>98</sup> Passini studies the settlements along the *camino* as a piece of archeology, especially those from Pamplona to Burgos, and by looking closely to their parcels he deciphers the different stages of their growth.<sup>99</sup> The work of civil engineer **Arturo Soria i Puig** with architect **Ramon Menéndez**

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<sup>96</sup> They give maps of the northern *caminos* medieval routes at 1:400.000 and 1:200.000 as well as more detail captions of their mayor cities: Puente la Reina, Estella, Logroño, Nájera, Sto Domingo de la Calzada, Burgos, Castrojeriz, Sahagún, León, Astorga, Sarria, Santiago, Oviedo, Ribadeo, Lugo

<sup>97</sup> PASSINI, J., 1984. *Villes médiévales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle (de Pampelune à Burgos) : Villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine*. Mémoire (Editions Recherche sur les civilisations) ; no 47. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.

<sup>98</sup> PASSINI, J., 1993. *El camino de Santiago: itinerario y núcleos de población*. 1. ed. en español edn. Madrid]: Madrid] : MOPT, Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Dirección General de Política Territorial y Urbanismo. More of his work are included in the bibliography.

<sup>99</sup> PASSINI, J., 1984. *Op. Cit.* Passini studies 15 settlements: Puente la Reina, Cirauqui, Estella, Los Arcos, Viana, Aguilar de Codes, Aleson, Tricio, Najera, Azofra, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Grañon, Redecilla del Camino, Castildelgado, Belorado,

**de Luarda y Navia Osorio** followed in the 80's to produce a territorial study for MOPU “*Estudio territorial del Camino de Santiago*” published in 1986.<sup>100</sup> In their work they defined the guidelines for the protection of the *camino* with a qualitative analysis that understood the territory traversed by the *camino* as a formal organization, resulting from a historical stratification process that brings symbols, singularities and toponymy. They criticized those visions that pretend to give homogeneity and claimed an agro-culture to understand it. Their cartographical study proposed the Laboratorio de urbanismo de Barcelona's scale 1:10.000 to study the *camino* in combination with the subdivision of land along it.<sup>101</sup> They also proposed 1:400,000 and 1:50,000 as general scales. The scale was 1:2,000 for the urban settlements and the architecture scale was at 1:500.<sup>102</sup> Both scholars have continued advocating to rescue the *camino* from obsolescence ever since. Menéndez de Luarda published an amplified version of the previous study the following year and Soria I Puig made a study for the Navarra Government including axonometric drawings of bridges and hospitals in Navarre.<sup>103</sup> This was a work that Soria extended in his publication *El camino a Santiago* in (1991-92). Vol.1: *Vías, viajes y viajeros de antaño*. Vol. 2: *Estaciones y señales*.<sup>104</sup> In this work Soria explains the importance of the *camino* in the evolution of the surrounding territory and describes it as a metaphorical travel by train, in which the settlements are the *stations* and the *signals* the marks that guide pilgrims towards Santiago. He describes the *camino* as a *rosary* where the cities are the *beads* and the path the *thread* that links them all together.<sup>105</sup> I will explain these ideas further in Chapter One. In Vol. 2, he beautifully studies the pre-existent settlements and **linear cities** along the

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<sup>100</sup> Ministerio de obras publicas y transportes (Spanish Ministry of Public Works)

<sup>101</sup> The fact that Manuel de Solà-Morales gave me a copy of this document in September 2011 makes me think that he advised this project --But I haven't confirmed this fact yet. An explanation of the scale 1:10,000 scale from the Laboratorio can be consulted in: SOLÀ-MORALES, M de et ALL, 1980. La Identitat del Territorio Català: les Comarques. *Quaderns*, vol.1, 2. Barcelona: COAC. Manuel de Solà also provided me with a copy of this work.

<sup>102</sup> A copy of this document was given to me by Manuel de Solà-Morales in September 2011. MENÉNDEZ DE LUARCA, J.R., SORIA I PUIG, A., 1986. *Estudio Territorial del Camino de Santiago*. MOPU

<sup>103</sup> MENÉNDEZ DE LUARCA, J.R., 1987. *Ampliación de estudios de actuación integrada sobre el sistema territorial del Camino de Santiago*. Madrid: Instituto de Territorio y Urbanismo.

<sup>104</sup> SORIA Y PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *El Camino a Santiago, Vol.1: Vías, Viajes y Viajeros de antaño. Vol.2: Estaciones y Señales*. Madrid: MOPT.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*. Vol.1, pp. 80

*camino* as well as some of its most characteristic architecture.<sup>106</sup> The drawings and maps produced for this publication were created by architects **Pau Soler** and **Javier Serna**, together with previous analysis from architects **Manuel Gallego Jorroto**, **José Luis García Grinda**, **José Miguel León** and **Javier Vellés** as well as Menéndez de Luarda and Passini. As he explained, Soria's thought was inspired by that of his great-grandfather, Arturo Soria Mata who designed Madrid's Linear City in 1882 again as I will explain further in Chapter One.<sup>107</sup> Within the different signals also described by Soria, the *yellow arrow* [I.18] painted every year from Roncesvalles by the priest from Cebreiro **Elías Valiña** in the 70's and 80's has become today one of the *camino* symbols. Elías Valiña, also wrote his dissertation on the *camino*, defended in Salamanca University in 1965. His is a study about the laws that needed to evolve from feudalism for pilgrims being able to leave their closed medieval towns and lives and walk freely towards the north west of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>108</sup> In 2000 Menéndez de Luarda published "*La construcción del territorio: mapa histórico del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica*" an atlas of the evolution of the infrastructural network in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula with maps of its different eras: *Megalithic, Celtic Castrums, Roman, Pilgrim, Cattle Trails, Low Middle Ages, High Middle Ages and Modern Era* at scale 1:800,000.<sup>109</sup> These layers and elements together with the Islamic ones are reproduced at 1:50,000 of the ING.<sup>110</sup> Soria writes its introduction where he finds the

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*. Vol.2, pp. 88-134. He explores the evolution of some **pre-existent** settlements such as: Carrion de los Condes(\*), Astorga(\*), and Pamplona. **Spontaneous linear cities** such as: Hornillos del Camino (Burgos); Villava (Navarre); Sahagun (\*); Castrojeriz (source: Garcia Grinda, 86); Navarrete (La Rioja-source: Leon,86)); Azofra (before XII, xii-XV, 1991); **Pre-conceived linear cities**: Estella (Navarre), Espinal (Navarre), Larrasoña (Navarre), Los Arcos (Navarre), Burguete (Navarre), Arzua (La Coruña, source: Gallego,86), Logroño (La Rioja- XI C, XII, XV and 1991-source Leon, 86), Puente la Reina (Navarre), Sto Domingo, Grañon and Redecilla del Camino (source Jose Miguel Leon), Redecilla del Camino (Burgos --source: Garcia Grinda), Grañon (La Rioja—source, Leon,86), Santo Domingo de la Calzada (La Rioja), Sta Cilia de Jaca (Huesca), Canfranc (Huesca, designed and 1991)

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*. Vol.2, pp. 96 "...But perhaps there is a more elegant and short name that almost all urbanist have heard once. I allude to the expression linear city, coined by Arturo Soria I Mata in 1882. Line is more generic than itinerary, camino or street, but from an abstract point of view, every itinerary, road or street is a line and as known by those who have read something on the linear cities, the line that alludes to name them as such, is built by a transport shaft -street, highway, railway, etc. -as in its day was the road to Santiago" (Translated by author). For more info about Arturo Soria look at: COLLINS, G.R., FLORES, C., SORIA Y PUIG, A., 1968. *Arturo Soria y la Ciudad Lineal*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente.

<sup>108</sup> VALIÑA SAMPEDRO, E., 1971. *El camino de Santiago. Estudio histórico-jurídico*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Enrique Flórez.

<sup>109</sup> MENÉNDEZ DE LUARCA, J.R., 2000. *La Construcción del Territorio: Mapa Histórico del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica*. Fundación Rei Afonso Henriques. Madrid, Barcelona: Lunwerg.

<sup>110</sup> Instituto Geografico Nacional (Geographic National Institute)

common language for all these different eras that are for him the ways (*viae*), the *centers*, the *limits* and the *signs*; a really beautiful text that describes layer by layer the formation process of the territory as an artifact surrounding the *camino* and I would add, a text that is also extremely interlaced with that territory.<sup>111</sup>

In Galicia the evolution of this regional infrastructure has been studied by **Carlos Nardiz Ortiz** in his dissertation “*La transformación histórica de la red viaria en Galicia desde los condicionantes geográficos, geológicos y técnicos*” defended at the Civil Engineering School, Madrid, 1991.<sup>112</sup> His study is key to understanding and proving in the Galician territory the paths’ evolution from natural ways that followed the courses of the rivers and mountain passes, --today recognizable in the traditional railroad track-- to the transverse routes that are established with the *castrum*, situated at high points every 5 or 7 kilometers.<sup>113</sup> He shows how the Roman network around Astorga, linked to Braga to the south and Lugo to the north, recycled the megalithic and castrum paths to carry Galicia’s minerals to the ports of Porto, Iria Flavia and La Coruña, and how in the Middle Ages these Roman cities became bishoprics together with Tuy and Orense (Roman river passes) while the *castrum* were transformed into parishes. Along these roads the monasteries appeared in Galicia. With the discovery of St James, Santiago de Compostela became the center of the network by recycling the previous network to reach Santiago’s sanctuary. There are a total of seven *Caminos de Santiago* that have also been studied by **Emilia Ferreira Priegue** in “*Los caminos medievales*” in 1981.<sup>114</sup> She studies them through writings, field work and a recognition of the Roman bridges and provides a cartography at 1:200,000. An early study of the *caminos* can also be found in the work of **Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal** en “*Los caminos en la Historia de España*” o “*España en sus caminos*” and a later rich study of the bridges in the work of **Fernandez Casado**.<sup>115</sup> To understand the evolution of the network and all

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<sup>111</sup> MENÉNDEZ DE LUARCA. J.R., intro by SORIA I PUIG, A., 2000. “El territorio como artificio y su lenguaje.” *Op. Cit.*, pp. 15-47

<sup>112</sup> NARDIZ ORTIZ, C., 1991. *La Transformación Histórica de la Red Viaria en Galicia desde los Condicionantes Geográficos, Geológicos y Técnicos*. Tesis Doctoral Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.

<sup>113</sup> Menéndez de Luarca also finds these alignments of castrums along mountain ridges.

<sup>114</sup> FERREIRA PRIEGUE, E.M., 1988. *Los caminos medievales de Galicia*. Ourense: Museo. Arqueológico. These are a total of seven *caminos*: English, Finisterre, Portuguese, Silver, French, Primitive, and North.

<sup>115</sup> MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. G., 1951. *Los Caminos en la Historia de España*. Madrid: Ed. de Cultura Hispánica; \_\_, 1992.



the political shifts that took place with regards to the *caminos* **Xosé Lois Barreiro Rivas'** dissertation "*La Función política de los Caminos de Peregrinación en la Europa Medieval. Estudio del Camino de Santiago*" (1994), defended at the Complutense University in Madrid, is also critical.<sup>116</sup> Barreiro concludes that by inventing the tomb of the Apostle in the Finisterrae of the Romans, the Church was able to re-center Europe around Rome again after the decline of Rome's Empire. The *camino* scholarship in Italy is led by **Paolo Caucci von Saucken**;<sup>117</sup> **René de la Coste-Messelière** in France;<sup>118</sup> **Robert Plotz** or **Klaus Herbers** in Germany; **J. Van Herwaarden** in the Netherlands and **Derek Lomax** in England. These are the authors of the major publications that appeared in lieu of the Holy Year 1993 and the millennium: "*Santiago, la Europa del peregrinaje*", "*Santiago, camino de Europa: culto y cultura en la peregrinación a Compostela*" or "*El mundo de las peregrinaciones: Roma, Santiago, Jerusalén.*"<sup>119</sup>

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FERNANDEZ CASADO, C., 2008. "Puentes romanos en la provincia romana de Gallaecia." *Historia del puente en España: Puentes Romanos*. Colección textos Universitarios. Madrid: CSIC, p. 427-478 *España en sus caminos*. Madrid: Caja de Madrid

<sup>116</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 1994. *La Función política de los Caminos de Peregrinación en la Europa Medieval*. (Estudio del Camino de Santiago). Tesis Doctoral Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

<sup>117</sup> CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., & CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIOS JACOBEO, 2005. "*Visitandum est*", *santos y cultos en el Codex Calixtinus: actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, Santiago de Compostela, 16-19 de septiembre de 2004. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, Consellería de Cultura e Deporte, Xerencia de Promoción do Camiño de Santiago; \_\_\_\_\_, LÓPEZ ALSINA, F., 2000. *El mundo de las peregrinaciones: Roma, Santiago, Jerusalén*. Madrid: Lunweg; \_\_\_\_\_, 1989. "The vía francígena and the Italian routes to Santiago." *The Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes. Architectural Heritage Reports and Studies* 16. Starsbourg: Council of Europe, pp.59-63; \_\_\_\_\_, 1988. "The Compostela Pilgrim." *A Future for Our Past*, pp. 8-9; \_\_\_\_\_, 1984. *Il cammino italiano a Compostella: il pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostella e l'Italia*. Perugia]: Università degli studi di Perugia.

<sup>118</sup> LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE, R.de., 1989. "The Journey to St. James and the French pilgrim routes and heritage" *The Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes. Architectural Heritage reports and studies*. 16. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, pp.33-6; \_\_\_\_\_, 1983. *Sous le signe de la coquille: chemins de Saint-Jacques et pèlerins: Château-Thierry et sa région: Musée Jean de La Fontaine, Château-Thierry, 30 avril-6 juin 1983: exposition: catalogue*. Paris: Centre européen d'études compostellanes; \_\_\_\_\_, 1965. *Pèlerins et chemins de Saint-Jacques en France et en Europe du Xe siècle a nos jours*. Paris; \_\_\_\_\_, 1962. "Pèlerins et chemins de Saint-Jacques et la renaissance du XIe siècle." *Bulletin du centre international d'études romanes*. Paris

<sup>119</sup> CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., LÓPEZ ALSINA, F., 2000. *El mundo de las peregrinaciones: Roma, Santiago, Jerusalén*. Madrid: Lunweg

CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., 1993. *Santiago, la Europa del peregrinaje*. Barcelona: Lunweg Editores  
MORALEJO ALVAREZ, S., LÓPEZ ALSINA, F. and SAN MARTÍN PINARIO (MONASTERY: SANTIAGO, DE COMPOSTELA, 1993. *Santiago, camino de Europa: culto y cultura en la peregrinación a Compostela: Monasterio de San Martín Pinario, Santiago, 1993*. Madrid: Santiago de Compostela: Fundación Caja de Madrid; Xunta de Galicia, Consellería de Cultura e Xuventude, Dirección Xeral do Patrimonio Histórico e Documental: Arzobispado de Santiago de Compostela.

Apart from the personal and experiential contemporary written accounts of the *camino* who will be extended in Chapter Two with the work of travel writers, photographers or artists that have framed the *camino* in its contemporary condition at the brink of a new millennium, this *State of the Art* shows that the scholarship of the *camino* has been for many years in hands of Medievalist experts. The Dun and Davidson bibliography contains 2941 entries, of which 2493 of the works annotated in the bibliography were published in the twentieth century, with 1358 of this number since the 1965 Holy Year –apart from these, they rejected 500 titles for being purely touristic.<sup>120</sup> They explain that the boom of publications in the last century of the millennium was not due mainly to personal narratives or guides, as these comprised only 10% of the publications. Most of the other 90% are studies of the various aspects of the pilgrimage, both modern and medieval.<sup>121</sup> These studies were needed by the mid twentieth century when the government wanted to reestablish the forgotten route towards Santiago as a medieval path. Soria explains in his introduction that to know what was worth preserving and what should go or be changed on the Camino, it was necessary to understand first how it emerged and was built, who used it and why, and in what manner it had an impact on its surrounding environment.<sup>122</sup> Towards this end I consider the work of the American Pioneers crucial to bringing momentum to the re-discovery of the *camino* in the twentieth century. Their unbiased glances towards the beauty of the Romanesque Art that flourished along the *camino* network, undertaken before the Civil War and dictatorship started in Spain, helped the midcentury academic studies in Spain. When the dictatorship was over, and after many years of pilgrimage lethargy as Jean Passini explains, many of the settlements still preserved their original medieval tissues, increasing the number of the scholars looking at the route under this light.<sup>123</sup> As the *camino* is today protected in Spain from Roncesvalles to Santiago the Medieval knowledge about this ancient route should be followed by a contemporary understanding of the dynamics and

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<sup>120</sup> DAVIDSON, L. K. & DUNN, M., 1993. *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: a research guide*. New York: Garland.

<sup>121</sup> DAVIDSON, L. K. & DUNN, M., 1996. *The pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages. A book of essays*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., pp. xxxv

<sup>122</sup> SORIA Y PUIG, A., 1991-1992. Vol 1. *Op Cit.*, pp. xx

<sup>123</sup> PASSINI, J. 1984. *Op. Cit.*, pp.7

state of its infrastructure today.<sup>124</sup> However, a contemporary scholarship about this topic, different from the Medievalist approach, seems rather nonexistent. In addition, the fact that medievalists have held the conversations for such a long time does not allow for an up to date reading of the *camino* that goes beyond those papers that simply explore the touristic value of this infrastructure as if they were looking at the Spanish Costa del Sol or the Canary Islands.

Looking at the *camino* with new eyes that would allow for other scholars to continue in this direction is one of the major goals of this dissertation.

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<sup>124</sup> DECRETO 227/2011, 2 of December. (DOG nº 237, de 14/12/2011) Protection of the French *camino* from Cebreiro to the Pino municipality. Consult electronically at: DO. Galicia or in BOE 21<sup>st</sup> of March 2012, num.69/2012 (p. 24980) or [[http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2011/20111214/AnuncioCA03-051211-9523\\_es.html](http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2011/20111214/AnuncioCA03-051211-9523_es.html)]; [<http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2012/03/21/pdfs/BOE-A-2012-3945.pdf>]  
DECRETO 144/2012, del 29 of June (DOG nº 133, de 12/07/2012) Protection approved from O Pino to Lavacolla.  
DECRETO 247/2012, de 22 of November, Protection approved within the City Council of Santiago de Compostela.  
Online: [[http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2012/20121207/AnuncioG0164-291112-0001\\_es.html](http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2012/20121207/AnuncioG0164-291112-0001_es.html)]. The camino had already been protected in Castilla Leon in 2002: [[http://noticias.juridicas.com/base\\_datos/CCAA/cl-112-2002.html](http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/CCAA/cl-112-2002.html)]; La Rioja in 1998: [[http://siu.larioja.org/mapa\\_municipio.php?cod\\_ine=10002](http://siu.larioja.org/mapa_municipio.php?cod_ine=10002)] and Navarra in 1988; [<http://www.cfnavarra.es/WebGN/SOU/INSTITUC/CT/NORMATIVA/OTUV/&36.htm> and in 1994]; [[http://www.labclima.ua.es/complegis/ot/navarra/Ley\\_94.PDF](http://www.labclima.ua.es/complegis/ot/navarra/Ley_94.PDF)]

## 1. Pilgrim networks. A project of territorial control

### 1.1 A two tempo invention

The previous work and scholarship allow us to establish some similarities between the *camino*'s two golden ages, the twelfth and actual twenty-first centuries. Like the Codex Calixtinus that we just learned was written at the Santiago cathedral around ca.1160CE, the first *inventio* of St James also happened in a monastery, that of Santo Toribio of Liebana in the north west of Spain.<sup>1</sup> In that library ca.750CE, the monk, theologian and geographer Beatus of Liebana *foresaw* the discovery of Saint James in his writing "*O Dei verbum patris*" where he situates the tomb of the Apostle in Finisterrae. In his "*Orbis Terrarum*" [I.1] he conceptually represents the world showing Santiago's sanctuary as a major landmark at the lower center left of the map.<sup>2</sup> Legend has it that the invention of St. James' remains followed in Mount *Liberum Dorum* ca.830CE when Bishop Teodomiro followed the advice of shepherd Pelayo. In this mount the *arca marmorica* was identified as belonging to Jacobo Boanerges, son of Zebedeo and Salome and brother of John, almost 750 years after his mythical travel from Israel to the coast of Galicia.<sup>3</sup> The remains miraculously survived Almanzor's attack and besiege of Santiago ca.997CE and were hidden behind the main altar ca.1589CE when Sir Francis Drake was about to attack Compostela. After almost three hundred years lost and forgotten, the remains were re-discovered by the Cardinal Paya y Rico and Antonio López Ferreiro in 1879CE.<sup>4</sup>

At that time, the nineteenth century (1879) the pilgrimage to Compostela was at its nadir after the Reconquista War was over, the Moors expelled from Spain (1492) and the Inquisition established (ca.1501).<sup>5</sup> During this time St. James's patronage of Spain had also been disputed by St. Theresa (1620), St Michael (1640) and St Joseph (1770) and the

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<sup>1</sup>SORIA I PUIG, A. 1991-1992. Vol. 1: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23

<sup>2</sup>MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. "Beato de Liebana." *Op. Cit.*, pp. 53-77. See Appendix 1: under Inventions Network in black.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibidem*, pp. 31-52; see also: LACARRA, J.M., et al., pp. 27 explanation of the Myth of the discovery of the sepulcher and all the sources. In pp. 171, Liber Sancti Jacobi and its referential texts to the legend of Santiago.

<sup>4</sup>LÓPEZ FERREIRO, A., 1898-1911. *Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*. 11 vol. Santiago de Compostela. Ed. Facsimil 1983.

<sup>5</sup>MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. "Declinacion moderna del mito Jacobeo." *Op. Cit.*, pp. 271-287

church of St. Lourdes in France consecrated two years before (1876).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the re-discovery came after the age of Luther (1517), Henry the VIII (1534), European Wars, Enlightenment (1620-1780's), the French Revolution (1789), Ecclesiastical confiscation (1837) and Romanticism (1800-1850) that, together with all the European pandemics, had decimated the number of pilgrims arriving in Santiago as studied by **Carmen Pluguense**.<sup>7</sup> For many of those reasons, after the remains of the Apostle were *re-invented* at the Cathedral and recognized by Leo XIII in bull *Deus Omnipotens* ca.1881CE,<sup>8</sup> Miguel de Unamuno mentioned that the remains could be those of Prisciliano beheaded in Treveris in the IV century. Luther and Erasmus had gone further in the sixteen century to say that pilgrimages should finish.<sup>9</sup> Later, in 1969, Buñuel made this controversy the subject of his surrealist parody *La voie lactée* (The Milky Way) from his Parisian exile, which won the Interfilm award at the Berlin Festival that year. The movie is a critique of the Catholic religious dogma expressed in the travel of two French vagrants in their way to Compostela.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. "La ofensiva eclesiastica Compostelana." *Op. Cit.*, pp. 223-253. Lourdes became in the XX century the most visited pilgrim destination in Europe. Followed by Fatima since 1930.

<sup>7</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *Vol. 1. Op. Cit.* pp. 27 Soria explains the consequences of the French revolution, the Carlistas Wars the danger of traversing a territory at war had great consequences towards pilgrimage. Also confiscation of the Church territory diminished the number of places to fortnight along the way. He also learns from Madoz the state of the towns along the camino by their new use of hospitals as prisons or hostels for laborers coming to the wheat crop of Castile.

100 Years war between England and France (1337-1453); Spanish Armada against England (1588), and following attacks to Spain (1589); The Napoleonic Peninsula Wars (1808-1814)

Black Death (1346-53) or following outbreaks, Cholera (1827-35); the pilgrimage during the XIX century is well studied by PUGLIESE, C., 1998. *El Camino de Santiago en el siglo XIX*. Santiago de Compostela: Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, pp. 10. Pugliese studies in the books of the cathedral and hospital the number of pilgrims arriving in Santiago in the XIX centuries. We can discover that even in holy years during this century the Cathedral could get 1182 in 1802 ; 576 in 1819; 486 in 1830 63 in 1858 or 47 in 1875. Or as little as 0 pilgrims in 1813. After the re-discovery in 1879 in 1897 965 pilgrims arrived to the Cathedral.

<sup>8</sup> The Church recognized the remains of St James with this bull *God Almighty* in 1884

<sup>9</sup> UNAMUNO, M.de, 1922. "Santiago." *Andanzas y visiones españolas*. Madrid: Renacimiento, pp. 66. Prisciliano, bishop of Avila was considered a heretic and beheaded in Treveris by the church. His religious practices involved many pagan rituals.

MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 274-276

<sup>10</sup> BUÑUEL, L. 1969. *La voie lactée*. Paris: Greenwich Film Production / Paris-Fraia Film

Two French globetrotter who, from the outskirts of Paris, decide to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, known numerous characters and live situations closely linked to religious beliefs. Prisciliano is portrayed in his movie.

In these days many end up saying “*Se non è vero, è ben trovato*” as both times, the *invented* remains of Saint James the Great --Santiago el Mayor in Spanish-- were steadily followed by thousands of pilgrims making their ways towards his sanctuary in Santiago de Compostela. In the Middle Ages religious pilgrims walked to Santiago from their houses to reduce their time in purgatory, pay a promise for themselves or others and later to achieve a criminal penance.<sup>11</sup> In an era of poverty, disease, and war, faith became an excuse to travel and all social classes from kings to peasants took to the *road* towards St. James’ sanctuary.<sup>12</sup> Coste-Messeliere and Soria tell us that between 200,000 and 500,000 thousand pilgrims reached Compostela in the Middle Ages;<sup>13</sup> these numbers had increased after Rome proclaimed *Jubilee Years* after ca.1300CE. During these years, proclaimed in Compostela when the day of the St James, July 25<sup>th</sup> falls on a Sunday, the Church gave plenary indulgence for the remission of the temporal time that one had to spend in purgatory before arriving into paradise as punishment for one’s sins. Dante Alighieri beautifully describes this journey from *inferno* to *paradiso* in his “*Divina Comedia*” where he allegorically makes this way towards God in the company of Roman poet Virgil –whose own entrance in paradise is denied for being a Pagan.<sup>14</sup> Later in his “*Vita Nuova*”, Dante names *pilgrims* for the first time as those walking towards Santiago:

*“And I wrote this sonnet, called: “Ye pilgrim-folk.” I made use of the word pilgrim for its general signification; for “pilgrim” may be understood in two senses, one general, and one special. General, so far as any man may be called a pilgrim who leaves the place of his birth; whereas, more narrowly speaking, he only is a pilgrim who goes towards or forwards the House of St. James. For there are three separate denominations proper unto those who undertake journeys to the glory of God. They are called Palmers who go beyond the seas eastward, whence often they bring palm-branches. And Pilgrims, as I have said, are they who journey unto the holy House of Galicia; seeing that no other apostle was buried so far from his birthplace as was the blessed Saint James. And there is a third sort who are called Romers; in that they go whither these whom I have called pilgrims went: which is to say, unto Rome.”*<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> KENDALL, A., 1970. *Medieval Pilgrims*. New York: G.P. Putman’s Sons. Kendall, explains journey’s preparative and incentives. This penance still exists in the Belgium law in these days. See also: LACARRA, J.M., et al., pp. 120 for motives of pilgrimages; pp. 143 for organization of the journey; pp. 155 for the forced pilgrimage.

<sup>12</sup> LACARRA, J.M., et al., pp. 55 for Historia Compostelana and Pilgrims to Santiago; pp. 62 pilgrimage crusaders; p. 71 for Pilgrimage during XIII and XIV.

<sup>13</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *Op. Cit.* pp. 15. Soria gives us these numbers from Messeliere.

<sup>14</sup> ALIGUIERI, D 1874. *La Divina Comedia: Infierno, Purgatorio, Paraíso*. Versión española de J.M. Carulla. Madrid:

<sup>15</sup> ALIGUIERI, D., 1980 [1293]. “Vida Nueva” *Obras Completas*. N. Gonzalez Rúiz. Madrid: B.A.C. LXI pp. 563-564 (translation with the help of the Guttenberg project)

After four hundred years of decline and more than a hundred of steady recovery, today modern pilgrims walk to Santiago from the Pyrenees Mountains or major cities along the network of recovered *caminos* by the thousands again.<sup>16</sup> Instead of looking to reduce their time in purgatory, these pilgrims look for a different experience that reduces the stress and noise of their everyday life, a healthy exercise in contact with nature or to lose weight along the way. Within them, there are still religious pilgrims that make their *caminos* as a promise or as a spiritual journey.<sup>17</sup> The formerly sacred *caminos* are secular and sacred at the same time in the twenty first century, but they remain powerful *kairological artifacts* linking past and present simultaneously as one walks towards the west of the Iberian Peninsula. There is a shared thought among modern pilgrims that the *camino* has become a place where the best values of a collective society remain in an untouched state.<sup>18</sup> Very different from Buñuel's above mentioned *Milky Way* (1969) is the recently launched movie *The Way* (2011-12) by Emilio Estevez and his father Martin Sheen;<sup>19</sup> a film followed this year by *Six Ways to Santiago* (2015) that portrays the walks of six people of different backgrounds and nationalities, also directed by an American.<sup>20</sup> As a tribute to Sheen's original family region of Galicia, *the Way* beautifully portrays the best values of the *camino* today. Among others these are the good food, the fantastic landscapes and architecture along the way and the good values of people who make this journey. But more important, the special spiritual character that the *camino* has for many walkers. In what could be a tribute to Walter Starkie's love for the *camino* and Romani culture, Spanish gypsies form part of this movie as well.<sup>21</sup> Having been released in Toronto, Spain, Malta, the United Kingdom and later in 283 American theaters, the movie has contributed to the diffusion of the *camino* pilgrimage, especially in North America.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> I mark the re-invention of St James remains in 1879 as the beginning of this new era.

<sup>17</sup> Personal discoveries along my walk to Santiago from Cebreiro in May 2012

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>19</sup> [<http://www.theway-themovie.com/film.php>] (Las Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>20</sup> [<http://caminodocumentary.org/>] (Las Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>21</sup> STARKIE, W., 1957. *The road to Santiago; pilgrims of St. James*. London: Murray. Irish Writer Walter Starkie walked four times to Compostela from France during his time in Spain as director of the British Council in Madrid.

<sup>22</sup> [<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=way2011.htm>] (Las Accessed Jun'15)

What interests this study is the actual state of the network created in order for this pilgrimage to happen, as well as the territory that runs along its necessary infrastructure. For that reason, in this chapter, I will guide you through the major networks, institutions and people that made it possible to reach the end of the world in the Middle Ages and to understand that Santiago was a geopolitical invention that defined a unique infrastructural urban condition, the Pilgrim Network;<sup>23</sup> before we arrive to its cultural state and meaning today in Chapter Two and more in detail along its last ten stages with its new language in Chapter Three. The contribution of this chapter to the scholarship of the *camino* network is the cartographical work that goes hand in hand with its evolution at the European scale and the compilation of the previously studied towns along the *camino* in Spain drawn schematically by myself to compare their size in the Middle Ages with that of today. These maps help the readers to navigate along the intertwined history of this *palimpsest* and to take a brief pulse of its actuality. Besides, “*A line made by time and walking*” which elaborately brings together the historical events provided by the *camino* scholars could help to contextualize the below mentioned events with more detail than this summary can provide.

## 1.2 A European network

*“In the guide written in the XII century for the pilgrims to Compostela we read: “... There are four roads which lead to St. James. These unite at Puente la Reina in the land of Spain. The first leads through St. Gilles and Montpellier and Toulouse and the Port d’Aspe; the second through Notre Dame of Le Puy and Ste Foy of Conques and St. Pierre de Moissac; the third through Ste. Marie Madeleine of Vezelay and St. Leonard near Limoges and the city of Perigueux; the fourth through St. Martin of Tours and St. Hilaire of Poitiers and St. Jean d’Angely and St. Eutrope of Saintes and the city of Bourdeaux. The roads that pass through Ste. Foy and St. Leonard and St. Martin unite at Ostabat, and passing the Port of Cize join at Puente la Reina, the road which passes by the Port d’Aspe. Thence one road leads to St. James”<sup>24</sup>*

As Kingsley Porter translates in 1921 from the Calixtinus, this was the network that, joining Christian centers across France and Spain, united four major routes towards Santiago.

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<sup>23</sup> or *Camino Network*

<sup>24</sup> PORTER, A. K., 1921. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 5



These *camino*s recycled dismantled and abandoned Roman roads in a larger pilgrimage network reaching all the way to Jerusalem. This dilapidated (at the time) Roman roadmap, fully portrayed in the *Pentungine Table* also known as *Castorius Mapa Mundi* [I.2],<sup>25</sup> and named in detail in *Itinerarum provinciarum Antonini Augusti*, is the first network that this dissertation studies in figures [I.3], [I.3a], [I.3b], [I.3c], and [I.3d].<sup>26</sup> The second recycled network was formed by all Christian temples within a feudal territory whose unity was broken by Barbarian invasions. Instead of worshiping Nature and its Gods outside, Romans started worshiping *relics* related to Christ and his life within the walls of recycled Pagan temples first and newly consecrated Christian churches later.<sup>27</sup> This Christian network is portrayed in figures [I.4], [I.4a], [I.4b], [I.4c], and [I.4d]. The combination of the previous ones with the bridges, hospitals, churches, monasteries, fountains and signals that made possible to reach Compostela around ca. 1000CE forms the Pilgrim Network portrayed in figures [I.5], [I.5a], [I.5b], and [I.5d]. In this cartographical series, the first map is a synthetic compilation of the four layers that follow, and they should be used to complement the reading from now on.

In figure [I.3] we discover the first network of the study, the **Roman Network**. In the map we can see that Romans had created a unified political and economic space around the

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<sup>25</sup> TALBERT R.J.A., 2010. *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press or PEUNTINGER TABLE. (circa IV C) *Tabula itineraria ex Peutingerarum bibliotheca*. In Bert, Pieter de. *Theatri geographie*, etc., 1618. Pusey map Collection Harvard University (Date unknown but depicts Constantinople, which was founded in 324 CE and consecrated in 330 CE) see also: WEBER, E., 1976. *Tabula Peutingeriana : Codex Vindobonensis 324 : vollst. Faks.-Ausg. im Originalformat*. Graz: Akadem. Druck- u. Verlagsanst MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, G., 1992. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 36 own translation "... this is a Roman itinerary probably from the IV C., used in 670 by an anonymous geographer from Ravenna. The copy today preserved in Viena is from the XII or XI C. They were 11 parchment sheets in a roll of 34x680 cm, the first sheet corresponding to Hispania and Britannia is today lost. A humanist in 1507 Conradus Celtis brought the table to Augsburg and gave it to the town clerk Konrad Peutinger as we know it today. In 1526 another copy was made that is today in Napoli. The Spanish sheet has been reconstructed by Konrad Miller in 1916.

<sup>26</sup> ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANICA. Itinerarium, plural itineraria, a list of villages, towns, cities, and mail stations of the Roman empire, with the distances between them. They were constructed according to basic concepts formulated by Greek cartographers such as Agrippa and Ptolemy, and they were frequently used by private and official travelers. In Rome the road system began from the Golden Milestone in the Roman Forum.

The only surviving map is the Peutinger Table, a 13th-century copy of a Roman world map. The 4th-century "Antonine Itinerary," one of the few remaining manuals, provides lists of several thousand geographic names of the entire empire, with estimates of the intervening distances. It has provided the basis for reconstructing the system of Roman roads.

<sup>27</sup> SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Spaces for the sacred: place, memory, and identity*. Johns Hopkins Paperbacks edn. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press., pp. 34-63

*Mediterranean*. This *Mare Nostrum* was an interior lake through which communication and trade were articulated from Syria and Palestine to Finisterrae, with the security belts of the Rhine and the Danube to the north and the tropical deserts of Africa to the south. Through this unified political space, Rome created an efficient administration and developed a great terrestrial communication system to secure the rapid travel of its legions and to enforce trade relations. Along this terrestrial communication, they expanded the Roman citizenship to all the empire cities, transforming Rome into a universal *Polis*.<sup>28</sup> These first large-scale infrastructures in history were established from ca.100BCE to 400CE, and along them citizens travelled freely from the east to the end of their world in Finisterre. This was a freedom not repeated until the creation of the European Union within a smaller territory in the twentieth century and, in these days, one that is at the brink of collapse again. Figure [I.3e] portrays that European evolution from year 0 to 2000CE. Menéndez Pidal tells us that these roads were the media for Romans to build a universal citizenship above all localism so that citizens could live within a political structure where languages, culture and different races were unified by policies, economy and share a universal language, Latin.<sup>29</sup> In order to build this network, Romans linked what was already there, ocean commerce and trade, where cities were centers of resource extraction along waterways and seacoasts [I.3a]. They linked all these resources together in a comprehensive network running along water whenever possible, and permitting rapid transportation of resources like minerals and grain back to Rome. [I.3b, 3c] They also adopted engineering ideas like semicircular arches for bridge-building together with the beginnings of a road network developed by Celtic tribes and extended these inheritances to connect their territory. By the late imperial era circ.400CE, Romans had built about 290,000 kilometers of stone paved roads introducing a speed of travel in Europe not reached again until Napoleon in the XIX century. This infrastructure permitted Rome to become a big import center within a high speed system that allowed Caesar to travel 800 miles in 24 days, or his mail at the rate of 10 miles per hour.<sup>30</sup> Following the collapse of the Roman Empire in ca.476CE the road network was largely neglected and the Roman large-scale vision was only partially reestablished by the

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<sup>28</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 1999. *Op. Cit.* pp. 52

<sup>29</sup> MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, G., 1992. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 41

<sup>30</sup> MENENDEZ PIDAL, G., 1951. *Op Cit.* pp. 41

European Union as well. Menéndez Pidal reminds us how the messenger who brought Nero's death news to Galba in Spain could travel 332 miles in 36 hours (ca.68CE), whereas six centuries later it would take an important message from Toledo almost one year to reach Rome.<sup>31</sup> This was not only due to the dilapidated infrastructure but also to the politically broken territory traversed, as will be explained. To the Romans, Gallaecia was a marginal province from where gold, tin and lead came first by boat and since 100CE, thanks to their engineers, by road [I.3d].<sup>32</sup> Phoenicians had found Galicia first, and it was so far away by boat and its coastline so broken that they thought that Galicia's capes were islands, the Islands of Tin or *Cassiterides*. This is what we learn from the Greeks Strabo and Ptolemy, who situated the *Cassiterides* off the Galician coast, the latter arranging them as a perfect ring of ten islands [I.3f].<sup>33</sup> Gallaecia's geographical location at the *oculus mundi* of the empire was crucial to locate the Apostle's remains at the antipodes counterbalancing the lost of Jerusalem.

The image of this infrastructure that fades away with Rome can be found in the above mentioned *Peutinger Table*, one of the first Roman *Itineraria* and medieval copy of their Roadmap from around 400CE.<sup>34</sup> This military map used for travel, postage and collecting taxes, represents the empire in a long thick line connecting the eastern Indus Valley beyond Roman control, all the way to Finisterrae in Gallaecia at the far Western side of the map. From east to west in this linear representation of the network we can discover Roman nodes formed by *civitas*, *castrum* and *villae* (3,300 mansions) connected by endless east to west roads (70.000 Roman miles) which were helped by *bridges*, sea and mountain *ports*, *light houses*, that allowed them to cross water, mountains or the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>35</sup> We also discover *temples* like those well marked in Rome and Constantinople in the table [I.2]. In

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem.*, pp.45

<sup>32</sup> Gallaecia was the name that Romans gave to actual Galicia. Marginality can be read in the absence of major civil architecture, as Nardiz Ortiz explains. First roads can be found at Antonine Itinerarium.

<sup>33</sup> I have seen this representation at the Pusey map collection's copies of Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny the Elder.

<sup>34</sup> *Peutinger Table. Tabula itineraria ex Peutingerarum bibliotheca*. In Bert, Pieter de. *Theatri geographie, etc.*, 1618, etc., Consultada en Pusey map Collection Harvard University.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem.* Pp. 37 As Roman *miles* are aprox 1.5m these are 105.000 Km.

Note that the mountains deformed to fit the linear nature of the map, are represented as points of origin of the rivers that are also distorted in the horizontal direction for the same reason.

these cities and together with these temples, Romans as the Greek before them, developed a civic public infrastructure of forums, baths, plazas, public fountains, circus maximus, temples and memoralia, with a beauty and technique never achieved before. More important, with these public works their citizens achieved a level of urbanity and understanding of public and collective space in the city that was never reached again until the nineteenth century.

Highly intertwined with the Roman, the Christian network starts to be formed after Diocletian divides the empire in east and West ca.280CE, and his successor Constantine signs the *Edict of Milan* ca.313CE and with it the toleration of Christians within the Roman territory [I.4]. After many councils as Nicaea ca.325CE and becoming a solo emperor with the defeat of Licinus ca.324CE, he proclaims Christianity the official religion of the empire encouraging Pagans to convert; and founds a new capital in the east, Constantinople, consecrated in ca.330CE. As Rome declined the east grew, and both Constantinople and Jerusalem became the centers of Christianity and its network. Some authors maintain that Constantine observed the strength of integration of the new doctrine as well as the potential of pilgrimages as a backbone between east and west of the empire; therefore he promoted pilgrimage as part of his political campaign.<sup>36</sup> Also as a geopolitical strategy, he used human links between east and west to keep the empire united.<sup>37</sup> By so doing he began transforming the empire's pagan and mercantile topography into a *Sacred Geography* that will be further developed in the following chapter. The Imperial travel of his mother Helena Augusta to Jerusalem ca.326CE is considered the first pilgrimage in Christianity [I.4a].<sup>38</sup> Helena's legend *invented* the cross of crucifixion under the pagan temple of Venus and supervised the construction of the empire's new sacred architecture.<sup>39</sup> These were the

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<sup>36</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 1999. *Op. Cit.* p.16

<sup>37</sup> HUNT, E.D.1984. "Travel, tourism and Piety in the Roman empire: A context for the beginnings of Christian Pilgrimage." *Echos du Monde Clasique/Classicalviews* 28, p.391-417. From same author: 1982. *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman empire* A.D. 312-460. Oxford: Clarendon. New York: Oxford UP 1984

<sup>38</sup> HOLUM, K.G., 1990. "Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial travel and the origins of Christian holy land pilgrimage." *The blessings of pilgrimage.* Robert Ousterhout ed. Chicago: University of Illinois Press66-81

<sup>39</sup> DRIJVERS, J.W., 1992. "Helena's legend." *Helena Augusta. The mother of Constantine the Great and the legend of her finding of the true cross.* New York, Koln: E.J. Brill. PhD study of the legend of Helena's journey to the east and her invention of the True Cross.

Churches of Nativity in Bethlehem, that of the Mount of Olives, and that above the temple of Aphrodite in *Aelia Capitolina* the Holy Sepulcher, the tomb of Christ in today's Jerusalem [I.4e]. Helena's "true cross", divided into fragments and treasured by churches all over the empire, was the first *Relic* in Christianity and the beginning of the commodification of spiritual meaning into mercantile value.<sup>40</sup> Other journeys followed to the Holy land which were called first *itinerairums* before they were understood as pilgrimages. These are *Itinerarium Burdigalense* ca.333CE and *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* ca.381-84CE.<sup>41</sup> Now officially a state religion, the Church reorganized the Roman territory as a series of *dioceses and parishes* [I.4b], where eastern and western territory were ordered around a church with both spiritual and temporal power. In Galicia we will see that previously colonized *celtic castrums* became *dioceses* to administer their own surrounding *parishes*. Besides, along the Roman roads that linked these *dioceses*, *monasteries* would be built, as *villae* were in the past, to keep administering and managing the surrounding territory.<sup>42</sup> However, the Christian network equilibrium was broken around ca.375CE with the appearance of the Huns, an eastern Asian tribe [I.4c]. Trying to escape from them, northern Germanic tribes called Barbarians, entered the empire in search of refuge. As we can see in the map, Visigoths entered Rome ca.410CE and dethroned the last western Roman emperor Romulus Augusto in ca.476CE. As Barreiro Rivas very well explains in his dissertation, even if these Germanic tribes arrived to the Mediterranean attracted by the Roman way of life, their invasions introduced forces of decentralization which carried

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<sup>40</sup> Relics started to be traded all over Europe. Some of them were even stolen. For a complete explanation of the power and traffic of relics. See: MACCORMACK, S. 1990. "Loca Santa: The organization of Sacred Topography in late antiquity." *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Ed. Robert Ousterhout. Urbana: U of Illinois Press., pp. 7-40. About the souvenirs of pilgrimage take a look in the previous book at: BAKIRTZIS, DUNCAN-FLOWERS, HAHN, OUSTERHOUT and VIKAN. See Also: MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. "El culto a las reliquias." *Op. Cit.*, pp.127-163.

<sup>41</sup> BORDEAUX PILGRIM. *Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.)*. The library of the Palestine Pilgrims' text society. Trans. Aubrey Stewart. London, 1887. Rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971. Vol1 This is the oldest known Christian *itinerarium*, written by an anonymous pilgrim from Burdigala (present-day Bordeaux). It tells of the writer's journey to the Holy Land in 333 - 334, by land through northern Italy and the Danube valley to Constantinople, then through Asia Minor and Syria to Jerusalem, and then back by way of Macedonia, Otranto, Rome, and Milan.

EGERIA. 1970. *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage. (381-384 A.D.)* Ed. Trans. George E. Gingras. Ancient Christian writers: The Works of the fathers in translation 38. New York: Newman; see also: MENENDEZ PIDAL, G., 1951. *Op Cit.* pp. 41

<sup>42</sup> This process is well explained by NARDIZ ORTIZ, C., 1992. *El territorio y los caminos en Galicia: Planos históricos de la red viaria*. Madrid: Colegio de Ingenieros de Caminos, Canales y Puertos.

Europe into Medieval Feudalism.<sup>43</sup> Constantinople grew with Arcadius and Rome weakened with Honorius [I.4d], and closer to the holy sites, the Eastern Christian Roman Empire centered on Constantinople survived until ca.1453CE [I.4f]. As their nomadic ways of life were not adapted to the urban Roman citizenship, when Barbarians sacked Rome the city's infrastructure collapsed with them. Besides, Barbarian aims to control large states with autonomous and closed economies allowed Feudalism to thrive in the Middle Ages; with them the *urban bourgeoisie* was destroyed and a new *rural aristocracy* divided the territory into feudal kingdoms.<sup>44</sup>

After Barbarian Visigoths took Rome, Augustine of Hippo wrote *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos (The city of God against Pagans)* where he first desacralized the Roman Pagan topography giving the guidelines for secularization, and explained the difference between *Civitas Dei and Civitas Terrenae*.<sup>45</sup> Very soon however those cities on earth started to decline in Gallia and soon after in the Mediterranean, due to the Barbarians' absence of *civism*. For Christians in the Middle Ages, beyond the boundary walls lay a wilderness that was not only naturally uncultivated and socially untamed, but also the dwelling-place of demons and the forces of evil.<sup>46</sup> Within the sacred boundaries however, a strong community was formed as Isidore of Seville observes with his explanation of *urbs* and *civitas* "cities of stone; cities of men" an image that scholar Philip Sheldrake observes would remain until the modern era:<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 1999. *Op. Cit.* pp.50

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 52

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 53. See: DODS, M., & MERTON, T., 1950. *The city of God*. New York: Modern Library.

Saint Augustine is often regarded as the most influential Christian thinker after Saint Paul, and City of God is his masterpiece, a cast synthesis of religious and secular knowledge. It began as a reply to the change that Christian otherworldliness was causing the decline of the Roman empire. Augustine produced a wealth of evidence to prove that paganism bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Then he proceeded to his larger theme, a cosmic interpretation in terms of the struggle between good and evil; the City of God in conflict with the Earthly City or the City of the Devil. This, the first serious attempt at a philosophy of history, was to have incalculable influence in forming the Western mind on the relations of church and state, and on the Christian's place in the temporal order.

Seen at Hollis. Harvard.edu (Last Accessed Dec'12) SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Spaces for the sacred: place, memory, and identity*. Johns Hopkins Paperbacks Edn. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press., pp. 34-35

<sup>46</sup> SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.111

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 158.

“A city (*civitas*) is a number of men joined by a social bond. It takes its name from the citizens (*cives*) who dwell in it. As an *urbs* it is only a walled structure, but inhabitants, not building stones, are referred to as a city”<sup>48</sup>

Within this urban chaos, the Catholic Church retired to walled monasteries and churches from where they tried to remain as a unifying power of the divided territory. First they replaced the commerce of resources with the treasure of *relics* that kept coming from the east,<sup>49</sup> and afterwards started producing increasing numbers of men and women who were tangible links between heaven and earth.<sup>50</sup> In parallel, commerce continued in the Middle Ages surrounding these churches’ plazas at the regional scale; and merchant boroughs called *burgs* where those called bourgeois lived were formed and walled in these cities’ outskirts during the XI century.<sup>51</sup> For urban sociologist Richard Sennett, Augustine’s *City of God* is the triumph of an inner city in search of eternal fulfillment over the human city. Ever since, Sennett argues that city building has concentrated on creating safe divisions between different groups of people, following a theology that has tended to doubt the spiritual value of diversity.<sup>52</sup> From Joseph Rykwert we learn about the sacredness of these walls for the Romans, as well as all the iconography of monsters that went hand in hand with their gates –only opening and connecting in their boundaries.<sup>53</sup> The Christian network was also a divided and broken territory managed by kings, bishops and monks within the walls of their kingdoms and castles, churches and monasteries. This was also the extraordinary landscape of *meteoras* rising above rocks up in the skies, or fantastic

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<sup>48</sup> ISIDORE OF SEVILLE., *Etymologiarum libri*, 15.2.I quoted in SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.158

<sup>49</sup> MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. “El culto a las reliquias.” *Op. Cit.*, pp.127-163. For a complete explanation of the power and traffic of relics.

<sup>50</sup> SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.38

<sup>51</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *Op. Cit.*, Vol 2, pp. 88. Soria cites PIRENNE, H. 1972. (1<sup>st</sup> French ed. 1927) *Las ciudades de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, pp. 94-99; see also: LOPEZ, R. S., 1956. “The evolution of land transport in the Middle Ages.” *Past and Present*. Oxford: The Past and Present Society, pp. 17-29; from the same author \_\_\_\_\_, 1976. *The commercial revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350*. Cambridge University Press.

PIRENNE, H. 1972. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 94-99. For Pirenne it is the need for security of merchants what explains the nature of many medieval fortress cities. Merchant sub-urbs situated in the outskirts of medieval cities were also surrounded by walls and designated with a word of Germanic origin: *burg*. The people of such commercial and craft boroughs became bourgeois, term registered at the beginning of XI. The people of the ancient fortresses still called *castellani*.

<sup>52</sup> SENNET, R., 1993. *The conscience of the eye: the design and social life of cities*. London: Faber and Faber., pp. xii-xiii, and 6-10. Cited by SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.149

<sup>53</sup> RYKWERT, J. 2010. *The idea of a town: The anthropology of urban form in Rome, Italy and the ancient world*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. First ed. 1976, pp. 135. *The boundary and the gate*; pp.139. *The guardian and the gate*.

monastic complexes across Europe such as those of Mount Athos in the Greek islands, both majestically described by Patrick Leigh Fermor in *A time to keep silence* or *The Broken Road*.<sup>54</sup>

And yet the threat to the Christian network was not over and continued after the death of Mohammed ca.632CE [I.5]. As Barbarians had not developed a war army, Islamic troops started conquering the southern part of the Mediterranean including the Holy city of Jerusalem in ca.640CE. The southern half of the *Mare Nostrum* became the *Mare Eorum* by circ.710CE and the same year Arabs crossed the strait from Africa into Spain conquering as far north as Galicia, being only defeated in Covadonga ca.722CE and Poitiers ca.732CE.<sup>55</sup> Over the next 800 years, the battle between Christianity and Islam would shape not only European politics, but also the cityscape and geography of Europe. Unfortunately this persisting problem has become global today. By ca.800CE, the Mediterranean was divided into Christian north and Muslim south [I.5a]. We can see in this map that only a few Christian territories remained in the Iberian Peninsula, those of Asturias and Galicia. Santiago de Compostela and the *Pilgrim Network* would arise from this period of conflict and even desperation for the Church. This network was then superimposed onto a Europe fragmented in feuds and sovereigns after the empire declined with the Barbarian invasions. In this time of crisis, the fortuitous *inventio* of the bones of St. James, the apostle of Christ in Finisterrae, spurred the building of a sacred infrastructure to replace the sacred landscape lost to the Moors when Jerusalem fell. Barreiro Rivas explains that it is precisely around ca.1000CE when the Christian pilgrimages passed from being individual experiences to mass movements of pilgrims who would be traveling through Europe with special statutes, welfare and police organizations and permissions given by the Church.<sup>56</sup> Also, when local and regional centers of pilgrimage once dispersed through all medieval Europe were transformed into stages and integrated into major routes that targeted three holy cities:

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<sup>54</sup> FERMOR, P.L., 2013. *The broken road: from the Iron Gates to Mount Athos*. New York: New York Review Books, 2013. \_\_\_\_\_, 2007. *A time to keep silence*. New York: New York Review Books. London: Queen Ann, Press, 1953. London: J. Murray, 1982. Fermor started walking from Germany to Constantinople in 1933. He ended up living in Greece for a long time and the editors of his book end this long travel in Mount Athos, Greece.

<sup>55</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 2009. Pelayo commanded Covadonga and Martell, grandfather of Charlemagne Poitiers.

<sup>56</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L., 1999. *Op. Cit.* pp. 17



Jerusalem, *The Way of Christ* followed by *Palmers* as we discovered with Dante; Rome, *The Way of Man* followed by *Romers*; Santiago, The Milky Way followed by *pilgrims*, and a fourth from Le Mont-Saint-Michel to Monte Gargano, called *The Angel's Way*. These pilgrim routes helped organize a new Christian empire against the Moors. Their organization is linked to a processes of centralization of the Church, and centralized ideas of Charlemagne.

Therefore, with the interests of the kingdoms of Spain and France, the Roman Church and the Abbey of Cluny [I.5b], Galicia became an important fortress in the Catholic Church's struggle to maintain control over its remaining territory.<sup>57</sup> In order to secure the western portal of Christendom first lost to the Visigoth rite of Toledo and now to the Moors, they would start a Holy War against the Moors and would use the *camino* network in the Iberian Peninsula as its bastion.<sup>58</sup> During the XI century they supported the building and resettlement of the *camino* in Spain with Cluniac monasteries and *franci* settling along the towns, making it possible so that by the XII century pilgrims from all parts of Europe were walking to Compostela-- this is explained in more detail in the French *camino* sub-chapter.<sup>59</sup> The Schism of Constantinople from Rome ca.1054CE and the failure of Crusader attempts to recapture Jerusalem during the XII century gave Compostela more importance [I.5c]. When the east became inaccessible, and freedom was supplanted by feudalism, pilgrims started traveling by the thousands to Compostela in the Middle Ages. Compostela made Rome a geopolitical center again and re-centered Christendom around the eternal city, counteracting the loss of Constantinople and Jerusalem [I.5d]. Barreiro tells us that metaphorically, like in the Bible, Saints John in the far east and James in the far west were again at the right and left of St. Peter main follower of Christ in Rome.<sup>60</sup> Compostela made the Mediterranean, with Rome as its head, the spatial reflection of the body of Christ and Constantinople, lost to the (Catholic) Church, was forgotten. As a result, only beauty, not religion, has saved Hagia Sophia in today's Istanbul, and the tomb of St. John in Ephesus

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<sup>57</sup> Kingdoms of Asturias first and then Navarre and Castile.

<sup>58</sup> After the III Council of Toledo with Recaredo 589 and the IV Council of Toledo with Isidoro of Seville in 633. The Visigoth rite was instituted in the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>59</sup> LACARRA, J.M., et al. 1949. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 71, pilgrimage during XIII and XIV

<sup>60</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L. 1999. *Op. Cit.*, pp.193

has followed a very different fate than that of St. James in Compostela [I.5e, 5f]. Rome, formerly the center of a highly efficient engineered network of roads ports and bridges, became the center of a spiritual network when its physical infrastructure declined. Reflecting Rome's new role, the popes adopted the title of "*Pontifex Maximus*" or bridge builders, and in this revived Roman network, pilgrims started traveling across Europe by the thousands.

Together with infrastructure, orientation was vital for entering the cosmic time of pilgrimage without a GPS where the stars were the signs that guided walkers or boaters towards Finisterre. And it was the long white strip of hazy appearance of the *Milky Way* across the sky, from northeast to southwest in the summer evenings, the pointing direction towards Finisterre. And so, the Milky Way became the image used to sanctify the *camino* on Earth.<sup>61</sup> In a world where the sun still revolved around our planet, our ancestors were unaware of the central plane of our galaxy being a giant spiral wheel in continuous movement and expansion, a vortex formed by more than two hundred billion stars called the Milky Way -- shown by the Eames in their 10<sup>20</sup> power.<sup>62</sup> Medieval Christians were simply looking for the longest way in the sky as the sacred model for the *camino* on Earth. But somehow, the vortex effect caused by the *caminos* to Santiago in the Middle Ages, gathering thousands of pilgrims beginning their pilgrimages from every corner of the old world, changed the *orbit* of the *camino* network in the Middle Ages.<sup>63</sup> From this time on, the main direction of pilgrimage would shift from east to west, from Jerusalem to Santiago de Compostela. And so, the military progression of crusaders travelling east to reconquer Jerusalem from the Moors was counterweighed by the spiritual walk of pilgrims travelling west towards Santinago and Finisterre.

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<sup>61</sup> RYKWERT, J., 2010. *The Idea of a Town*. London: Faber. 1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1976, pp.194. The author explains that the sky is the image that our ancestors used to sanctify their terrestrial world; See also Mircea Eliade in Chapter Two.

<sup>62</sup> EAMES, C & R., 1989. *Powers of ten video recording: a film dealing with the relative size of things in the universe and the effect of adding another zero / made by the office of Charles and Ray Eames for IBM; produced by Eames Demetrios and Shelley Mills*. Santa Monica, CA: Pyramid & Video.

Online [<http://www.powersof10.com/film>](minute 4:12)

<sup>63</sup> LIBER SANCTI JACOBI: CODEX CALIXTINUS.1951. "Sermón Veneranda Dies," Trad. A. Moralejo, C. Torres, y J.Feo. Santiago: CSIC, pp.198 Above mentioned all the people visiting the Sanctuary in the Middle Ages.

During the day, pilgrims will follow the artifacts built to support their arrival in Compostela. First were **bridges**, needed to cross water; *bridge brotherhoods* or church *fratres pontis* provided support for bridge-building, which flourished from the 11th to the 13th century. Bridges were normally associated with **hospitals** at those places where crossing was crucial but there were not settlements yet. Puente la Reina, Santo Domingo de la Calzada or Portomarín [I.6] in Spain are good examples of settlements that were born out of the need of crossing<sup>64</sup>. Hospitals evolved into majestic buildings such as San Marcos in Leon or Reyes Catolicos in Compostela. From town to town and stage after stage pilgrims would visit the relics of saints inside **churches**, where they prayed and obtained virtue in a transformative interior process en route towards the main sanctuary in Compostela.<sup>65</sup> Churches' towers and bells would also guide their way visually and acoustically when it got foggy, and old Roman milliariums or stone crosses would let them stay on their way.<sup>66</sup> Water fountains on the other hand would help pilgrims and horses survive the long stages from town to town which in the Middle Ages could be as far apart as Estella and Nájera – which the Codex says “*of course by horse*” as around seventy five kilometers needed to be covered.<sup>67</sup> In major **city-stages** along the way, these churches evolved into beautiful Cathedrals like those that we discover in major and medium size European cities today [I.7]. These churches also became departing points for those who had a long way ahead to Compostela, such as Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie in Paris, of which la tour de St Jacques remains today [I.8a]. Departing from this tower at Rue de Rivoli with Rue Saint-Martin, pilgrims would cross today's Notre Dame Pont into la Cité, and crossing le Petit Pont after its Cathedral they would continue their way along Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, Saint-Séverin, Cluny, Saint Jacques du Haut Pas or la Chapelle du Val de Grace [I.8b]. After crossing Philippe's wall at port Saint-Jacques, they would continue along l'abbaye de Port-Royal or Saint-Joseph Cluny. Today, la Rue Saint-Jacques ends at Boulevard Saint-Jacques where the intersection is marked by the Saint-Jacques metro station of line number six.

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<sup>64</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. Vol 1: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 161-180; see also: MORELLI, L. G. 1998. *Medieval pilgrims hospices on the road to Santiago de Compostela*. Yale Univ. PhD that studies in detail the hospitals along the route.

<sup>65</sup> Nolan& Nolan. 1989. *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London, pp. xix

<sup>66</sup> SORIA i PUIG. 1991-1992. Vol.2: Estaciones y señales. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>67</sup> LIBER SANCTI JACOBI: CODEX CALIXTINUS.1944. *Op. Cit. Book V. Chapter II: The Stages of the Camino*.

Many scallop shells receive us in the façade of the Cluny Museum today, a perfect hybrid itself of Roman and medieval architecture just like the pilgrim path to Compostela they supported [I.8c]. Like the churches, **Monasteries** became foundational spiritual centers along the *camino* as well.<sup>68</sup> They provided a place to sleep and medical care before hospitals were built. Like the churches' portals or *porticos*, the cloisters in the monasteries were also the recipients of the most beautiful expression of the *Romanesque Art* that Kingsley Porter admired and studied in such depth [I.8d]. With Porter's description of the four routes in France we started this sub-chapter and with the same routes we will end before we describe the main branch of the network in Spain. We can learn about these four major *caminos* in France as well as the main *camino* in Spain in the above mentioned Book V of the Calixtinus, considered today the first travel guide in Europe.<sup>69</sup> The Codex described cities, churches, peoples and dangers on the way to Santiago, and provided lessons in how to treat pilgrims benevolently within the Christian tradition of hospitality -- as any pilgrim could always be Christ himself.<sup>70</sup> The four branches that started respectively from east to West at St. Gilles (Arles), Le Puy, Vezelay and Tours would be soon expanded across Europe as shown first in the "*Carte de Chemins de St. Jacques de Compostelle*" (ca.1648CE):<sup>71</sup>

**Chemin I:** Bruges, Gand, Tournay, Cambray, Laon, Soissons, Senlis, Beauvay, Rouen, Caen, St. Michelle, S, Denis, Chartres, Orleans, S. Benoit, Tours, Poitiers, Saintes, Soulac, Bordeaux. **Chemin II:** Cologne, Aix la Chapelle, Lyege, Verdum, Rheims, Chálon sur La marne, Troyes, Auxerre, Vezelay, La Charité, S. Leonard. **Chemin III:** Clermont, Issoire, Brioude, Le Puy, Aurillac, Rocamadour, Figeac, Conques, Moissae, Agen. **Chemin IV:** Strasbourg, Dijon, Chalon sur Saone, Toumus, Lyon, Vienne, Marseille, Aries, S.Gilles, Stes Maries, S. guilhem, Bezeirs, Narbonne, Toulouse.

**Camino in Spain:** Jaca, San Juan de la Peña, leyre, Saguesa, Puente La Reina.

Roncevaux, Pampeleune, Estella, Logroño, Sto Domingo de la Calzada, Burgos, Carrión de los Condes, Sahagún, León-Oviedo, Astorga-Lugo, Ponferrada, Puertomarino, Sobrado, Compostelle.

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<sup>68</sup> Monasteries were medieval innovations that fostered handicraft, technology and charity, playing an important role in economic development. Monasteries and their associated hospitals were the origin of universities and health care in Europe, and their civic functions were gradually assumed by the government.

<sup>69</sup> LIBER SANCTI JACOBI: CODEX CALIXTINUS.1944. *Op. Cit.* Whitehill tells us that the pilgrim guide precedes the Baedakers and Blue guides in eight centuries. MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. *Op. Cit.*, PP. XX Villanueva also refers to the Codex as the first Baedaker in Europe.

<sup>70</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-47

<sup>71</sup> La "Carte de Chemins de S. Jaques de Compostelle" in 1648 these itineraries have extended beyond the limits fixed in the XII century.

Later in the Chart of the Council of Europe we can see the whole *camino* network at its peak of popularity [I.10].<sup>72</sup> Besides describing the *caminos* towards Santiago, the Codex also fabricated a close French relationship with Saint James through Charlemagne, conveniently cementing France's connection to Rome in Book IV or Pseudo-Turpin, also called "Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi".<sup>73</sup> This story of Charlemagne and Roland, written when both were already dead, *invents* how St James appears to Charlemagne in a dream telling him to follow the Milky Way and liberate his land in Finisterre from the *Saracens*. Highly copied and well received in France, it is understood as the call for war between Christians and Moors in Spain.<sup>74</sup> Therefore the four branches walked by pilgrims in the Middle Ages would also be the ways French troops took to participate in the Spanish Reconquista war, and Roncesvalles the place where Roland was famously defeated in his way back from Pamplona. I will examine now in more detail the *French Camino*, main branch of the *camino* network in the Iberian Peninsula since the Middle Ages, and a critical component of this spiritual infrastructure built to fight the Moors and reestablish the Roman Christian rite in the Iberian Peninsula from the X century on. With the advance of the Reconquista, more *caminos* led to Compostela over time, and have been recovered in the Iberian Peninsula today. With these *Human Lines* the next sub-chapter begins.

### 1.3 The French *camino* and other human lines:

St. James and the *French Camino* became symbols of the already mentioned *Holy War* against the Moors during the Middle Ages that lasted for five hundred years. This war called *Reconquista* is well described in the maps of figure [I.11].<sup>75</sup> In this series we can see the evolution of the different frontiers between Christian and Moors from the ninth century

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<sup>72</sup> SORIA Y PUIG, A., 1991-1992. *Vol 1. Op. Cit.* pp. 16-17. He lists all cities names in the Chart of the Council. see also [ <http://www.saintjamesway.eu/>]; Council of Europe:

[[http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/compostella\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/compostella_en.asp)]; See map at: [<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Images/Routes/Compostelle/map.pdf>]

<sup>73</sup> BARREIRO RIVAS, X.L. 1999. *OP. CIT.* 190-197

<sup>74</sup> PAULA GERSON et al., *Op. Cit.* pp. 7; pp. 12

<sup>75</sup> These maps have been assembled with the GIS layers provided by Harvard Pusey map collection. The evolution of the different frontiers along the war were also portrayed by CONANT, K., 1993. *Op.Cit.*pp. 21

until 1492CE. This year, the Spanish defeated the Moors in Granada, putting an end to the already shrinking Muslim control in the Iberian Peninsula. The Catholic Kings that had gone on pilgrimage to Compostela ca.1488CE built, after defeating the Moors ca.1499CE, a marvelous hospital which still holds their name by the side of the Cathedral at the *Obradoiro* square.<sup>76</sup> Later in the XVI century, after taking possession of the *Santiago Order of Knights*<sup>77</sup> they built for them an extraordinary See in León that is today the Hostel of San Marcos. However, with the discovery of America in the same year, 1492CE, Compostela would lose the geopolitical importance sustained during the Middle Ages and the *pilgrim network* would start to decline. St. James on his part would become the new symbolic figure for the conquest of South America and the Philippines where many cities are still named after him today [I.12].<sup>78</sup> There is something important to note in the maps of the Reconquista between 800CE and 1500CE for this study: from the XI century on, the Moors would never be able to reconquering the lands north of the *French Camino*, and the reasons for this will be explained next.

We can see in this map of [I.13], the dilapidated Roman roads recycled into *caminos* and path networks spread south into newly re-Christianized Spain during the *Reconquista*. Along these paths many pilgrims started making their ways towards Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages, and for that reason they could be read as *Human Lines* in the territory. The *French Camino* is marked in white in this map and will be explained in detail in this sub-chapter. *Camino* scholars argue that the first pilgrim path of this network was that linking Oviedo with Santiago, called today the *Primitive Camino* --drawn in a light

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<sup>76</sup> The Hospital was transformed in 1954 into the Hostal of the Catholic Kings and Incorporated to the National Paradores Chain.

<sup>77</sup> ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA. Spanish Order of Santiago: Christian military-religious order of knights founded about 1160 in Spain for the purpose of fighting Spanish Muslims and of protecting pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela. Originally called the Order of Cáceres, after the city in which it was founded, the order assumed the Santiago name in 1171. In 1174 King Alfonso VIII of Castile gave the knights the town of Uclés, where their central monastery was established. By 1493 the Order of Santiago had nearly 700,000 members and an annual income of 60,000 ducats, and in that year the Catholic Monarchs (Ferdinand II and Isabella I) took possession of the order in an effort to consolidate their own power.

<sup>78</sup> The Portuguese would also give his name to their colonies in Africa. I took many of the names form SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.* pp. 24-5

green in the map.<sup>79</sup> And this path would be later extended from Oviedo to León when the *French Camino* started to make its way from Santiago to the Pyrenees Mountains during the X century. Before the French path was fully established, the same scholars support that pilgrims would have ventured the steep reefs of the Cantabrian coast in Spain along what is called today the *Northern Camino*—marked in a darker green. They could have also used the *Basque Camino*—marked in a lighter green, before Charlemagne took back Pamplona from the Moors. Like the *Northern Camino*, the *Basque* entered the Iberian Peninsula through Irun and took the direction towards Burgos crossing the Roman St. Adrian Tunnel near Victoria Gasteiz, beautifully portrayed by Anne W. Spirn.<sup>80</sup> Besides, the *Northern Camino* would have also been used by pilgrims that venturing their ways to Compostela by sea could not make it to the port of *La Coruña* for some reason. From this city, the *English Camino*—drawn in lighter blue, would also start to guide many pilgrims upon arrival in Galicia, or in their ways back home on boat, after having visited the Apostle’s remains on foot. After their visit to the remains of the Apostle in Compostela, many pilgrims would also continue walking towards the ocean to reach the *End of the World* of the Romans in *Finisterre*, and from there, pilgrims started carrying back home *Scallop Shells* that very soon became the symbol of the pilgrimage to Santiago. The *Epilogue Finisterre* is marked in a darker blue in the map where we can see that it has been extended to Muxia.

For its geographic position however, the *French Camino* was the one that interested Christians the most. The *camino* marked the southern boundary of the lands that helped first the kingdom of Asturias, and later kings of León and Navarre together with the Carolingian kingdom of Charlemagne, set target to defend in the X century aided by the Abbey of Cluny. Pope Calixtus, who had belonged to this Abbey before he started his post at the Vatican See, would also help this mission in the XII century. Therefore, all these institutions strongly promoted the building of the *French Camino* in Spain as a strategy to re-colonize the depopulated area after the Moorish invasions. With their support, the *camino* [I.14] became in time a single urban design project, a linear network and

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<sup>79</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. Vol 1. “Los primeros tramos (siglos IX y X). Una Hipotesis.” *Op. Cit.* pp. 115-117; LACARRA, J.M. et al. 1949. *Op. Cit.*, pp.201; See also MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. pp. 97

This would be the path that King Alfonso III took to visit St. James remains in Galicia soon after Teodomiro’s discovery.

<sup>80</sup> Published in SPIRN, A., W., 2014. *The eye is a door.* (e-book)

infrastructure linked by the same means and purpose. This was a new spatial artifact of towns and paths that were built from the XI century on, one day's walk or horse ride distance from each other --at 40 to 60 kilometer intervals-- along the 800 kilometers that stretch from the Pyrenees to Compostela. In a symbolic metaphor, Soria i Puig compared the form of the *camino* with a *rosary* saying: “*at first sight what captures our attention are the beads, but without the wire there is no rosary.*”<sup>81</sup> Very much in the line with Marco Polo answering Kublai Khan that without stones there is no arch:

*“Marco Polo describes a bridge stone by stone. But what is the stone that supports the bridge? Asks Kublai Khan. --The Bridge is not supported by this or that stone – answers Marco, but by the line of the arch that they form. Kublai remained in silence, reflecting. Then he adds: Why do you speak to me of the stones? The only thing I care about is the arch.*

*Polo answers: - Without stones there is no arch.”*<sup>82</sup>

Similarly, in the *peregrinalis ways* towards Compostela where cities are visible in the distance to guide pilgrims in their way, there is no pilgrimage without *camino*, *stages*, or *final destination*. Soria i Puig also found in these pilgrim ways a parallel with railways. For him, pilgrim ways, like railways, were return ways that stopped every so often and had a final station. And so the author called the beads of his rosary *stations*, the wire that links them the *way*, and the *knots* that guide us to not getting lost *signals*.<sup>83</sup> From Soria i Puig we can read that the *camino* was a single designed linear infrastructure with each city forming an important station along the way. Looking closely at this time in history, I would say that the *camino* was also a spiritual fortress forming a linear wall against further Moorish incursions from the south, as portrayed in [I.15].

Arturo Soria and Jean Passini are the scholars that have analyzed in more detail these *linear city stations* or village-stages, as they respectively call them, along the *camino*. We also

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<sup>81</sup> SORIA Y PUIG, A.1991-1992. *Vol.2: Op. Cit.*, pp. 80

Rosaries were the inspiration for the map of the Spanish network of *caminos*

<sup>82</sup> CALVINO, I. 1994. *Las ciudades invisibles*. Madrid: Siruela, pp. 96

<sup>83</sup> SORIA Y PUIG, A.1991-1992. *Vol. 2: Op.Cit.* pp. 24.



learn from Soria how other authors have named these settlements.<sup>84</sup> Whereas Soria uses cartographical work from various sources, Passini's research is a solitary methodical analysis where he explores as an archeologist the evolution of the *camino* village-stages through the reading of their parcels.<sup>85</sup> As I am interested in the *camino*'s linear quality, I have re-traced on the one hand all the settlements compiled by Soria and compared them to their actual state as shown in [I.16a] and [I.16b] --the reader could use them both to look at the plans of the settlements named from now on. On the other, I have followed Passini's exploration of the evolution of the urban form and typology of the *camino* settlements, who establishes three evolutionary stages in these village-stages whose typology is determined by their size and the relationship of their parcels with the camino. What follows are his own thoughts and findings on the *camino* stages along the almost eight hundred kilometers that separate the Pyrenees mountains from Saint-Jean-Pied-de Port to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>86</sup>

For Passini, the *camino* played a leading role in organizing the territory, contributing at large scale to give hierarchy to the dispersed population inherited from the X century. For him, the simplest of the settlements was translated into the creation of hospitals and shelters in mountainous or difficult crossing places along the way. He revealed that monasteries built in the early eleventh century near the *camino* were the origin of villages whose inhabitants welcomed pilgrims and merchants. Besides, he studied the urban development of new towns of small or medium size distinguishing three phases in their evolution. In his *first phase*, sites are selected linked to the protection of pilgrims on their way and to the creation of "*village-stages*. Of these he cites the survival of Estella and Puertomarín. These initial implants are developed as small settlements between bridge and hill occupied by a tower or castle, along the second half of the eleventh century. A *second phase* follows,

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem.*, pp. 96. "ciudades itinerarias" (Itinerary Cities) in TORRES BALBÁS, 1968, pp. 104-111: "ciudad camino" (camino city) in LINAZASORO, 1978, pp. 43; or "ciudad puente" or "villa-calle-puente" (bridge city or village-street-bridge) in CARO BAROJA, 1984, pp.156 and 1989, pp. 209

<sup>85</sup> These are architects Pau Soler and Javier Serna; Manuel Gallego Jorroto,; José Luis García Grinda,; José Miguel León; Javier Vellés as well as Menéndez de Luarda and Passini himself. He also uses maps from the Navarre Treasury department.

<sup>86</sup> PASSINI, J., 2000. "Estructura de los espacios urbanos a lo largo del camino de Santiago en la época medieval." *El camino de Santiago y la sociedad medieval*. Logroño: Instituto de estudios riojanos., pp. 31-46. See also from the same author: 1988. "Identification and mapping of the French route in Spain." *A Future of our past* (Council of Europe) 32: 23-24; Or 1994: *Villes medievales. Op. Cit.*; PASSINI, J., 1993. *El camino de Santiago. Itinerario y núcleos de Población*. Madrid: MOPT

which involves the extension of the first, and corresponds to a more planned development such as Puente la Reina. From this phase along the XII century a *planned model* is born, fixed by the end of the XII century and beginning of the XIII as described in the *fueros*. Passini explains that this form of “*parcelization in a row*” will be the planning model used in several walled medieval cores in the XIII century. Passini also establishes the *types* of the settlements along the *camino*. These are for him *elementary host structures, hamlets, small towns and medium towns*.<sup>87</sup>

***Elementary host structures:*** Before and after the construction of bridges, in the eleventh century, many host structures were built where rivers had to be crossed or waded. These elementary structures were built by hermits and monastic orders encouraged by the royal power. Isolated churches and hospitals were scarce and were placed at difficult mountain passes as those of Somport or Cebreiro.

***Hamlets:*** Most settlements linked to the *camino* were developed in the vicinity of a nucleus of monastic or ecclesiastical origin. The *simplest medieval core*, whose axis is formed by the Camino de Santiago, consists of a church, a hospital and houses ***clustered*** near the road in an area ranging from *100-200 meters*. Cebreiro is a good example of this typology. There is a *second type* of village linked to the camino, characterized by a set of adjacent ***plots aligned*** along *150-200 meters*. The road to Santiago is here the main axis of circulation. To this second type belongs, among others, the village of Hornillos del Camino. The *third type* of villages linked to the road to Santiago presents adjoining ***plots in strips*** perpendicular to the path of Santiago; Larrasoña is a good example of this typology. A *fourth type* of villages are characterized by ***regular plots*** and ***straight axes*** such as Burguete and Canfranc. Both were founded and planned at the foot of the Pyrenees and are respectively related to the hospitals of Roncesvalles and Santa Cristina of Somport during the second half of the twelfth century.

***Small Towns:*** At the time of its founding, between the XI and XII centuries, small villages comprise a basic urban core and have an ecclesiastical, monastic, lordly or royal origin. The initial urban core, depending on the case a *burgo* or neighbourhood, extended along for about 200 or 350m. It is built on plots whose dimensions have been determined by

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<sup>87</sup> I have translated this text from Spanish from his publication: PASSINI, J. 2000. *OP. Cit.* pp. 31-46

whomever has assumed the partition of the surface, and its land was given by the king or abbot of the monastery to be populated. Sometimes the village comprises a church and then overlays a parish. To this type belong very different villages such as Redecilla del Camino, Cacabelos and Molinaseca.

**Medium Towns:** We understand by medium those formed from the Middle Ages by two *burgos* or two parishes or two neighborhoods or more. We distinguish between the case in which the villages are lined up along the camino to Santiago and the case where they are associated otherwise. In the first case the medium city belongs to the type of linear structure, in the second, to the complex villages. Medium villages with linear structure are Puertomarín, Puente la Reina and Sto Domingo de la Calzada. Complex medium villages are Estella and Sangüesa.

**Urban cores previous to the XI century:** Under this heading are grouped on the one hand the cities of Roman origin upgraded from the ninth century, and on the other, those developed on the basis of the ninth century defensive system. Three of the stages mentioned in the twelfth century Pilgrim's guide, León, Astorga and Pamplona are cities of Roman origin upgraded from the ninth century on for instance. Some cities in the camino such as Najera, Los Arcos, Burgos and Castrojeriz have in common their founding in VIII or IX centuries as a defensive castle on a hill. And in Castrojeriz as well as in Burgos, the first urban core is situated next to the castle.

When Passini started studying these village-stages in the 80's he explains that after all the abandonment and decline of the pilgrimage, many of the settlements preserved their original medieval urban fabrics almost intact.<sup>88</sup> After thirty years since he started this exploration the small village-stages still retain much of this medieval appearance. Some of the small village-stages along the camino have kept almost the same size from the Middle Ages such as Burguete or Villaba, or grown very little, like Navarrete or Castrojeriz. Major city-stages such as Pamplona, Logroño, Burgos, Astorga, León and Santiago have kept growing retaining, however, a medium size due to their geographical location that makes them still appealing to the modern pilgrim. In [table 1] we can see the evolution of the population along the *camino* main stages.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> During the Franco administration the camino had been promoted by car, but not on foot

<sup>89</sup> Spanish Censu [ <http://www.ine.es/inebaseweb/treeNavigation.do?tn=71824> ]

**Table 1** [©Lorena Bello]**Number of inhabitants in mayor stages:** Navarre // La Rioja // Castilla y Leon // Galicia

<b>Settlement</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2014</b>
Roncesvalles	152	26	33
Pamplona	30609	191,865	196,166
Puente la Reina	2,214	2,546	2,812
Estella-Lizarra	5,736	13,439	13,695
Los Arcos:	2,117	1,300	1,167
Torres del Rio_	392	169	135
Logroño	19,237	141,568	151,962
Najera	2,836	7,560	8,268
Santo Domingo <sup>90</sup>	3,826	6,069	6,520
Redecilla del Camino	335	148	125
Belorado	2,298	2,109	2,010
Montes de Oca <sup>91</sup> :	808	174	134
Burgos	30,167	169,682	177,776
Tardajos	919	622	802
Hornillos del Camino:	248	70	60
Castrojeriz	2,366	954	853
Fromista	1,748	928	831
Sahagun	2,787	2,908	2,783
Carrion de los Condes	3,318	2,334	2,198
Terradillos	-----	3,192	3,202
Mansilla de las Mulas	1,430	1,811	1,859
Leon	15,580	135,789	129,551
Hospital de Orbigo	844	1,080	982
Astorga	5,573	12,207	11,633
Foncebadon (Sta Colomba)-----		498	518
Ponferrada	7,188	65,111	67,367
Villafranca del Bierzo	4,424	3,729	3,251
Pedrafita do Cebreiro	4,217	1,486	1,155
Triacastela	2,584	839	721
Samos	7,507	1,923	1,458
Sarria	11,998	13,132	13,504
Portomarin	4,697	1,991	1,624
Pals de Reis	9,800	3,909	3,601
Melide	6,512	7,809	7,578
Arzua	9,036	6,632	6,261
Santiago	24,120	92,298	95,800
Negreira	5,847	6,497	7,009
Cee	4,060	7,344	7,760
Corcubion	1,551	1,964	1,672
Fisterra	4,708	5,093	4,824

[<http://www.ine.es/SID/Informe.do#>] (Demographic Information System - Municipal Register)

<sup>90</sup> Santo Domingo de la Calzada

<sup>91</sup> Villafranca, Montes de Oca

More problematic are their peripheries however, as pilgrims explained to me that it was easy to get lost in Leon and Pamplona and they had to walk for sometime among warehouses and with the close company of cars and trucks.<sup>92</sup> This is also the description of contemporary Irish writer Colm Toibin in his book *The Sign of the Cross* before he enters into the Galician territory of lanes.<sup>93</sup> The evolution of the main stages along the last ten stages of the *camino* from Cebreiro to Finisterre since the sixties will be explored in the last chapter of this dissertation. Besides the current stage of the *camino* will be explained in the next chapter. I will end now by explaining some of the influences of the *French Camino* overseas as well as the process that brought it back to being used by almost two hundred thousand modern pilgrims per year in these days.<sup>94</sup>

The *French Camino* decline mentioned by Passini started after the XV century, due to the victory over the Moors and the discovery of America, together with all the European religious and civil reform that kept distancing itself from the Catholic church as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, when we also saw in [I.12] many Spanish American colonies taking the name of St. James. Besides, it is necessary to mention the influence of the *camino*'s urbanization model in the American colonization process where *missions* were settled along rivers or coasts in a similar manner as it was the case of the *Camino Real* in Baja and Alta California.<sup>95</sup> There, the Spanish Crown, with the help of Franciscan fathers, established twenty one missions along nine hundred and sixty six kilometres (six hundred miles) at the distance of one long day horse ride from each other –around forty eight kilometres apart.<sup>96</sup> The *camino* went from today's San Diego to north of San Francisco to Sonoma county. Some of these missions evolved into pueblos and the largest of them is Los Angeles [I.17].<sup>97</sup> The Crown's main purpose with these missions was to confirm the claim

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<sup>92</sup> Personal conversations with modern pilgrims in May 2012.

<sup>93</sup> TÓIBÍN, C., 1994. *The sign of the cross : Travels in Catholic Europe*. London: Picador, pp. 116

<sup>94</sup> Cathedral of Santiago statistics: <http://peregrinosantiago.es/esp/oficina-del-peregrino/estadisticas/>

<sup>95</sup> [<http://www.missionscalifornia.com/california-missions-map.html>] For a very detailed timeline [<http://www.missionscalifornia.com/california-missions-timeline.html>] (Last Accessed Jun'15) Present day California.

<sup>96</sup> HUFFORD, D., 1901. *El Camino Real : The original highway connecting the twenty-one missions from south to north*. Los Angeles, Calif.: D.A. Hufford &. See also: JARRETT, E., & MCMANUS, BERYL J. M., 1953. *El camino real* (3rd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

<sup>97</sup> [<http://www.missionscalifornia.com/ate/why-missions-built-first-place.html>] (Last Accessed Jun'15)

of Spain to this wilderness, the wild west of the Tejuas, Apaches, etc., by settling it and creating communities and forts that would defend the land.<sup>98</sup> The *padres*' main goal on the other hand was to convert to Catholicism the Native Americans recruited into the missions.<sup>99</sup> They did that in California in 1769 after two hundred years of possessing the land, when they learned that Russians were moving farther down the Coast, from their bases in Alaska. The Spanish Crown, as in the Iberian Peninsula with the *French Camino*, used this *Camino Real* to mark their colonized territory as their frontier.<sup>100</sup> Together with being trajectories of exploration and settlement, as the *camino* was first for the Romans in the Iberian Peninsula, and then the *Camino Real* was for the Spanish Crown in California; both *caminos* also became demarcations of political and cultural borders when the enemy became close. After being long forgotten, with all of the Spanish revival as well as the Pueblo romanticism of the beginning of the XX century, the Camino Real was transformed into Highway 101 in 1925, *the King's Highway*, that has allowed ever since motorists to visit these missions along the beautiful American West Coast.<sup>101</sup> In the same manner as the *Yellow Arrow* [I.18] marks the French Camino in Spain, the Camino Real is marked by around four hundred and fifty cast iron bells that were first erected by the Camino Real association in the early 1900's.

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We can learn of the *pueblo* structure and culture from two major American figures, historian Vincent Scully who wrote SCULLY, V., 1975. *Pueblo: Mountain, village, dance*. New York: Viking Press and Landscape Architect J.B. JACKSON who started and edited the *Landscape* magazine which subtitle was in 1951 "Human Geography of the Southwest". Jackson visited the pueblos in the 1920s and then went back sixty years later as we learn in JACKSON, J.B., 1994. *A sense of place a sense of time*. New Haven: Yale University Press., pp. 15-67. In pp.29-37 he explains the basic structure of the Pueblo revealing its basic unit as the *room* with a great sense of communal space. In pp. 42 he explains, citing Marc Treib's book *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* that when the pueblos became ruins in the landscape only the churches remained as they were built out of adobe brick instead of puddling which was the technique that they used in their homes. In p.54 he explains: *The villages were half-hidden in the immense open rangeland near a stream that watered the small fields of corn and chili and beans. The surrounding landscape was organized in an almost medieval manner. Easterners are not always aware that communal control of the land and its use, with a large common for livestock, existed in the Spanish Southwest before New England had been heard of.*

<sup>98</sup> Missions were form by a church and communal houses for the Franciscans as well as the natives. As the Parish in the Old World, this was the way the Crown managed the lands of the new lands in America.

<sup>99</sup> See: [<http://www.missionscalifornia.com/ate/main-function-mission-specific-trees-found-most-missions.html>]

<sup>100</sup> Exhibit at the California Museum and links to good references [<http://www.californiamuseum.org/post/ca-missions>]

<sup>101</sup> As mentioned above with the work of Vincent Scully and J.B. Jackson

The *French Camino* was more slowly re-established than the *Camino Real* however, since the end of the XIX century when the bones of the Apostle were re-invented. After the two XX century's European World Wars and the Spanish Civil War and Franco's Dictatorship, the *camino* was brought back to life as a piece of history and religion from Medieval times first in the fifties and sixties in a process that evolved from a car trip very much like its American counterpart into the walking experience of today's modern pilgrims – a process that is very well explained by Nancy Louise Frey.<sup>102</sup> This was done first with the help of Medievalists that I introduced in the *State of the Art* such as Kingsley Porter, Whitehill or Conant among others and by mid-century historians who kept studying the Camino such as Vazquez de Parga, Uría and Lacarra; and lately by architects and civil engineers such as Passini, Soria or Menendez de Lurca. Thanks to them, the Franco government's idea of re-establishing the *camino* as a road trip, well explained in “*Sur les chemins de Compostela a l'age de la 'gazolina'*” as Frey cites,<sup>103</sup> together with Compostela's centralized idea of the city as a pilgrim destination in the same manner of Lourdes, Fatima etc. without the pilgrim network, were counterweighed by the maintenance and restoration of the *camino network* and its path itself that today is again walked by thousands of modern pilgrims per year irregardless if this is a Holy year or not.

This was done by the same government under Manuel Fraga's tenure who established the Camino de Santiago as a Historic artistic ensemble -- *conjunto historico artistico*-- in the 60's to both protect and exploit it as a historical resource.<sup>104</sup> This brought attention to the *camino* and economic support to associations that wanted to recover the *camino*'s medieval past like those in Estella.<sup>105</sup> It was also the beginning of a process of protection of the

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<sup>102</sup> In her dissertation's appendix: FREY, N., 1998. “The twentieth century reanimation.” *Pilgrim stories: On and off the road to Santiago*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 237-254. Frey describes very well this process of reanimation of the *camino* as she calls it. She explains all the people and critical events that helped the *camino* evolved from its sounded death. She cites British travel writer Richard Ford's words: “*Pilgrimage, the oriental and mediaeval form of travelling is passing away even in Spain. The carcass remains, but the spirit is fled*” from his book: FORD, R., 1855. *A handbook for travelers in Spain*. Pt.2.3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: John Murray, pp. 601

<sup>103</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 241. Frey tells us that from the 50's to the 70's many pilgrims went to Santiago by car, following the Camino de Santiago signs placed in the early 60's by the Spanish government along the National Highway 120. The early promotion opened the *camino* she says to a wide array of mobile tourists. She cites this article published in the French magazine *Éclair* “*On the roads to Compostela in the Gasoline Age*”

<sup>104</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 241

<sup>105</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 242

*French Camino* that was only finalized in 2011 ending a long process since the Council of Europe declared it *First European Itinerary* in 1984 and later a UNESCO *Cultural Itinerary* in 2005.<sup>106</sup> UNESCO's declaration came after the city of Santiago was named a World heritage site in 1987, followed by the declaration of the *French Camino* in 1993 and the four *Caminos* in France in 1998.<sup>107</sup> In parallel, grassroots movements along the *camino* such as the confraternities of St James or Friends of the Camino de Santiago, together with individual actions like those of father Don Elías Valiña from Cebreiro enormously helped to re-establish the walking *camino* in Spain.<sup>108</sup> In the last quarter of the twentieth century strong promotional campaigns, especially in 1989 and 1993 were paired up to the Holy Years to publicize the pilgrimage. This received again the support of a twentieth century Pope: instead of Calixto, Pope John Paul II visited Santiago during the same Holy Years with a great affluence of young Catholics.<sup>109</sup> Frey's research shows that a sharp transition occurred in the 80's and 90's when participants began to reject the car in favour of walking and then cycling the route, a transition which has continued evolving until these days.<sup>110</sup>

To end, we have seen that in both the *Camino Real* and *French Camino*, as well as we saw before in the High Line or the Promenade Plantée, their renewal only arrived when these infrastructures were already in decay, after their golden ages were long gone. J.B. Jackson explains in *The Necessity of Ruins* that this is always the case for renewal, the arrival first to

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<sup>106</sup> Look at the Camino Protection Sources in the Bibliography of this work for more info.

DECRETO 144/2012, 29 of June (DOG nº 133, de 12/07/2012) Protection approved from O Pino to Lavacolla.; DO. GALICIA O EN BOE 21 de marzo de 2012, num.69/2012 (p.24980). The *camino* is protected from Cebreiro to the municipality of O Pino.;

COE. 1984. *Primer Itinerario Cultural Europeo*. Council of Europe Declaration. Accessed on January 2012. [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Routes/compostella\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Routes/compostella_en.asp) (2/2/12)

<sup>107</sup> UNESCO (Go to Bibliography and look for protection)

<sup>108</sup> As mentioned before he will drive the *camino* during the summers of the late 70's and 80's to help signal the *camino* with painted yellow arrows.

<sup>109</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 249. He visited Compostela in 1989 and 1993.

<sup>110</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 244. See also pp. 254:

"Beginning in the 1950's and 1960's the pilgrimage developed as a touristic and cultural way called the Camino de Santiago based on political reconstruction and a budding nostalgia for preserving medieval European patrimony. During this portion of its current revitalization performance of the journey was not paramount. The reanimation took an unexpected turn in the 1980s and 1990s when the act of making the pilgrimage as a long-distance physical journey based on models of the medieval past became popular on a wide scale."



decay and oblivion.<sup>111</sup> We have learned that the *French Camino* was recovered as a medieval artefact, a piece of the past that is walked today by many *modern pilgrims*. However, in Europe we have also learnt from Francoise Choay how the cult of the *historic monument* from the Renaissance became ambivalent after 1972 when UNESCO began to protect the cultural and natural heritage to transform it into an object of mediatic cult and workship. And how after assessment, conservation, restoration and modernization to derive profit from them, historic areas have become the scene of the heritage industry that used them for cultural consumption.<sup>112</sup> The *camino* and its network should avoid this necrosis now that it has been reclaimed and protected. With Choay's lessons in mind we could argue that a new contemporary layer could be added to this infrastructure that enhances the relationship between the walker and her/his immediate nature along the way, at the time that keeps the local/foreigner difference along the way. As part of the charm of the *camino* has been always to traverse foreign lands. Besides, her idea of articulation through the fabrics' open spaces could be transferred to the *camino* with the articulation of the network through the public open spaces adjacent to its path as well as the path itself along its whole length.

In parallel, even if I find Soria's metaphor of the camino as a train infrastructure of stations, ways and signals very compelling, and as much as the train travel is far better and more relaxing over long distances than that done by car, the camino is far from being a mechanic experience, and involves much more effort than the enjoyable landscape scenery perceived in sitting mode from the train coach, as will be explained in the last chapter. Besides, train infrastructure puts a cadence on the stations only and just keeps the maintenance of the railway in between. This cadence on the stops usually forgets about the experience and

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<sup>111</sup> JACKSON, J-B., Jackson, 1980. "The necessity of ruins." *The necessity for ruins, and other topics*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, pp. 102 "... *First there is that golden age, the time of harmonious beginnings. Then ensues a period when the old days are forgotten and the golden age falls into neglect. Finally comes a time when we rediscovered seek to restore the world around us to something as its former beauty. But there has to be that interval of neglect, there has to be discontinuity; it is religiously and artistically essential. That is what I mean when I refer to the necessity for ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins. There has to be an interim of death or rejection before there can be renewal and reform. The old order has to die before there can be a born-again landscape...*"

<sup>112</sup> CHOAY, F., 2001. "Historic heritage and the contemporary culture industry." *The invention of the historic monument*. Cambridge, U.K., New York: Cambridge U. P, p. 138-163

movement of the walker from station to station. On the other hand --secular and touristic-- the *camino* cannot any longer be understood only as a rosary, as many are the religions and reasons for people walking along this route today as Frey pointed out already in 1998:

*“... The pilgrimage has not become reanimated as a strictly religious journey but has been amply interpreted as an ideal way **to enjoy “leisure with meaning”** for middle-class, urban, educated, and largely male Europeans. The role of the pilgrim not as a solely a religious traveller but as a more generalized seeker, wanderer, and adventurer became popularized and an ideal way to realize personal and social goals.”*<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> FREY, N., 1998. *Op. Cit.* , pp. 254

## 2. Drawing the line from pilgrimage to walking

### 2.1 A Pilgrim World

Pilgrimage is a ubiquitous global phenomena and the archetype we discover in many religions, as will be explained in this chapter. From east to west, from primitive to contemporary times, millions of people have been in a personal journey that is as much a way to their interior as it is a way to reach an important spiritual goal by visiting a sacred destination.<sup>1</sup> This long journey, known as *a pilgrimage*, is practiced in almost all religions with the notable absence of Americans, who have nonetheless started to walk the *camino*; fifty thousand of them have reached Santiago in the last ten years.<sup>2</sup> To explain its meaning, many scholars name pilgrimage's Latin roots, *peregrī or peregre*, as well as *per ager*, as the journey normally involves the traverse of *foreign* fields far away from our homes and outside our secular every day.<sup>3</sup> Figure [II.1] portrays a world in movement towards many different sacred targets by the millions. An estimate according to United Nations of three hundred and thirty million pilgrims a year --including thirty million to Tirupati in India, twenty million to Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico, fifteen million to Karbala in Iraq, and four million to Lourdes.<sup>4</sup> Within them, the one hundred million pilgrims bathing at the crossing of the Ganges and Yamuna rivers in Allahabad during the last 55-day ***Kumbh Mela*** stands out, as does the ephemeral city that needs to pop up with it, to host a minimum

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<sup>1</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. *Pilgrimage: from the Ganges to Graceland: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO. p.xvii ... *three fundamental beliefs have launched humans to pilgrimage. First is there are infinitely greater forces than ourselves that could influence our lives. Second, each of us has the potential starting a meaningful relationship with these forces. Third, there are certain places where the remote and transcendental power of these forces seems close enough for us to touch them.*

<sup>2</sup> DAVIDSON, L. K. & DUNN, M., 1996. *The pilgrimage to Compostela in the Middle Ages. A book of essays*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., pp. xiv, ... *not only is the practice of making a pilgrimage to a holy spot foreign to the inhabitants of the U.S., but American understanding of pilgrimage has little place in American religious practice.*

According to the cathedral's statistics 48,800 American pilgrims arrived to Santiago in this period. The number of pilgrims has been growing steadily from only 2028 in 2004 to 11577 in 2014. [<http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] (Accessed Oct'14)

<sup>3</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. *Op. Cit.*, pp. xviii; see also SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-92. Vol 1. *Op. Cit.* pp. 53-74 ... *originally pilgrimage was walking through strange or foreign lands. The adverb derives from "per ager" which means to traverse fields more or less wild.*

<sup>4</sup> FEILER, B., 2014. "The New Allure of Sacred Pilgrimages." *The New York Times*. Accessed July'15. [[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/21/sunday-review/the-new-allure-of-sacred-pilgrimages.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/21/sunday-review/the-new-allure-of-sacred-pilgrimages.html?_r=0)] First International Congress on tourism and pilgrimage [<http://www.pilgrimage2014.com/?lang=en>]

of thirty million pilgrims per night during this twelve year cycle event. Just imagine that the population of Spain and Italy together, will pass through these river crossings, two thirds the size of Manhattan, in the course of fifty five days<sup>5</sup> Rahul Mehrotra's recent publication describes this ephemeral megacity well, where we find out the huge infrastructural efforts that the government needs to deploy at this river crossing and *tirtha*, one of the holiest places on earth for Hindus.<sup>6</sup> Kumbh Mela as an extreme, and rising numbers of other pilgrimage destinations like the *camino*, show that even in a secularizing global world, pilgrimage is more popular than ever, as will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Many scholars coincide in asserting that this popularity comes in part as a result of modern revolutions in transportation, communication and technology as these amplify the possibilities and means to reach pilgrimage destinations in the twenty first century. Within them, **Diana Eck**, who has studied Indian pilgrimage for thirty years, tells us that these revolutions have stimulated an even greater flow of pilgrimage traffic in this country --as we have already discovered with the Kumbh.<sup>7</sup> From her we learn that this increase can also be seen in the high Himalayas, where shrines are reached by pilgrimage bus lines that puff up the roads by the hundreds, and package tours are advertised on the internet to the four

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<sup>5</sup> The size of the ephemeral city is fifty two square kilometers. ECK, D., & BHATT, K., 2015. "Understanding the Kumbh Mela." *Kubhn Mela. Mapping the ephemeral megacity*. Mehrotra, R & VERA, F. eds. Berlin: Hatje Cantz, Harvard University and South Asia Institute, pp.31

<sup>6</sup> MEHROTRA, R & VERA, F., eds., 2015. *Kunbh Mela. Mapping the ephemeral megacity*. Berlin: Hatje Cantz, Harvard University and South Asia Institute.

CHUAN HAO CHEN., 2015. "Maximum load vignette." *Kubhn Mela. Mapping the ephemeral megacity*. Mehrotra, R & VERA, F. eds. Berlin: Hatje Cantz, Harvard University and South Asia Institute, pp.173-201 ...according to the official government numbers (2013) the following infrastructure was deployed: 18 pontoon bridges, 156.2 Km of roads, 99 parking lots, 5 temporary bus stations, 7 train stations were used. 892 regular buses and 3,608 special buses brought in 9 million pilgrims, and 750 trains were in operation. To control the influx of crowds and to fight fires, 30 police stations and 30 fire stations were setup. 12,461 state policemen were supplemented with military forces. 85 closed circuit cameras and 56 watchtowers were employed at key sites. 14 hospitals practicing allopathic, homeopathic, and ayurvedic medicines with 370 beds were set up. About 35,000 individual toilets, 7,500 trench toilets and 1,000 non-conventional toilets were setup as well. Over 70,000 people were employed to control the crowd. In the same publication see also: LEE, M & CORRAL, J. P. "Deployment maps," pp. 251-265

ECK, D.L. 2012. *India: A Sacred Geography*. New York: Harmony Books. Random House, pp. 7 ... *The places pilgrim seek out are called tirthas, literally 'fords' or 'crossings,' coming from a verbal root meaning 'to cross over.'* In ancient times, the tirtha was a place to ford the river, and many of India's religious tirthas are, to be sure, on the banks and at the confluence of its great rivers. Also in pp.10. "... For at least two thousand years, pilgrimage to the tirthas has been one of the widespread.

<sup>7</sup> ECK, D.L. 2012. *India: A Sacred Geography*. New York: Harmony Books. Random House, pp. 441

*dhams*.<sup>8</sup> A pilgrimage called *char-dham* even covers in a circle the whole Indian territory.<sup>9</sup> Eck also adds that the organization of touristic tours is a rising business and that *tithayatras* --pilgrimages--, in luxury buses are announced including dozens of these sacred places in their itineraries.<sup>10</sup> Vaishno Devi for instance grew from 1,396,000 in 1986 to 8,235,000 in 2009; and beginning in 2007 more than half a million pilgrims started the long journey to Amarnath in Kashmir, despite the political tensions in the area.<sup>11</sup> As with the *camino* in medieval times, pilgrimage paths always seem to become safe havens in the territory, out of a general global respect towards pilgrims, and as those walking along these believed sacred paths feel that external forces would keep them safe. Due to this rising number of pilgrimage in India that accounts for fifty per cent of its package tours philosopher Meera Nanda says that *globalization* has been good for the *Gods*.<sup>12</sup>

In **Ian Reader**'s studies, we also learn that Japanese pilgrimage is thriving along the island's sacred paths as well.<sup>13</sup> These pilgrimages have become internationally renowned and many pilgrims from all over the world go to Japan to walk along these sacred networks. Like in India, pilgrims performing the *Shikoku Henro* or the *Kumano Kodo* pilgrimages, one of the most internationally popular, have also increased enormously as tour buses allow elderly people to go who could not otherwise.<sup>14</sup> The language of pilgrimage in Japan speaks

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<sup>8</sup> ECK, D.L. 2012. *Op. Cit.*, pp.10. For a definition of dham see: Eck, L. Diana 1998. Darsan."Pilgrimage and Landscape." Seeing the divine image in India. Columbia University Press: New York. 1st ed. 1981  
*dham*. "abode" A sacred place known as the abode of a God. There are four big dhams in India: Badrinath, Puri, Ramesvaram y Dvaraka.

<sup>9</sup> ECK, D.L. 2012. *Op. Cit.* pp.29.

<sup>10</sup> ECK, D.L., 1998. "Pilgrimage and Landscape." Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India. Columbia University Press: New York. 1st ed. 1981 ... Tithayatra. The journey (yatra) to the sacred place (titha) a Pilgrimage. Seen at: Eck, L. Diana 1998. "Image and Pilgrimage." Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India. Columbia University Press: New York. 1st ed. 1981

<sup>11</sup> ECK, D.L. 2012. *Op. Cit.* pp. 443

<sup>12</sup> NANDA, M. (2011). *The god market how globalization is making India more Hindu*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

<sup>13</sup> READER, I R., 2005. *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. See also READER, I R. & SWANSON, P.L, 1997. "Pilgrimage in Japan." Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, Vol. 24, No. 3/4, READER, I. & SWANSON, P.L. eds., pp. 225-270; READER, I R., 1991. *Religion in Contemporary Japan*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillans, and Honolulu: University of Hawaii., See also: BANZAI, M., 1973. *A Pilgrimage to the 88 temples in Shikoku Island*. Tokyo: Kodansha.

<sup>14</sup> See documentary: FEILER, B. S., DERRICK, W., VINCENT, B., MEHDI, A., JEFFS, J., MAYA VISION INTERNATIONAL., WGBH (Television station: Boston, Mass.) PBS Distribution (Firm), 2014. "Shikoku." *Sacred journeys with Bruce Feiler*.

for the long-lasting tradition of this practice in their culture. *Junrei, Junpai, Henro, Meguri, Mode, Mairi, Sankei, Sangu, Sanpai, Yugyo, Reijo and Fudasho or Nyubu*, are some of the different types of pilgrimages that Reader describes, which speak for the differences in the form of the sacred network --line or circle-- or venerated deity, place or sacred feature.<sup>15</sup> Pilgrimage in Japan is as rich in language as it is in protocols, expressed in the many pieces that form the sacred site of the temple. Studying the temples in Shikoku, **Hiroshi Tanaka** finds the surprising figure of 36 different units forming part of this sacred architecture, where pilgrims perform all sorts of rituals.<sup>16</sup> *Duishido (Daishi hall), Dohyo (pilgrim road sign), Meihyo (temple name marker), Kuri (priest's residency), Koro (incense burner), Hondo (main hall), Toro (lantern), Kuyoto (memorial stupa), Yashiro (kami building), Honnoseiho (donation stone)* are some of them. The Shikoku Henro shares some commonalities with the *camino* as pilgrims still wear a distinctive white outfit that distinguishes them along the path; they follow a temple marked route; stay at supporting hostels along the way; and communities along the path support pilgrims. The 1385 kilometers of the whole circle that links the 88 temples around the island of Shikoku is the largest pilgrimage in Japan, making it too long in time and also in cost for many pilgrims. This is still the case after relocations, a shift in the embarkation point, changes in the sequence of temple visiting, and a decrease in the time and distance of the journey through which the pilgrimage has evolved to the present.<sup>17</sup> Still today, as has been historically the case, many pilgrims divide the path in different sections in order to walk its whole length at different times.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> READER, I R., 2005. *Op. Cit.*, pp 232-238.

<sup>16</sup> TANAKA, H., 1977. "Geographic expression of Buddhist pilgrim places on Shikoku island, Japan." University of Lethbridge. *Canadian Geographer*, XXI, 2, pp. 112

<sup>17</sup> TANAKA, H., 1977. "The evolution of pilgrimage as a spatial symbolic system." University of Lethbridge. *Canadian Geographer*, XXV, 3, pp. 240

<sup>18</sup> READER, I R. & SWANSON, P.L, 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 241 ... While many pilgrims may perform these pilgrimages in one journey, the custom of doing so in stages is also widespread. In Shikoku, for example, the 88 sites are spread across the four provinces (now prefectures) of the island, and the custom has existed from the Tokugawa era of pilgrims, especially those resident in Shikoku, who did not have the time or money to do the whole route, to visit the sites of one province at a time. Given that the Shikoku route is over 1300 kilometers long and that it takes a considerable amount of time and effort to perform (six weeks or more to perform by foot, ten or more days by bus), the practice of breaking the journey into a number of stages is also very popular in the present day

This has also been the case for many pilgrims walking the *camino* in these days, who have divided its whole length in sections from France, Germany, Brussels, etc. in order to be able to accomplish it within their vacation time.<sup>19</sup> Even within Spain, a guide exists to walk the *camino*'s almost 800 kilometers from Roncesvalles to Santiago in fifteen weekends.<sup>20</sup> Pilgrims start today at St. Jean Pied de Port or Roncesvalles and they walk for a minimum of 31 days until they reach Santiago. Therefore, due to contemporary time constraints, common pilgrims walking the whole length of the *camino* are normally young students or retired workers.<sup>21</sup> Luxury tours on the other hand, are also offered for the *camino* in these days. One in particular is organized to walk and ride the *camino* in eleven days from Navarra to Santiago for 3375 euros, being coordinated by anthropologist Nancy Fey who wrote her dissertation on the *camino* back in the 90s.<sup>22</sup> The popularity of pilgrimage and the rising of pilgrims in this *walking world* are visible as well in the *camino*, where the increments in the number of pilgrims are large [II.2]. Using the same year as Eck does, we find 2,491 pilgrims who arrived walking to Santiago in 1986 whereas 272,135 did so during the 2010 Holy Year. The difference however, is even greater if compared to previous Holy Years before the *camino* was recovered as explained in the previous chapter, with only 451 arriving in Santiago in 1971, or 243 in 1976. Besides, the *camino* has also maintained since the 2000s a high and steady number of pilgrims, even when the years are not Holy.<sup>23</sup> This speaks for the new multi-cultural and multi-religious values of the *camino*, as those walking to Santiago are no longer looking to reduce their time in *Purgatorio*.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> During my walk on the *camino* I met German pilgrim Roswitha Zoell who had started the camino at her home near Stuttgart back in 2003 and walked three weeks per summer ever since to arrive in Santiago in May 2012. Sally Young, Loeb fellowship coordinator at the GSD started her *camino* in Le Puy many years ago and has performed several transects of it walking and making watercolors along the French countryside.

<sup>20</sup> [<http://www.jacobeo.net/index.php?m=catalogo&tipo=7&pad=39>] last accessed, Jun'15

<sup>21</sup> [<http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] last accessed Jun'15.

<sup>22</sup> *On Foot in Spain. Walking and Hiking Educational Adventures* [<https://www.onfootinspain.com/tours/tours/camino-de-santiago>] FREY, N.L., 1998. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>23</sup> After the year 2010, 192,488 pilgrims arrived walking in 2012 and 219, 659 in 2014. In the past only 146 reached Santiago in 1982 after 1,868 did it the previous Holy year for instance. [<http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] last accessed Jun'15.

<sup>24</sup> As explained in the previous chapter, pilgrims walked to Santiago in the Middle Ages following that belief.

On the other side of the Atlantic, along the eastern coast in the US, the long and arduous 2000 miles (3541 kilometers) of the **Appalachian Trail** has not stopped hikers either. And the number of those completing its whole length has also increased along the twentieth century. In fact, more trail completions were reported for the year two thousand alone, than in the first 40 years combined.<sup>25</sup> Along these two thousand *milers*,<sup>26</sup> from its construction in the 1930s, this trail has been walked by many hikers using it as a regional resource who have never accomplished its whole length [II.3]. Even if totally secular in nature, I will argue at the end of this chapter that, for those hiking its whole length from Maine to Georgia, the trail shares many of the characteristics of contemporary pilgrim paths like the *camino*. Something that can be already read in the Appalachian Trail conservancy's description of the trail: "...*We could use a little more beauty in our lives. In a constantly connected world of smart phones, social media and 24-hour news cycles, it's important to know that there is still a place fresh, green and still where you can disconnect. A place to let your spirit soar. A place where wildflowers grow along a woodland trail, a place that time forgot where a bird song is purest music, where a mountain stream dashes boldly over rocks, where sunlight slants through a cathedral of tall trees. Do you long for peace, tranquility and the serenity of wild and open spaces like these? Then I am delighted to remind you, the Appalachian Trail is a ribbon of natural beauty, running right through the overcrowded, over developed East Coast. It is truly a piece of simpler time running through the backyard of America ... a migratory bird flyway and the headwaters of numerous watersheds and reserve of 40,000 American Chestnuts.*"<sup>27</sup> I will come back to this natural reserve in the next subchapter.

The sacred targets for this *pilgrim world* on the Eastern side of the Atlantic, stretches also from natural features such as mountains, rocks, waterfalls, rivers or springs to magnificent temples.<sup>28</sup> But cathedrals in Europe are not made of trees but of stones<sup>29</sup>, the latter normally *overlaying*, in the words of **Luccy Lippard**, a previous and ancient ritual practice as many

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<sup>25</sup>By 1980, the total number of 2,000-milers had increased more than ten-fold. The total had doubled by 1990 and again by 2000. More hike completions were reported for the year 2000 alone than in the first 40 years combine. In 1930s only 5 completed the whole trail, in the 1970s 775 hikers made it, and in the 2010s 4,019 have already completed the trail. [<http://www.appalachiantrail.org/about-the-trail/2000-milers>] last accessed Jun'15.

<sup>26</sup>This is the name those hiking the whole length receive.

<sup>27</sup>This is a letter that the Appalachian Trail Conservancy sends to all its members. This is the August 2015 one.

<sup>28</sup>NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. "Sanctuaries as sacred places." *Christian Pilgrimage in modern western Europe*. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 10. ... There are more than 2000 shrines in western Europe that are linked to a natural shape of the landscape as a source rock mountain or tree. See page 305 for comparison table.

<sup>29</sup>See previous description of the Appalachian Trail



other scholars also argue.<sup>30</sup> British anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner use the term ‘baptizing the customs’ to describe how first the Christian and then the Catholic Church assimilated local practices as it spread across Europe and Americas.<sup>31</sup> **Davidson and Gitliz** tell us for instance to look in central Mexico under a Christian pilgrimage church to find an Aztec temple, under which most probably a Toltec sacred place was or still remains. As for India, they tell us that sanctuaries were settled most of the time over their Buddhist predecessors. In the same way that some sustain that *Kaaba’s* sacred black rock in **Mecca**, or the one at temple Mount in Jerusalem [II.4] were worshiped long before religion established control over them.<sup>32</sup> Even the Appalachian Trail overlays an ancient Indian trail, the great *Indian Warpath* and the *Canterbury Pilgrim Way* in England overlaps an ancient path.<sup>33</sup> Both, trading routes in their origins, have evolved as green ways in their countries.<sup>34</sup> Canterbury was the point of departure for those on pilgrimage to Rome along the Via Francigena in the Middle Ages, plot also for Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>35</sup> As Elizabeth Diller explained, the High line has been copied in many parts of the world and the *Promenade Plantée* has also had a resurgence after the High Line’s acclaimed success. The success of the *camino* is also awakening other forgotten walking lines in Europe, as that from Winchester to Canterbury that since October 2014 has entered the *green pilgrimage*

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<sup>30</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Overlay: contemporary art and the art of prehistory*. New York : Pantheon Books  
On matters of pre-Christian pilgrimage look at NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. *Op. Cit.*, pp.5; they cite: Davidson, *Gods and Myths*; Delcourt, *Sanctuaries de la Grece*; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*; MavNeill, *Festival of Lahnasa*; Ogilvie, *Romans and their Gods*; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*; and Sculland, *Festivals and Ceremonies*.

<sup>31</sup> TURNER, V., TURNER, E. 2011. *Image and pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1<sup>st</sup>ed. 1978 . Publications from the same authors are: “The Center Out There” and “Dramas, Fields and Metaphors”.

<sup>32</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. *Op. Cit.*, pp.xix. also pp. 220-224 ... Popular legends say that the black stone is a meteorite worshiped by pre-Muslims.

<sup>33</sup> MacKaye B., 1921. “An Appalachian trail: a project in regional planning.” Reprint *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 19 (Oct), pp.4 ... The Appalachian Trail was the “longest marked path in the world paralleled by the age-old, greatest of Indian Trails –the great Indian Warpath—which formerly extended from the Creek territory in Alabama north into Pennsylvania, the low land or valley counterpart of the crest-line Appalachian trail. Cited in EASTERLING, K. 1999. *Organization space: Landscapes, highways, and houses in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 41

<sup>34</sup> Bright, D., 2011. *The Pilgrims' Way: Fact and Fiction of an Ancient Trackway*. The History Press. In Bright’s research we find that people who have described this evolution are Julia Cartwright in her book *The Pilgrims Way from Winchester to Canterbury*, published in 1895 and Hillaire Belloc in *The Old Road* published in 1904; Hillaire says that the route as originally used for trading of Tin and other metals in the Iron Age. For the evolution of the Pilgrims Way as a Green Way look at: [<http://www.pilgrimswaycanterbury.org/green-pilgrimage/>] (Last Accessed Jun’15)

<sup>35</sup> Chaucer, G., Hieatt, A. Kent, & Hieatt, Constance B. (1964). *Canterbury tales: Tales of Canterbury* (Bantam dual-language book). New York: Bantam Books.

*network*.<sup>36</sup> All the partners involved in this network have the motto to leave no trace on the earth, something that has been for many years the motto of those hiking the Appalachian Trail. The Overlay of meanings, history and constructions go hand in hand with religious sacred spaces, as will be explained in depth in the next sub chapter. This is also the case for the Galician territory –a sacred destination since the Middle Ages for those in pilgrimage towards St. James’ sanctuary in Compostela. In Galicia as well, Christianity was imposed over previous rites, worships and infrastructures, as we will discover soon. It is precisely the *overlay* of generations of walkers taking the same path for centuries what makes these paths resilient.

On the other hand, in this secular global world which is multi-national, multi-cultural, multi-religious and rapidly urbanizing -- the overlay of different layers of religions comes hand in hand with an evolution in the protocols that pilgrims use to reach their destinations, as was discussed above, together with the *overlay* of different cultures using the same paths. Pilgrims to Compostela have arrived walking from **187** different **countries** in the last ten years [II.2a, 2b], as do also those flying to **Mecca** who have transformed the most sacred city for Muslims into a **pilgrim hub** in the twenty first century [II.5].<sup>37</sup> Jidda airport, sixty kilometers away from Mecca, counted three hundred landings and takeoffs just prior to the hajj period during the last five days of the twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> Whereas the *camino* serves as a goal for a far broader public and many modern pilgrims claim to walk for spiritual reasons as well as cultural ones, only Muslims can enter Mecca’s sacred territory.<sup>39</sup> The bigger difference remaining in the *camino* is its being a long journey where path and destination have come back to be equally important, confronting a Mecca where everything

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<sup>36</sup>[<http://greenpilgrimage.net/>] For the explanation about this network:[<https://www.canterburydiocese.org/green-pilgrimage-network/> ] partners of this network [<http://greenpilgrimage.net/about/partners/>] (Last Accessed June’15)

<sup>37</sup> I have collected all the countries cited in the Santiago Cathedral statistics in the period 2004-2014.

[<http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] last accessed Jun’15.

<sup>38</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. pp. 220 ... Muslims pilgrims travel to Saudi Arab" from all over the world. Until the late nineteenth century, the journey to Mecca involved pilgrim caravans across the desert, usually following trade routes, the majority coming through Damascus. Prior to 1869 travel could take several months; the journey from Damascus to Medina took 30 days. When the Suez Canal opened in 1869, steamships shortened the journey. It is now common to have chartered flights to Mecca from all over the globe. During the last five days of the twentieth century the airport at Jidda counted 300 landings and takeoffs just prior to the hajj period. As soon as the hajj begins airport activity ceases.

<sup>39</sup> DAVIDSON, L. K. & DUNN, M., 1996. *Op. Cit.*, pp. xvi

happens within the boundaries of the city. Finally, we find another difference in the *camino network* supporting those on their way, confronted with a Mecca booming with luxury hotels surrounding the Grand Mosque --where suites with the best views of Kaaba can almost reach six thousand euros per night.<sup>40</sup> In huge contrast with this astonishing figure, a luxury accommodation in Santiago by the side of the Cathedral at the Parador of the Catholic Kings can be booked for less than three hundred euros per night, and all around the city, a standard accommodation will not be more expensive than fifty euros.

In a much more consumerist and economically divided society, tourists have also become a hazard for pilgrims in a personal journey. Under laissez-faire governments that have kept exploiting these sacred destinations, as Choay explains, the different rhythms and journey expectations of those taking the long road, should be kept in mind when allowing hordes of people to ‘consume’ some of the stages along the way.<sup>41</sup> This is the case for the *camino*, where walking pilgrims complain about the noisy tourists traveling in buses along the route and just stopping by the different city-stages.<sup>42</sup> Silence and timelessness, being one of the best regarded mottos of the *camino* in its modern renewal, strongly contrasts with those in a hurry to get from city to city by bus.<sup>43</sup> The silence of the *camino* also counterbalances buzzing pilgrim places like India with its millions of pilgrims in their way to receive *darshan*.<sup>44</sup> India’s sacred geography and pilgrim networks, as Diana Eck has studied them, have become a really interesting case study within this *pilgrim world*.<sup>45</sup> As the country of India is still so deeply religious, that allows us to picture the fervor pilgrims could have experienced along the *camino* during the Middle Ages. Its *melas*, on the other hand, also

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<sup>40</sup> WAINWRIGHT, O., 2015. “City in the sky: world’s biggest hotel to open in Mecca.” The Guardian 22<sup>nd</sup> May: [<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2015/may/22/worlds-biggest-hotel-to-open-in-mecca>] (Last Accessed May’15) Wainwright writes 4000 British pounds per night.

<sup>41</sup> CHOAY, F., 2001. *Op. Cit.* pp. 138-163

<sup>42</sup> Personal conversations with modern pilgrims in May 2012.

<sup>43</sup> RUDOLPH, C. 2004. *Pilgrimage to the end of the world. The road to Santiago de Compostela*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 35 ... “*what there is [in the camino] is enormous silence and solitude. And the result of all this –not just for me but for all the other long-term pilgrims I spoke with—was a sense of timelessness, or very slowly moving time; the sensation of timelessness of progress, that time and distance, the seemingly basic components of all travel, no longer played a leading role in the journey. I completely lost sense of time and, to a certain extent of space*”

<sup>44</sup> ECK, L. D., 1998. *Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1st ed. 1981  
Darshan means *vision* and in the religious tradition and the visual perception of the sacred. Hindus go to the temple not to pray, but for the darshan, that is to see and be seen by the deity.

<sup>45</sup> ECK, D.L. 2012. *India: A Sacred Geography*. New York: Harmony Books. Random House

remind us of the *romerías* that still happen in many small and medium towns along Europe in infinitely smaller numbers than the Kumbh.<sup>46</sup> These are the sanctuaries of Lourdes, Fatima or Medjugorje as well as Santiago or Roma, that pop out of the six thousand pilgrim centers in western Europe that Nolan & Nolan have named and studied to some extent and with their info, I have geo-coded some of them in [II.1].<sup>47</sup> All these sanctuaries together received back in 1989 between sixty and seventy million pilgrims that could reach one hundred million during the year, when tourists were included –same number that Kumbh Mela received in only 55 days.<sup>48</sup> Within them, the **city-sanctuary of Lourdes** is the more similar to Mecca, as most of the four million pilgrims it receives every season, usually arrive by charter flights or buses. Besides, once pilgrims or tourists get there, they will stay within the two hundred and fifty hotels that the city has, that like in Mecca, also offer deluxe accommodations.<sup>49</sup> Lourdes as a hub in Europe is well described by Irish writer **Colm Toibn** who explains how he uses the affordable flights from Catholic Ireland to Lourdes in order to get to Barcelona.<sup>50</sup> I myself have taken advantage of the affordable Air Lingus flights from Dublin to Santiago used by contemporary Catholic Irish in order to walk the last one hundred kilometers of the *camino*.<sup>51</sup> As many other pilgrims in these days, they do so in order to get *the Compostela* [II.6a], given by the Santiago Cathedral to those proving with their *pilgrim passports* that they have walked –also on horse—that same distance or ride a bike for the last 200 kilometers.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> For an explanation of melas go to: ECK, D.L., & BHATT, K., 2015. *Op. Cit.*, pp.31; Spanish name for pilgrimages in the Middle Ages that have evolved into religious and secular hybrids.

<sup>47</sup> NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 5

<sup>48</sup> NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2 See table 2.1 in chapter 2.

<sup>49</sup> The total number of hotels is taken from GONZALEZ, D., 2012. “A photographic vision in Lourdes.” *The New York Times*. (Dec 17<sup>th</sup>). [<http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/17/a-photographic-vision-at-lourdes/>]After Paris, Lourdes is the place with more hotels per square kilometer.

At Lourdes’ official site they count 80,000 sick or disabled people arriving to the sanctuary per year. Accessed Nov’12. [<http://en.lourdes-france.org/deepen/the-signs-of-lourdes/the-sick-and-the-hospitaliers>]

<sup>50</sup> TÓIBÍN, C., 1994. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8 ... *the following year I wanted to go to Barcelona a visit and I find that the cheapest way to get there was by flying to Lourdes and taking the train from there to Barcelona.*

<sup>51</sup> My connecting flight from Boston was on the other hand full with part of the big Irish community who has been settling in Boston since the nineteenth century. So this was a hybrid flight supported by cultural and religious reasons.

<sup>52</sup> The *Compostela* is awarded by the Cathedral of Santiago to pilgrims who have walked or travelled on horseback at least the last 100kms of their journey to Santiago and, if travelling by bicycle, the last 200kms. It was established in 1971. You need to have made the pilgrimage for religious reasons or for a similar motivation such as a vow. You need to have walked or travelled on horseback at least the last 100kms, or cycled the last 200kms, to arrive at the tomb of the Apostle in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

This *pilgrim passport* is the modern version of the *safe conduct* that allowed pilgrims in medieval Europe to be free walkers across a closed and walled territory [II.6b].<sup>53</sup> Domenico Laffi's account of his three journeys to the west, describes the protocols involved in crossing these walls city after city:<sup>54</sup> "... When we reached Narbonne they asked us what country we were from and where we were going. We told them we were Italians and on our way to Galicia so they let us in. At the entrance of the town you are confronted by a high and strong wall with very substantial bastions and raveling, their walls all faced with masonry..." or in Pamplona "... at the gate there are very tall guards who ask you what country you come from and where you are going. Also they wish to see the King's passports. Having been shown them, they led you before the viceroy who asks the same questions. If you don't reply correctly nor have a valid passport they send you to the galleys"<sup>55</sup> –protocols that make you think in the present about contemporary airport *customs*, especially those in America. Also along the *camino* today, by showing their pilgrim passports at the public *albergues* or hostels run by the government, pilgrims can sleep for only five euros a night by sharing communal rooms as they did in hospitals, churches or monasteries in the past.<sup>56</sup> Some monasteries, converted into *paradores* during the twentieth century, form part of the luxurious hotels the *camino* offers along its route as well, and many private *hosteleros* also shelter pilgrims respecting the states of *liminality* and *comunitas* that characterizes this way of walking towards Santiago in these days.<sup>57</sup> Victor and Edith Turner described *liminality* as that state that allows pilgrims to break with their everyday and which marks a parenthesis in time.<sup>58</sup>

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You should collect at least two sellos (stamps) each day on your credencial. This will usually be where you sleep and one other place such as a Church, ayuntamiento, café etc. You must ensure that you do this at least in the last 100 kms from the Cathedral of Santiago if you are walking or on horseback and 200 kms if you are travelling by bicycle.

Online: [<http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/pilgrimage/the-compostela/>]

<sup>53</sup> For info about how to get the passport [<http://peregrinosantiago.es/eng/pilgrimage/the-credencial/>]

<sup>54</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *A journey to the West: The diary of a seventeenth-century pilgrim from Bologna to Santiago de Compostela*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, pp. 11. Laffi went to Compostela in 1666, 1670, and 1673. This edition from 1681 combines the experiences of all three visits. Laffi describes his route via Bologna, Milan, Turin, Montgenevre, Avignon, Toulouse, Roncesvalles, Pamplona, Burgos and Leon, which was still well trodden at the time.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*. "Narbonne to Toulouse." pp. 71

*Ibidem*. "Pamplona to Burgos." pp. 119

<sup>56</sup> This is the price I paid when walking in 2012. The government established a chain of public hostels along the route to support pilgrims in their way to Santiago de Compostela

<sup>57</sup> In 1835 by the exlaustration act, all the monasteries and convents were closed and later spoiled in 1850. At the beginning of the XX century (1926), the Spanish government transformed some of these buildings into luxury hotels. The Hostal de los Reyes Catolicos continued operating as a Hospital till 1953 and was converted into a Parador by Franco in 1954.

<sup>58</sup> TURNER, V., TURNER, E. 2011. *Image and pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1978. Publications from the same authors are: "The Center Out There" and "Dramas, Fields and Metaphors"

In their understanding, pilgrims form a *comunitas* in the sense of linkage or union, feeling that they form part of the same cause.

The *camino pilgrims's passport* evolving from these medieval safe conducts --from where contemporary national passports derive as well-- has the same idea of country customs' stamps or seals, and pilgrims used to get a stamp at every temple along its route. This is also common practice for pilgrims doing multiple-site routes in Japan, to carry a scroll or pilgrim's book that they have stamped at each site and that, when full, serves as testimony to the completion of the pilgrimage.<sup>59</sup> Japanese priests with great calligraphy write a wisdom or thought with the date and name of the temple in black ink and stamp the seal of the temple in red on top [II.6c]. The pilgrim's book of stamps is called *Nokyo-Cho* or *Goshuin-cho* and the seal itself *Go-Shuin*. Along the Shikoku Henro pilgrims wear a white piece of fabric [II.6d] that gets stamped temple after temple in the same way than pilgrim passports in the *camino*. In my view, this practice of getting stamps along the *camino* has been jeopardized with the new implementation of the *Compostela* that allows one to get stamps everywhere along the route, diminishing the distinction between city-stage and path in between. Besides, it devalues the beautiful heritage along the *camino* by giving the same authority to the coffee shop than to the Romanesque monastery. Finally and going back to my Irish counterparts in my flight from Dublin to Santiago, when we were waiting to board, they told me that they had organized themselves to go by taxi to Sarria over one hundred kilometers from Santiago.<sup>60</sup> This mandatory walking distance to receive *the Compostela* gives a cadence to the Galician region that in my view diminishes the value of the whole length of the *camino network*. This strategy was good to recover the pilgrimage in the beginning, but now that a lot of pilgrims are willing to walk the eight hundred kilometers from the Pyrenees Mountains, it would be better to think bigger and consider the way to keep implementing those paths at the European scale. These are growth patterns, on the other hand, that the pilgrimage followed in the Middle Ages.<sup>61</sup> We find also that 658,649

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<sup>59</sup> READER, I.R. & SWANSON, P.L., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 241

<sup>60</sup> Galicians and Irish have always shared a Celtic origin and music that both perform with bag-pipes. Besides an Atlantic cloudy and rainy weather together with big numbers of emigrants.

<sup>61</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-1992. Vol 1. "Los primeros tramos (siglos IX y X). Una Hipotesis." *Op. Cit.* pp. 115-117. As explained before, after the pilgrimage started with the *primitive camino* from Oviedo and kept growing at the regional scale

pilgrims have walked from the Pyrenees to Santiago from 2004-2014 followed by Sarria with 408,282 pilgrims.<sup>62</sup> Pilgrims walking the long way complain about those starting in Sarria or closer city-stages to Santiago, as some of them, like Colm Toibin, would be cheating and taking buses from city-stage to city-stage.<sup>63</sup> Those starting in Sarria, having started only five days away from Santiago, do not share the same liminal state as those coming from further away, whose bodies and spirits are already in tuned with the rhythms of nature and culture --as Soria well explains in his experience of walking along the way.<sup>64</sup> Some authors like Jack Hitt who have walked the *camino* during a Holy Year also comment upon the competition that appears within pilgrims in order to secure a place to sleep in the public *albergues* along the *camino*.<sup>65</sup> If the pilgrimage is becoming steadily popular, maybe the government should think of more flexible ways to provide for shelter along the way during the summers of these years. This is the time when pilgrims usually walk due to weather and vacation factors.<sup>66</sup> Many pilgrims arrive in Santiago and continue walking to Finisterre, as pilgrims such as Domenico Laffi or writer George Borrow did in the past --the latter facing death twice at Finisterre once at sea and the other on land.<sup>67</sup> This walk is not recognized by the Church --who claims Finisterre to be a site of esoteric practices detrimental to the pilgrimage --but by the **Xacobeo**, that also promotes the walk to Muxia

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from circ.830. During the ninth century the infrastructure was established in Spain. Only around 1000 C.E the pilgrimage became international. See also: LACARRA, J.M. et al. 1949. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 201; See also MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., 2004. pp. 97

<sup>62</sup> [<http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] (Last Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>63</sup> Personal experience during my walk in 2012 and conversations with pilgrims. See: TÓIBÍN, C., 1994. "A walk to the End of the World." *Op. Cit.*, pp. 114-131.

<sup>64</sup> SORIA I PUIG, A., 1991-92. "La experiencia de atravesar fronteras caminando." Vol 1. *Op. Cit.* pp. 52-59 in the same book "Otra percepción del tiempo y del espacio." pp. 60-74

<sup>65</sup> HITT, J., 2013 "Hiking through history with your daughters," *The New York Times*. April 21 (Last Accessed, June'15) [[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/travel/hiking-through-history-with-your-daughters.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/21/travel/hiking-through-history-with-your-daughters.html?_r=0)]

His book: HITT, J., 2005. *Off the road: A modern-day walk down the Pilgrim's Route into Spain* (1st Simon & Schuster Paperback Ed.). New York: Simon & Schuster Paperback.

<sup>66</sup> [<http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/services-for-pilgrims/informes-estadisticos/>] (Last Accessed Jun'15)

<sup>67</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 165. Laffi explains his journey to Finisterre from Compostela.

BORROW, G., 1896. *The bible in Spain; or the journeys, adventures, and imprisonments of an Englishman in an attempt to circulate the scriptures in Spain. A new edition with notes and a glossary by Ulrick Ralph Bruke, M.A. in two volumes.*

London: John Murray, printed by William Clowes and sons. Vol 1. Chapter I, pp.1 Borrow starts his Spanish accounts at Finisterre where he almost dies in a shipwreck in his way to Lisbon. ... On the morning of November 10, 1835, I found myself off the coast of Galicia, whose lofty mountains, gilded by the rising sun, presented a magnificent appearance. I was bound for Lisbon; we passed Cape Finisterre. Vol, 2, Chapter XXX, pp. 21 and 25 Borrow explains that he gets to Finisterre from Padron describing the landscape, people and environment as backwards. He faces death again in Finisterre when he is mistaken with Don Carlos initiator of Carlistas' war in Spain. ...

once they reach Finisterre.<sup>68</sup> Pilgrims normally learn about Finisterre along the route. After showing the *Compostelana*, pilgrims receive the **Finisterrana** or the **Muxiana** signed by the city majors.<sup>69</sup> This promotion of the pilgrimage as a touristic attraction completely obliterates the sacred value that these places had in the past as will be explained in the next sub-chapters, where I will go down in scale in order to explore the language of this *pilgrim world* and decipher its deeper meaning and archetypes as well as its current flows and state.

### **Three Global Human Lines: Kumano Kodo, Camino, Appalachian Trail**

But before we go down in scale, I would like to finish by describing the *camino*'s geography in this scalar frame, as well as its other continental counterparts, even if briefly. The *camino network* stretching from Spain all the way to the Eastern lands is the longest pilgrimage in Europe, in parallel to that to Jerusalem that since the fifth century has permanently continued to be a hazardous destination. If we take the whole network of *caminos* within Europe, the pilgrimage to Santiago stands within the biggest pilgrimage network performed in the globe. Aboriginal Australia with all its sacred land is also traversed by a huge network of *songlines* which remain nonetheless in the memories and songs of those who use them to describe, wander and navigate this sacred territory in their walkabouts.<sup>70</sup> These *songlines*, however, are not a physical infrastructure but a mental one. Going back to the *camino*, as Manuel de Solà well observed, within this European frame we can read the *camino* as **a river**, collecting pilgrims all along its course, flowing into Compostela and the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>71</sup> Kingsley Porter also understood the *camino* as a river of sculpture in 1923 as we read in the introductory chapter.<sup>72</sup> The *camino* has four branches

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<sup>68</sup> FREY, N.L., 1998. *Op. Cit*, pp. 171

The Xacobeo is the organism that the Galician government established in order to promote all the paths towards Santiago in Galicia.

<sup>69</sup> I have been to Finisterre and Muxia in the summer of 2012. More info in: FREY, N.L., 1998. *Op. Cit*, pp. 170-176  
...*The church (in this case the Pilgrim's office) states that Finisterre is not the end of the Camino and discourages pilgrims from continuing there.*

<sup>70</sup> This will be explained with more detail in the next subchapter.

<sup>71</sup> Personal conversation with Manuel de Solà in September 2011.

<sup>72</sup> PORTER, A. K., 1921. *The sculpture of the West. A lecture delivered at the Metropolitan Art Museum of Art, New York. Decmeber 3, 1921.* Boston: Privately issued for the Author by Marshall Jones Company, pp. 5

"...*We should find that the road formed a river of sculpture, flowing through a region otherwise nearly desert in Southern France and Spain. We should find that artistic ideas traveled back and forth along the road with the greatest facility, so that monuments separated by hundreds of miles of distance show the closest stylistic relationship*"



at the European scale that, passing the Pyrenees at two points, meet at Puente la Reina where they become one all the way to the Atlantic Ocean;<sup>73</sup> and within Spain more tributaries join this main branch as we saw in figure [I.13]. The *camino* is therefore a line from **north or north east to south or south west** until Puente la Reina and from there a line **east to west** into Finisterre. This was not the case during the Middle Ages as Pilgrims went back home walking as well. But today, after having stayed for one night in Compostela and maybe having walked or rode a bus all the way to Finisterre/Muxia and back, pilgrims go home by plane, train or ferry.<sup>74</sup> This new protocol has transformed the *camino* into a **one way street** that geographically is a **long line** in the territory. British *walking* artist Hamish Fulton, who walked the *camino* backwards in 2001, tells us that he was informed by at least 500 people in the English language that he was walking the “*wrong way*.”<sup>75</sup>

Not metaphorically but literally, the **river Ganges** is the sacred geography and network in India, along which all the sacred infrastructure appears from the Himalayan mountains to its southernmost tip at Kanyakumari. The Ganga –feminine in Hindu—, is understood in mythology as a river flowing through the sky, white as the Milky Way --like the *camino*. Along its waters Hindus bathe specially at its *tirthas*.<sup>76</sup> Originally places to ford the river or river crossings, *tirthas* are understood today as thresholds between this world and the next one.<sup>77</sup> The grouping of *tirthas* in numbered sets creates a sacred landscape as Eck explains, linking place to place to where they make *tithayatras* or pilgrimages. Different from the *camino*, the sacred paths do not follow the line of the river but that of **a circle**, as this is the movement towards a sacred place for Hindus. Therefore, the already mentioned *char-dham*, biggest and most popular pilgrimage in India, takes pilgrims on circumambulation of the

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<sup>73</sup> This was its form during the Middle Ages, now more *caminos* have appeared in Spain.

<sup>74</sup> The day of the Apostle of 2013, 25<sup>th</sup> of July, the High Speed train coming from Madrid derailed and 79 people were killed and many injured. [<http://www.theguardian.com/world/santiago-de-compostela-train-crash>]

<sup>75</sup> FULTON, H., 2008. “The one hundred dollar barrel of oil.” *Hamish Fulton : El camino*. Badajoz: Fundación Ortega Muñoz. I will come back to this artist in the last sub-chapter. He walked from Porto to Santiago, from there to St. Jean Pied de Port and from there all the way to the Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>76</sup> ECK, D. L., 1999. “The River Ganges and the Great Ghats.” Banaras: City of Light. Columbia Univ. Press: New York. 1st ed. 1982, pp. 1; as we saw at Kumbh Mela, where the most important bath considered happens during the first night of the new moon. See ECK, D.L., & BHATT, K., 2015. *Op. Cit.*, pp.31

<sup>77</sup> ECK, D.L., 2012. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 7. See above

whole country.<sup>78</sup> This is where pilgrims visit the sacred abodes at the countries' four cardinal points of the compass at Badrinath to the **north**, Puri to the **east**, Ramesvaram to the **south** and Dvaraka to the **west**.<sup>79</sup> The sacred path is always **a circle** in India, and therefore Pilgrims circumambulate the temple, the city and the country as a whole.<sup>80</sup> Coming from the same Buddhist tradition, Japanese pilgrims also circumambulate the **Shikoku** island as we have already explained, where they visit the **88 temples** related to figure of Khobo Daishi finishing where they started at temple one. The line and **linearity** of the *camino* towards a final sacred destination differs from the **circularity** of both the *char-dham* and Shikoku, where pilgrims finish where they begin. The differentiation between single/linear, and multiple-site/circuit routes reflects in Japan the difference between journeys to one sacred center, and the circuit which tends to incorporate, in an extended route, a number of sites each focused on a sacred image of worship or holy figure.<sup>81</sup>

For that reason, in this *pilgrim world* the *camino* finds two global counterparts, one to the east and one to the west. To the East in the sacred *Kumano Kodo* in Japan and to the west, in the secular Appalachian Trail in the US. The *Camino Real* in the west Coast of the US was recovered with very different principles to those that directed the design in the same years (1921) of the *Appalachian Trail* in the East Coast.<sup>82</sup> The Appalachian Trail initially envisioned by **Benton MacKaye** as a network inspired by the movement and management of water systems, has become today a two thousand mile linear park.<sup>83</sup> That *wild* from

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*. pp. 29.

<sup>79</sup> ECK, L. D., 1998. "Pilgrimage and Landscape." *Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1981

<sup>80</sup> A good example of circumambulation around the city is given by MILLER, S. 2009. *Delhi. Adventures in a megacity*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

<sup>81</sup> READER, I R. & SWANSON, P.L, 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 239

<sup>82</sup> MACKAYE, B., 1922. "Progress toward the Appalachian Trail." *Appalachia* 15, Dec 1922

<sup>83</sup> EASTERLING, K., 1999. *Organization space: Landscapes, highways, and houses in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp.16: "...Applying intelligence from geological, particularly fluvial systems, MacKaye's national and international terrestrial networks proposed to revalue and redirect other infrastructures while also reconfiguring exurban development. He used words like "levee," "watershed," or "river system" to describe the behavior of his infrastructures and their interactivity with patterns of migration and commerce in America. Esterling cites this from: MacKaye used the term "river system" in MACKAYE, B., 1925. "The new exploration: Charting the industrial wilderness." *The survey graphics* 65. 1 May 1925, 154,153; and MACKAYE, B, 1926. "The new northwest passage." *The Nation* 122. @ June 1926, pp. 603. He used "watershed" and "levee" in many of his publications. He also used the word "flow" throughout his work to describe economics, population migrations, and distribution patterns in addition to fluvial movements.

which Christians protected themselves by building walls surrounding their cities and buildings, was always the destination of David Henry Thoreau and the environmental movement that followed his and Ralph Waldo Emerson's philosophy to preserve nature as a sacred entity totally disentangled from human existence. J.B. Jackson argues that the environmental movement was the beginning of a long chronicle of the American distrust of the city.<sup>84</sup> This anti-urbanity is visible in MacKaye's design of the trail as Keller Easterling well explains<sup>85</sup>: "... the mountain ridge became the central spine of development, replacing the tall buildings of the metropolis and reversing its dominant pattern of concentric growth. An infrastructure of land or "super national" forests and a network of compact communities and industries would crystalize around the footpath to replace suburbs." The trail was also a **north-south linear "subtraction"** along the crest line of a mountain range, an immaterial open way.<sup>86</sup> It was a void or a line of force, not a construction, designed as a cobweb of trails that would cover the mountains<sup>87</sup>. And while there was a direction of travel, there were no fixed termini. Both *camino* and the trail were used to urbanize the land they traverse. The Appalachian is today a natural reserve protected by those who walked towards nature and not towards relics.<sup>88</sup> Crossing fifteen states from Georgia to Maine, it would take a hiker 165 days to complete the 2,189 miles of the trail, during five to seven months. This hike parallels a 16-time Mount Everest ascension. Like the *camino* there are also volunteers who help in huts, camp sites and to repair the trail. They amounted to 5,617 during 2014, volunteers who are supervised by 31 clubs and who also mark the blazes in white along the route. There is a shelter approximately every 8 miles.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> JACKSON, J. B., 1965. "Jefferson, Thoreau and After," *Landscape* 15, no.2 (Winter 1965-66), pp. 25-27, Also published in Jackson, J., & Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz., 1997. *Landscape in sight: Looking at America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 175

<sup>85</sup> EASTERLING, K., 1999. "Subtraction inversion remote: Appalachian trail." *Op.Cit.*, pp.25-32 "...The interstate geological formation of the Appalachian ridge would function as a kind of public utility or reservoir of natural resources, organizing transportation and hydro electrical networks while locating industry and community."

<sup>86</sup> MACKAYE, B., 1928. *The new exploration: a philosophy of regional planning*. New York: Hartcourt, Brace and Co, pp. 179.

<sup>87</sup> MACKAYE, B., 1922. "Progress toward the Appalachian Trail." *Appalachia* 15, Dec 1922, pp.244

<sup>88</sup> I will come back to this point by the end of the chapter.

<sup>89</sup> Data taken from the Appalachian Trail Conservancy: [<http://www.appalachiantrail.org/hiking/thru-section-hiking/faqs>] See also: [[http://blog.rei.com/hike/21-appalachian-trail-statistics-that-will-surprise-entertain-and-inform-you/?cm\\_mmc=email\\_com\\_lm\\_-\\_skills\\_knowledge\\_-\\_080915\\_-\\_img\\_appalachian&ev36=NULL&RMID=20150809\\_SK\\_BHI\\_SL2&RRID=16773877&ev11](http://blog.rei.com/hike/21-appalachian-trail-statistics-that-will-surprise-entertain-and-inform-you/?cm_mmc=email_com_lm_-_skills_knowledge_-_080915_-_img_appalachian&ev36=NULL&RMID=20150809_SK_BHI_SL2&RRID=16773877&ev11)] (Accessed Jul'15)

The Kumano network known as *Kumano Kodo* in Japan, will be the last explained in this sub-chapter. The network's longest path, known as the **Imperial Route** or *camino Kumano* in Spain, follows a similar history of events with the *Camino de Santiago*. Like the *camino*, the ninth and tenth centuries are its formative years, it evolved within feudal governments, and suffered many transformations and destruction by the end of the nineteenth century -- when thousands of temples were destroyed by the government.<sup>90</sup> One difference between the two remains in that from the very beginning the *camino* was opened to all religions and social classes whereas the Kumano was designed for emperors, and from there it opened up to high classes of society and the rich until its recent recovery in the late 90s and it is promoted today as a trek as well as a sacred path, overlaying as in the previous examples both constituencies --spiritual hikers and pilgrims.<sup>91</sup> We can read some similarities with the first pilgrimages in Christianity as well as with the Imperial journey of Helena Augusta to the Holy Land, which was later considered the first pilgrimage in this religion. Like the *camino*, the *Kumano* became also part of UNESCO in 2004 and many international contemporary pilgrims walk this route today. As early as the Nara period religious ascetics had entered the Kumano Mountains to convert its wilderness into habitable spaces and narrative sites, the topoi of Buddhist legends. Place-names were reformulated in terms of a Buddhist vocabulary, Buddhist images were carved directly into *cliffs, rocks* and *trees*, *hermitages* and *stupas* were erected, and the *mountain's paths* were seen as pilgrimage routes to the *Pure Land*. Under the guidance of mountain priests, retired emperors traveled to Kumano, mimetically dressed in the white robes of Buddhist renunciants, to visit these local paradises, to establish karmic bonds with the resident deities, and to make preparations for re-birth in paradise.<sup>92</sup> In this sense, the *Kumano* also relates to the *camino's* liminal characteristics as well as the relationship with the afterlife, as both were performed

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<sup>90</sup> And complexes incorporating both Shinto and Buddhist institutions forcibly separated. This is similar to the Spanish government's confiscation law[<http://www.tb-kumano.jp/en/kumano-kodo/history/>] (Last Accessed, July'15)

<sup>91</sup> Explained in previous chapter. Codex Calixtinus.

<sup>92</sup> MOERMAN, D. 1997. The Ideology of Landscape and the theater of state: Insei Pilgrimage to Kumano (1090-1220). *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3/4, Pilgrimage in Japan (fall). Pp. 347-374 ... Kumano was an important stage for the ritualization of death and rebirth so characteristic of late Heian religion culture. Sites of mediation between present and future worlds marked the beginning and the end of the pilgrim's route. Kumano, representing the mythic territory of imperial ancestry as well as the *pure lands* of celestial rebirth, was in every sense a syncretic realm: the place of both Kami and Buddha, of both past and future utopias, of both tradition and transformation.

in order to make that transition easier.<sup>93</sup> The classic pilgrimage is explained in the *Tanabe City Kumano Tourism Bureau*.<sup>94</sup> If walked, the entire path is around 279 kilometers long, but by subtracting the boat sections the length becomes 205 kilometers --similar to the one between Cebreiro and Finisterre.<sup>95</sup> The Kumano Mountains, however, transform this path in an arduous trek similar to many of the Appalachian profiles. For that reason, the region promotes in these days a four-day hike that departing from *Takijiri-oji* guides pilgrims and hikers into the final sanctuary, following the original path.<sup>96</sup> The *camino Kumano* is also **a line** in the territory traveling **north to south** from Kyoto to Tanabe in its first section, and **west to east** from there to its final sanctuary at the Pacific Ocean.<sup>97</sup> Even if the *Kumano* is far smaller than the *camino network*, if we considered Japan to the very west of Santiago, the form of the *camino* from Paris to Finisterre would be the mirror of the *camino Kumano* from Kyoto to Hayatama Taisha and vice versa. With these three territorial lines of the *Kumano*, the *Camino* and the Appalachian Trail I will end this subchapter, and to them I will return once I have explained the language and archetypes of pilgrimage in the following paragraphs.

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<sup>93</sup> The camino to reduce time in Purgatory as we explained in the previous chapter.

<sup>94</sup> “The imperial Journey began in Kyoto at *Jonan-gu* shrine. From there, pilgrims took a boat down the Yodo River to Osaka, where they began their journey south to Tanabe. In Tanabe the path turns east onto the *Nakahechi* route, which cuts deep into the heart of the mountains until pilgrims arrived and pay tribute to the *Kumano Hongu Taisha*. Pilgrims travelled by boat down the Kumano-gawa River to *Kumano Hayatama Taisha* which visit completed the pilgrimage. On the return journey to Kyoto, pilgrims either retraced their steps or took the mountainous Ogumotori-goe and Kogumotori-goe passes to Hongu. Seen at: [<http://www.tb-kumano.jp/en/kumano-kodo/nakahechi/>] A description of the whole route in maps with distances, altitudes and names can be found at [<http://www.tb-kumano.jp/en/kumano-kodo/nakahechi/takijiri-oji-to-tsugizakura-oji/>] (Last Accessed Jul'15)

<sup>95</sup> According to Google maps following the route described. The distance between Cebreiro and Finisterre is 229 Km.

<sup>96</sup> [[http://www.kumano-travel.com/index/en/action\\_ModelCourseList\\_SearchExec/init1](http://www.kumano-travel.com/index/en/action_ModelCourseList_SearchExec/init1)]; see also: <http://www.tb-kumano.jp/en/kumano-kodo/nakahechi/kogumotori-goe/> (Last Accessed Jul'15)

<sup>97</sup> In the Eastern countries they walk towards the rising sun whereas we walk towards its sunset.

## 2.2 The language of pilgrimage and its archetypes<sup>98</sup>

To understand the infrastructure of the *camino* today in a field so deeply rooted in meaning and history as pilgrimage, I consider necessary to understand not only the medieval layers of the network but those layers that go further down into its origins. Secular should not mean touristic, as the sacred *caminos* should preserve some of the qualities that make them special when compared to other touristic destinations. For that reason, in the following paragraphs I explain the language and meaning of pilgrimage from its very origins as well as the common archetypes and artifacts that evolved with this practice of pilgrimage. I have considered the following sacred elements: *mountains, temples, cities, paths* and *crossings* as some of the archetypes that will allow me to explain the language that one finds along these different sacred routes in these days and especially along the *camino* in Spain and Galicia.

### **Cosmic mountains: from circles to axis**

**Rebecca Solnit** tells us that mountains attracted attention and walkers, long before romanticism spawned mountaineering, and before Petrarch climbed **Mount Ventoux** in 1335CE just to enjoy the view from the peak.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, mountains were one of the first centers of pilgrimage for our ancestors [II.7]. First as dwelling and sanctuary in the Paleolithic, later as burial and temple in the Neolithic, their caves saw the first religious and artistic demonstrations in history. Levi, Maringer and **Vincent Scully** within many other scholars argue that this art and religion was largely based on the belief of Earth as a mother, and especially the mother of herbivorous beings.<sup>100</sup> And to their *sacred caves* they returned before hunting, to perform their rituals of initiation and worship their dead --whom they considered immortal. Such rituals consisted on drawing their prey on the cave walls, so that

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<sup>98</sup> I was inspired in this section and title by SPIRN, A. W., 1998. *The language of landscape*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

<sup>99</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Wanderlust. A history of walking*. New York: Penguin, pp. 135

<sup>100</sup> LEVY, G.R. 1948. *The Gate of Horn. A Study of the Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age, and their Influence upon European Thought*. London: The University Press Glasgow. Faber and Faber Ltd. pp. 1-62; MARINGER, J. 1960. *The Gods of Prehistoric Man*, ed. and trans. by Mary Ilford. New York: Alfred A Knopf. Pp. 3-38; SCULLY, V. 1969. *The Earth the Temple and the Gods. Greek Sacred Architecture*. New York and London: Praeger. 1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1962. Pp. 1-11. Also NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. *Christian Pilgrimage in modern Western Europe*. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 5

the strength of their Goddess came to their spear at the critical moment of shooting. Mountains were understood as thresholds between this world and the next, as places where the spirit world comes close.<sup>101</sup> Werner Herzog shows in his documentary *Cave of Forgotten Dreams*,<sup>102</sup> how some **Chauvet** paintings are five thousand years apart from each other, and Levy on the other hand shows how **Altamira**'s frescos were made when the caves were no longer inhabited.<sup>103</sup> Both proving the hunters' return to these places. For Vincent Scully the movement through the labyrinthine passages leading to their caves became part of the ritual, and schematic representations of the labyrinth have been found in their walls. For the same scholar, this path of the *labyrinth* became the dance and natural architecture of meandering passages, while the painted beasts began to represent their own symbolic lives.<sup>104</sup> This labyrinthine and difficult path towards a holy place, as a ritual that connects us with the transcendent world of the divinities or ancestors to improve our existence on earth, was interpreted as one of the first pilgrimages registered.<sup>105</sup> Levi explains that aboriginal tribes in Australia still revive this ancient return to the cave.<sup>106</sup>

Even when ice recessed and allowed people to inhabit the river valleys, and new technical advances helped them cultivate the land, Neolithic people continued to return to their sacred caves.<sup>107</sup> But the new way of occupying their territory would start to transform their beliefs

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<sup>101</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.* pp.135

<sup>102</sup> HERZOG, W. 2010. *The Cave of Forgotten Dreams*. Shows the Chauvet cave (1994) with paintings from twenty thousand years ago, with five thousand years differences among them which confirms the return to these spaces.

<sup>103</sup> LEVY, 1948, *Op.Cit.* p.15 ...

<sup>104</sup> SCULLY, *Op.Cit.* pp.10. On the periodic return to the caverns see: And in MARINGER, *Op.Cit.* pp.29... *Primitive man believed in the power of the dead and so they worshiped them for protection of the living and to help the tribe in search of food.* pp.49...*hunters returned with bones of their prey as a trophy and offering to their goddess earth*

<sup>105</sup> NOLAN & NOLAN. 1989. *Christian Pilgrimage in modern western Europe*. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 6 they talk about the origins of pilgrimage in Europe.

<sup>106</sup> LEVY. G.R. 1948. *Op.Cit.* p.36; where the procession takes a winding road in memory of the first efforts of their ancestors to reach land. See also, ELIADE, M. 1974. *The Myth of the Eternal Return or Cosmos and History*. Bullingen Series XVI. Princeton.N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press. (1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1949. *Le Mythe de L'éternel Retour: Archetypes and Repetition*) p.17 ... *The way to the center is a "hard way" and this is verified on all levels of reality: the difficult contours of a temple (as Borobudur), pilgrimage to holy places like Mecca, Hardwar, Jerusalem)... Rodeos in the maze. The road is hard, it faces dangers because it is a rite of passage from the profane to the sacred, from the ephemeral and illusory to reality and eternity, from death to life, from man to divinity.*

<sup>107</sup> LEVY. G.R. 1948. *Op.Cit.* pp. 214 ... *Caves of the first inhabitants in Crete continued to shelter the living and dead in the sequent centuries to the Minoan settlement. After its abandonment, they became objects of pilgrimage, uninterrupted in many cases by the birth of many civilizations.*

and rituals with the incorporation of the Gods of the celestial vault to their sacred pantheon over time that is, with the incorporation of *sun and stars*. With them, while they continued returning to the mountain to worship their Goddess earth and ancestors --responsible for the fertility and rebirth of their seeds-- they would incorporate the Gods of heavens, as rulers of the cyclical changes that would ensure their crops.<sup>108</sup> Sacred mountains, hitherto natural temples of the Goddess Earth, begun from this moment on to also serve as abodes of the Gods of the *sky dome*. Scully gives us a good example on this change in Olympia where the **Mountain Kronos**, dedicated to the son of the god Zeus, still has a shrine to Gaia, the Earth, on its west side. With this finding, the author suggests, that before the arrival of the Dorians the mountain was dedicated to mother Earth.<sup>109</sup> And when the Sky was incorporated, the meandering passages towards the caves of the sacred mountains were paired up with those winding paths that would allow them to reach their peaks. On top of them, the first natural altars to worship Earth and Astros would be built, and people in many religions have continued on pilgrimage towards these peaks ever since. This path to the sacred center of the mountain, where to get Nirvana today and keeping good seeds yesterday, together with the widening road to its peak to worshipping the sun and the stars and get good crops, are some of the first pilgrimages we know.<sup>110</sup> Some examples of these different pilgrimages to mountains to perform a circle or reach their peaks are explained below.

From *illo tempore* Japanese have followed a pilgrimage to reach the top of the active **Fuji** volcano at 3812 meters, many of them throughout the night, to enjoy watching the rising sun. They hold the tradition that one must climb the mountain on pilgrimage at least once in life. Four different religions also go on pilgrimage to the Himalayas, to the base of **Mount Kailash** 6700 meters high, to contemplate the abode of Shiva and get *darshan*.<sup>111</sup> Once they

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* pp.168. ... *The year begins now with the rise of Sirius, Ra, the Nile and Osiris as the god of vegetation who was born the first of the five intercalary days. From now on cyclical changes will be governed by predictable changes in the heavens, but their religious roots were based on their ancestors seasonal rites of fertility of the land.*

<sup>109</sup> SCULLY, V. 1969. *Op.Cit.* pp. 8, 26.

<sup>110</sup> In Christianity there are many mountains that got consecrated with temples. Regarding the relationship between mandala and circle see; ELIADE, M. 1961. *Images & Symbols. Studies in Religious Symbolism.* Kansas: Shed Andrews and McMeel, Inc, pp.53.

<sup>111</sup> Tibetan, Hindus and Buddhists from India to Japan and Jains.



reach the Mount's base, they circumambulate the mountain in a circuit of fifty two kilometers known as a *kora*. Many pilgrims perform the *kora* prostrated on their knees, which takes them three weeks to complete the sacred circle.<sup>112</sup> For Buddhists, the circuits of the pilgrims around the mountain are understood as *mandalas*, circles that like the labyrinth are a cosmography, a diagram of the order of the universe whose center is identical to the center of the world and creation.<sup>113</sup> This is also the case in Australia with the world's largest rock **Uluru**, also known as **Ayers Rock**, sacred to Aboriginal tribes who consider it their mother. According to Aboriginal legend, outgoing geographical figures of the landscape were formed by ancestral heroes in *dream time* before the birth of humanity. Dreamers walked along the landscape in sacred routes, known as *dream tracks* or *songlines*, creating the landscape and its inhabitants by singing to everything its name.<sup>114</sup> The songs are still sung by the Aboriginals who follow these sacred tracks in their

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ECK, L. D., 1998. *Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1981  
 Darshan means *vision* and in the religious tradition and the visual perception of the sacred. Hindus go to the temple not to pray, but for the darshan, that is to see and be seen by the deity.

<sup>112</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. pp. ix

<sup>113</sup> For a definition of mandala see ECK, D. L. 1998. Op. Cit., pp.105 ... The circle or circular diagram that functions as a schematic map of the sacred universe. It is the symbolic form of paintings, temples and even cities. Also in RYKWERT, J. 2010. Op. Cit., pp.163 ... From Sanskrit, circle includes the idea of center and circumference. As with the temple or labyrinth, the mandala is a cosmography, a diagram of Universal order, it is identified with the center of the world... In BONELL, C. 1999. *La Divina Proporción las Formas Geométricas*. Barcelona: UPC, pp. 64, pp. 67-70. Mandala is a consecrated area and a safeguard of the invasion of destructive forces. Or in TUCCI, G. 1961. *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*. London: Rider. pp. 41-42 ... A cosmogram, the whole universe in its essential scheme in the process of emanation and reabsorption. Not only the universe as inert spaciousness but as temporary revolution, the one and the other as a vital process that departs from an essential principle and turn around a central axis.

<sup>114</sup> For *walkabouts* and *songlines* see: CARERI, F. 2002. *Walkscapes: walking as an ascetic practice*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, pp. 47-8. " ... *The walkabout is the system of routes with which the indigenous peoples of Australia have mapped the entire continent. Every mountain, river and spring belongs to a complex system of path stories –the songlines—that continuously interweave to form a single “history of the Dream Time”, the story of the origins of mankind. Each of these paths is connected to a song, and each song is connected to one or more mythological tales set in the territory. The entire culture of the Australian aborigines –passed down from generation to generation still to an still active oral tradition—is based on a complex mythological epopee of stories and geographies that exist in the same space. Each path has its own song and the complex of the songlines constitutes a network of erratic, symbolic paths that cross and describe the space, like a short of chanted guidebook. It is as if Time and History were updated again and again by “walking them”, re-crossing the places and the myths associated with them in a musical deambulation that is simultaneously religious and geographic. This type of journey, still visible in Aboriginal cultures, belongs to a phase of human history preceding that of nomadism. We can define this type of path as “erratic.”*; See also: MACFARLANE, R. 2012. *The Old Ways. A Journey on foot*. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 30.

*walkabouts*, and around sixty of these *songlines* converge at Uluru.<sup>115</sup> *Songlines* are tools of navigation where the story is a map and the landscape a narrative.<sup>116</sup> Nobody better than **Bruce Chatwin** has explained these *lines* to the western world as he wandered with Aboriginals in their territory,<sup>117</sup> and Phillip Haas' documentary with Aboriginal artists lets us discover that communal art and religion go still together in this culture.<sup>118</sup> Justine Digance on the other hand explains at length that although only some men are allowed to climb Uluru, the government maintains a hiking trail to the summit used by hundreds of thousands of tourists a year.<sup>119</sup> In Digance's view, these different constituencies –tourists, hikers and pilgrims-- with so many different approaches to this ancient mountain, have transformed Uluru into a pilgrim's contested site. Travel writer **Robert MacFarlane** also describes similar impressions when hiking **Minya Konka**, a sacred mountain or *Nayri* for Tibetans: "...*These two kinds of mountain worshiper stand in strong contrast to one another. There is a humility to the act of the Kora, which stands as a corrective to the self-exaltation of the mountaineer's hunger for an utmost point. Circle and circuit, potentially endless, stand against the symbolic finality of the summit. The pilgrim on the Kora contents himself always with looking up and inwards to mystery, where the mountaineer longs to look down and outwards onto knowledge.*"<sup>120</sup> We will come back to this discussion at the end of the chapter, but before that, we will continue explaining the archetypical changes that occurred with this new way of consecrating the territory to understand the origins of the landscape that pilgrims traverse in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula.

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<sup>115</sup> We can understand the idea of a *walkabout* in the movie (1971) with the same name directed by Nicolas Roeg that brought to cinema the novel from James Vance Marshall.

<sup>116</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Wanderlust. A history of walking*. New York: Penguin, pp. 72

<sup>117</sup> CHATWIN, B., 1987. *The songlines*. New York: Viking.

<sup>118</sup> HAAS, P. 1989. *The giant woman and the lightening man*. Produced by Fernando Trueba. 53 minutes. Color.

<sup>119</sup> DIGANCE, J., 2003. Pilgrimage at contested sites. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), pp. 143-159. Increasing indications suggest that there is contest for access and use of sacred sites. This contest sometimes involves traditional owners who likewise hold these sites sacred, with their managers and commercial operators also drawn into this conflict as the case study on Uluru, Ayers Rock, illustrates.

<sup>120</sup> MACFARLANE, R., 2012. *Op. Cit.*, pp.261-263. "Nayri from *Nay*, embodiment of the sacred, and *Ri*, series of rocks, tree, or mountain. For info about these sacred mountains look at: BERNBAUM, E.1990. *Sacred Mountains of the World*. Sierra Club: San Francisco, from the same author: \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. "Pilgrimage: Tibetan Pilgrimage." *Encyclopedia of Religion* ed. Mircea Eliade. Macmillan: New York.2:351-353. Also: BUFFETRILLE, K., 1998. "Reflections on pilgrimage to sacred mountains, lakes and caves." *Pilgrimage in Tibet*. ed Alex McKay. Richmond, Surrey. Curzon: Surrey, UK. 18-34

In the pilgrimage to Kailash and Fuji we can read the cosmological transformation, from the Mountain understood as a sacred circle whose sacred center is the cavern --home of the Earth and origin of all creation-- to the Mountain understood as an *Axis Mundi* or shaft connecting the three levels or cosmic spheres: Heaven, Earth and Underworld.<sup>121</sup> One of these early models to constitute this *hierofanies* in the territory is the *sacred mountain*, which as we have seen is a sacred center par excellence.<sup>122</sup> With the incorporation of the vertical in addition to the horizontal, the sacred archetype evolved from the circle or wheel to the cosmic pillar. The circle and its square, triangulation or revolution around a fixed center, represents one of the first archetypes for every sacred building.<sup>123</sup> The appearance of the *celestial vault* adds the idea of the *cosmic pillar* as vertical connection, an archetype that man will find and materialize in the *tree*, *obelisk*, *stair*, or the *cosmic mountain*.<sup>124</sup> Mircea Eliade explains how this was performed. After observation of nature --protective gods' creation--, archaic people used these **cosmic models** or **archetypes** to create order within the chaotic and uninhabited surface of the river valleys. These cosmic models allowed them to set fixed points of orientation in the homogeneous and chaotic uninhabited space by creating sacred centers. And these sacred centers bordered the orderly space facing the

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<sup>121</sup> ELÍADE, M.1985. "Sites of the Sacred. Sacred Architecture and Symbolism." *Symbolism the Sacred and the Arts*. New York: Crossroad. p.107 ... *Sacred space is self-built following a rupture of levels that allows communication with the after-world, with transcendent realities. ... In this space man is able to communicate with the other world, the world of divine beings or ancestors. A consecrated space represents an opening to the beyond, to the transcendent.*

<sup>122</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974. *Op.Cit.*, pp. 4 ... *Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred --and hence instantly becomes saturated with being--because it constitutes a hierophany, or possesses manna, or again because it commemorates a mythical act, and so on. The object appears as the receptacle for an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value.* See also: ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.21 ... *Hierophany is the manifestation of something of a wholly different order, a reality that doesn't belong to our world, in objects that are integral part of our natural "profane" world.* Also in pp, 21 ... *The hierophany reveals an absolute fixed point, a central axis for all future orientation, a center. In the infinite expanse, no orientation can be established. Nothing can begin, nothing can be done, without a previous orientation and this implies acquiring a fixed point.*

ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 38 ... *The "cosmic mountain" is the image that expresses the connection between heaven and earth and therefore it is believed to be at the center of the world. Meru in India, Haraberezaiti in Iran, the mount of lands in Mesopotamia, Gerizim in Palestine are axis mundis. According to Islamic tradition the highest point on earth is the Kaaba, for Christians is Golgotha*

<sup>123</sup> Ver BONELL, C. 1999. *Op.cit*, pp. 70-72.

<sup>124</sup> About the Cosmic pillar see: ELIADE, M., 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion*. New York, London: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, p. 29 ... *In all religions we find these symbolic connectors of the three cosmic levels (underworld, earth and sky). The point where it enters the sky is the gateway to the upper world. The visible image of this cosmic pillar in the sky is the Milky Way...*

chaos surrounding them thanks to geometry that allowed them to move from chaos to cosmos.<sup>125</sup> Religious territory is therefore hierarchical and not homogeneous, and has ever since created boundaries of difference, as we learnt from Richard Sennett and Sheldrake in the previous chapter.<sup>126</sup> In Eliade's view, sacred is to profane the same as poetry is to everyday utilitarian language;<sup>127</sup> and the profane experience maintains homogeneity whereas a sacred space makes it possible to obtain a fixed point and to acquire orientation in the chaos of homogeneity.<sup>128</sup> These scholars read religion as a way of demarcation and notation of the territory that in Sennett's view creates walls;<sup>129</sup> and in Eliade's understanding establishes *thresholds* between the profane and the religious; as the limit, the boundary, the frontier, and at the same time the paradoxical place where both communicate, where passage between both worlds becomes possible.<sup>130</sup>

*Circle and pillar* would be also the archetypes for the first *Megalithic* constructions that people begin to build in the Neolithic to sanctify, order and protect the new territories they inhabit from the disruptive forces surrounding them. We can find these manifestations from the *dolmens*, *menhirs* or *cromlechs* from the European coast of the Atlantic Ocean, to the

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<sup>125</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974. *The Myth of the Eternal Return or Cosmos and History*. Bullingen Series XVI. Princeton.N.J: Princeton Univ. Press, pp. 34, ... He understands the myth as the repetition of an archetypal gesture, and understands this archetype as an "exemplary model" or "paradigm" in the same way as Eugenio D'Ors. After observing nature, archaic man establishes cosmic models used to build in the earth's geography.

ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.21 ... *The sacred projects a fixed point in the informal fluidity of profane space, a center within the chaos, a cosmos. Nothing can be done without prior guidance, which involves establishing a fixed point. The projection of a fixed point is equivalent to the creation of the world. Geometrical space thus created can be defined in any direction.*

<sup>126</sup> SENNETT, R., 1993. *Op. Cit.*, pp. xii-xiii, and 6-10. Cited by SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.149

<sup>127</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.14

<sup>128</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.24

<sup>129</sup> Richard Sennett's lecture "*The architecture of collaboration*", attended at the GSD on February 28th 2012. (Also accessible at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcXE4NEgLn8>, last seen June'15) In minute 41' he starts talking about the differences between edges and boundaries as the difference between cell walls and cell membranes. A cell wall as a rigid structure, a container. A cell membrane as an edge which is more flexible and more open. Biologically cell wall can switch to membranes, switching from the function of retention to that of interaction. Membranes are both porous and resistant a condition that will facilitate collaboration between people in the city. In his lecture also at the GSD on September 19<sup>th</sup> 2013 *The Open City* he talked about open systems that consists on putting unlike close to each other to facilitate interaction. **In these days, I read Richard Sennett's idea of porous membranes in open cities as an attempt to create secular thresholds that by eliminating walls in cities between different groups or ethnicities, they increase collaboration and integration**

<sup>130</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.25

pyramids and ziggurats of the Egyptians, Mayans and Sumerians.<sup>131</sup> All these creations copied the archetype of the circle --*wheel*, its geometrization --*and labyrinth*, or the cosmic axis --*pillar, tree, and mountain*. With them they created order out of chaos, and people started pilgrimage there to worship gods and ancestors to obtain protection.<sup>132</sup> The movement through the labyrinthine passages leading to the caves also become part of the ritual and construction of these tombs and altars, materializing in avenues that create a threshold of passage from the profane to the sacred, from life to death and from human to the divine, known in these early pilgrimages.

So when people pass from burying their dead in the mountains --first holy places, centers of the world and higher places on earth-- to do so on the Atlantic coast, it will be in the form of *mounds*, which as a stone structure is called *dolmen* by using the archetype of the *cosmic mountain* [II.7a].<sup>133</sup> This construction from Breton *dol*, flat, and *men*, stone, is a burial cave whose circle inner chamber was accessed through a passageway covered by a large stone, where they returned to worship spirits of the dead.<sup>134</sup> However, when they wanted to connect with terrestrial or celestial deities, the builders used the archetype of the cosmic pillar anchoring a vertical stone on earth, called *menhir*. This construction from Breton *men* (stone) and *hir* (long) was circumambulated in the same way that the Kaaba is today in Mecca, and the ritual of circles around it represents the movement of the temporal around the eternity from which to obtain protection. The circumambulation of the Kaaba is called *tawaf* which pilgrims perform three times during the hajj to start a thirteen day pilgrimage

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<sup>131</sup> HEFFNER, E.H. and B., E.P., 1931. Archaeological Discussions. American Journal of Archaeology, 35(2), pp. 170-201. (www.jstor.org. Last Accessed, Oct'12): ... The absence of natural elevations such as border the Nile valley, to serve as a refuge from river floods, compelled the inhabitants of Babylonia as early as the fourth millennium B.C. to build artificial hills, the "ziggurats", primarily to safeguard the homes of the gods. See also: Frankfort, H., 1951. The Birth of Civilization in the Near East, London, pp. 54-55... Already at an early time in Mesopotamia a preferential selection of the original nature gods had been made in favor of Earth (Enlil) as the source of fertility rather than Sky (Anu). The most sacred shrine in Mesopotamia was the ziggurat of Enlil at the central city of Nippur, which was revered throughout the land. Each city had its own local deity, whose name differed, but who was essentially a local manifestation of Enlil.

<sup>132</sup> LEVY. G.R. 1948. *Op.Cit.*, p. 146

<sup>133</sup> Regarding the mountain and the symbolism of the center look at: ELIADE, M. 1974. *Op.cit.*, pp. 12-17 o ELIADE, M. 1961. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 27-56. Eliade explains that in almost all religions their sacred mountains were located in the center of the world

<sup>134</sup> MARINGER, J. 1960. *Op, cit.*, p. 227

in the region, going seven times counter-clockwise around the black rock which is contained inside.<sup>135</sup> With the transfer from the earth to the solar cult, *menhirs* were aligned from east to west in avenues with several rows such as **Carnac or Ménez** through which pilgrims walked their sick animals in the hope of curing them.<sup>136</sup> Archaeologists and astronomers throughout the twentieth century have explained that these avenues usually led to circles of *menhirs* called **cromlech** from Breton *crom*, circle, and *lech*, place, that passed from being circles to worship earth to altars and observatories that marked the change of seasons, special times when pilgrims approached to celebrate seasonal festivals, worshipping the Earth and the Sun.<sup>137</sup> The recent discovery of Durrington Circle near Stonehenge, aligned with the sunrise of the winter solstice and the sunset of the summer solstice, compared to Stonehenge's alignment with the sunrise of the summer solstice and sunset winter solstice has suggested **Stonehenge** as an altar of the dark months or the dead and **Durrington** as altar of the lighting months or living.<sup>138</sup> To arrive to these places Britons used *cairns*, that as trail markers could be relatively small, or a monumental rock pile over 11 meters high and 60 meters in diameter, built as a burial monument in itself.<sup>139</sup> In the camino we find one of these Celtic monuments in *Cruz de Ferro* near Ponferrada where pilgrims perform pagan rituals today. This circumambulation has been the language of walking artist Richard Long and to him I will return by the end of the chapter.

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<sup>135</sup> DAVIDSON, L.K. and GITLITZ, D.M., 2002. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 220-224. ...The Ka'ba, a granite block structure, believed to be the site that houses the black rock where is believed Abraham offered his son Ishmael as sacrifice to God. Popular legends say that the black stone is a meteorite worshiped by pre-Muslims. The original structure dates from 692. It is 15 meters high, 12 meters long, and 10 meters wide. The Ka'ba is always covered with a black drapery called *kiswa* a surface of 2300 square meters. Pilgrims arrive at the great mosque, al-Masjid al-Haram, which contains the Ka'ba. In a rite called *tawaf*, which they performed three times during the hajj, they circumambulate the Ka'ba counter-clockwise seven times. Each time pilgrims pass the black stone they recite prayer from the Qur'an, "In the name of God, and God is supreme." If they can, pilgrims approach the Ka'ba and kiss it, which is virtually impossible when 2 million other pilgrims are performing the same activity, or they make a gesture of kissing the Ka'ba each time if they cannot kiss it. By the end of the Hajj many pilgrims return to the Mecca mosque on the twelfth day to perform another *tawaf* around the Ka'ba, which now has been re-covered with a new *kiswa*. The old fabric is cut in pieces and sold to pilgrims.

<sup>136</sup> LEVY, G.R. 1948. *Op.Cit.*, p. 147

<sup>137</sup> HILL, R. 2008. *Stonehenge*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press. (See also: Atkinson, Scully)

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* p. 206

<sup>139</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 22,

Such cairns often cover graves, or contain a corridor complex of graves. On this bases, when we see *cruz de ferro* in the camino near Ponferrada, the cross has also been overlaid to a Celtic cairn.

In Galicia, a country settled above granite, where all paths traversing the land towards St. James' sanctuary end, Megalithic culture thrived in all its forms and was continued until the Celts --before the Romans' colonization. Manuel Murguía studies this archaic art in Galicia and explains that *Cromlech* could no longer be found in Galicia in 1888 as agriculture and re-use had been decimating them.<sup>140</sup> *Menhirs* are called in this land *pedras fitas* and some might still be found at that time.<sup>141</sup> Murguía questions whether the many crosses --*vera cruces* or *cruceiros*—[II.7b] that guard the crossroads in Galicia, are the Christian replacement of menhirs that sacralized the Galician countryside. He also explains how Catoira, a circle of crosses that rises from the sixteenth century, could be replacing a primitive Cromlech.<sup>142</sup> Besides, tombs and funeral monuments or *dolmes* --known as *Mamoas, Medorras, Medelas* or *Arcas*-- abound in Galicia [II.7c]. For the Celts also, the living and the dead were bound by chains and they believed in the dead helping the living in difficult times; in response, the living would keep visiting their dead at their tombs. Murguía continues to explain that the *Cuneo* promontory in A Coruña was dedicated to **Hercules** and *Nerio* in Finisterre to *Ara Solis* under the protection of the setting sun [II.7d]. The legend of the Champs Elysees, located in Homer in the last limits of the earth, and the daily death of God in endless waves, made these places doubly sacred. Thus, Celtic womens' and mens' pilgrimage to Finisterre, Decius Junius Brutus also arrived there, as did the devotees of Zebedee, St. James, which proves for Murguía how new religious rites responded to ancient ones. To end, Murguía also tells us that in questions of religious beliefs, Galician Celts lived attached to the sun, the moon, the many stars of the celestial spaces, sea, rivers, springs, forests and mountains. These were rituals that were recycled according to Murguía by Christianity, who assigned to St. James Apostle essential attributes of an earlier solar deity. As Lippard explains, Christianity is overlaid on *paganism*, and as

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<sup>140</sup> Murguía, M. 1888. "Monumentos Megalíticos." *Galicia*. Serie: España, sus Monumentos y Artes, su Naturaleza e Historia. Barcelona: Cortezo Editorial. pp. 70; Cromlech in pp. 89

<sup>141</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 21. Lippard explains that in England is also difficult to find *menhirs* as they have been put to use since time immemorial for endless different purposes --as gateposts, boundary markers, threshold steps, beacons, or fire walls.

<sup>142</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 21. Lippard tells us that this is also the case in England where *menhirs* may be pierced by holes, striated, pocked, carved with spirals or the enigmatic 'cup-and-ring marks, Christianized with crosses, or cut into cross shapes.

Sheldrake explains Christians turned their focus from geography to people as *sacred loci* and went on pilgrimage to their sacred tombs.<sup>143</sup>

### **Territorial archetypes: temples, cities, paths and crossings**

#### **Temples**

Temples and cities in primitive societies were built also after cosmic archetypes. Joseph Rykwelt and Mircea Eliade have studied these rites and archetypes in many cultures. Diana Eck has done so for India in particular, as well as Ian Reader for Japan.<sup>144</sup>

The temple as a cosmic mountain and sacred center is well explained by **Mircea Eliade**.<sup>145</sup> Eliade tells us that for archaic people the world had an extraterrestrial archetype, as a *double* existing on a higher cosmic level. According to him, the first celestial fields were first known, and then identified in terrestrial geography.<sup>146</sup> And this model, preceding terrestrial architecture, exists also in an ideal celestial region of eternity.<sup>147</sup> Some evidence confirms his argument. According to Mesopotamian beliefs, the Tigris has its model in the star Anunit and the Euphrates in the star of the Swallow. For Ural-Altic peoples as well, the mountain had an ideal prototype in the sky.<sup>148</sup> And Iranians also follow the belief that every terrestrial phenomenon, whether abstract or concrete, corresponds to a celestial invisible term. This is also true for the *camino* that as we have seen, took the *Milky Way* as a prototype in order to be consecrated on the earth's surface. According to Eliade, the

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<sup>143</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4; SHELDRAKE, P., 2001. "Place in Christian tradition." *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, pp. 33. Sheldrake explains the process through which the Christian religion ceased to focus geographically (mountains, rocks, thunder) present in the primitive world and the pagan religion and turned to people, as sacred loci. When they died, their tombs became sacred sites and pilgrimage to them a way to make contact. This was reflected in the growth of Christian architecture.

<sup>144</sup> RYKWERT, J. 2010. *Op. Cit.*, and ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op. Cit.*, above.

ECK, D.L., 1985. *Darsan, seeing the divine image in India*. 2nd rev. and enl. edn. Chambersburg, Pa.: Anima. Books.

READER, I R. 2005. *Op. Cit.* see above; READER, I R. & SWANSON, P.L, 1997. *Op. Cit.* see above; READER, I R., 1991. *Op. Cit.* See above

<sup>145</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974. *The myth of the eternal return or cosmos and history*. Bullingen Series XVI. Princeton University Press. Princeton.N.J. Rep.1959.*Cosmos and History*. New York: Harper. Rep. 1949.*Le Mythe de L-éternel Retour: Archetypes and Repetition*, pp. 6

<sup>146</sup> *Ibidem*. Eliade cites Weill R., 1936. *Les champs des roseaux et les champs des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale*. Paris, pp. 62

<sup>147</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974., pp.8

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*. Eliade cites: HARVA, U., 1923. *Der Baum des Lebens*. Helsinki: Annales Accademiae Scientiarum Fennicae, pp. 39



Christian temple –pre-eminently the sacred place—has also a celestial prototype. The earliest document referring to the archetype of a sanctuary is Gudea’s inscription concerning the temple he built at Lagash and for Christians, the world is continually purified by the sanctity of sanctuaries.<sup>149</sup> The sanctity of the temple is proof against all earthly corruption, by virtue of the fact that the architectural plan of the temple is the work of the gods and hence exists in heaven; and therefore **celestial geometry** made the first construction possible.<sup>150</sup> The Christian basilica and later the cathedral took over and continued all these symbolisms. The church is conceived as imitating the heavenly Jerusalem; it also reproduces Paradise or the celestial world. In the Byzantine church, the four parts of the interior of the church symbolize the four cardinal directions. The interior of the church is the universe. The altar is the paradise, which lies in the East. The imperial door to the altar was also called the *door of paradise*. During the East week the door of the altar remains open.<sup>151</sup> The west, on the contrary, is the realm of the darkness, of grief and death, the realm of the eternal mansions of the dead, who await the resurrection of the flesh and the last judgment.<sup>152</sup> Small Romanesque churches built along the *camino* have a rectangular plan in which the altar points east, this is a good way to orient yourself when walking in a foggy day without a compass.

From Eck we learn that temples are built after the archetype of the *cosmic mountain* in India.<sup>153</sup> As she explains in her book *Darsan*, when a temple is built, the universe in microcosm is rebuilt. The divine plan of the temple is also called *mandala*, a geometric map of the cosmos that in Hindu temples is known as *vastu-purusa mandala*.<sup>154</sup> At its center is the Sanctum, where the image is placed and its eight directions guarded by cosmic councilors named *lokapalas*. The temple’s erection is not left to the creativity of the architect, but carefully follows building canons from beginning to end like a ritual. Temples

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<sup>149</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974., *Op. Cit.*, pp.7 .. the Christian archetype is explained in (Exodus 25: 9,40) and (I Chronicles 28: 19)

<sup>150</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op. Cit.*, pp.59

<sup>151</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op. Cit.*, pp.61 ... *Christ rose from the East and opened the doors of Paradise onto us*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>153</sup> Eck, L. Diana 1998. “The temple and the image.” *Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1981

<sup>154</sup> Explained above.

are also the architectonic images of mountains, and their styles bear the names of the great Himalayan peaks such as: Meru, Kailash and Mandara. Both their exterior and sanctum, in the shape of a cavern, point to the symbolic union between temple and mountain. The highest point of the temple is called *sikhara* –mountain peak—and like the mountain, the temple unites heavens and earth. The journey of the believer towards the temple-mountain is a pilgrimage. When one approaches the temple, one goes around it. Once one has seen everything existing in the exterior, one travels to the center, to the same center of the World. Normally there is another circular passage around the sanctum and when one circumvallates it, one receives *darsan* from the deity at the center. In a broader sense, however, the temple is an image, the sacred mandala of the cosmos as a whole.

### **Sacred cities and cosmic geometry**

Cities too have their divine prototypes, Eliade continues. All the Babylonian cities had their archetypes in the constellations: Sippara in Cancer, Nineveh in Ursa Major, Assur in Arcturus, etc. In India as well all royal cities, even the modern ones, are built after the mythical model of the celestial city. The palace-fortress of Sigiriya in Ceylon for instance, is built after the model of the celestial city *Alakamanda*.<sup>155</sup> This is why, when possession is taken of the territory, rites are performed that symbolically repeat the act of Creation: the unfarmed zone is first *cosmicized*, then inhabited.<sup>156</sup> As archaic people construct everything according to an archetype, cities, temple and the entire region they inhabit have celestial models. Settlement in a new, unknown, uncultivated country is equivalent to an act of creation, the transformation of chaos into cosmos by the divine act of creation.<sup>157</sup> Just as the universe unfolds from a center and stretches out toward the four cardinal points, the village comes into existence around an intersection, so that when it is to be built people look for a natural intersection. ***A square constructed from a central point is an imago mundi.*** This is also explained by architectural historian **Joseph Rykwert**. A settlement's division into four sections corresponds to the division of the universe into four horizons. A space is often left

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<sup>155</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974., pp.9

<sup>156</sup> ELIADE, M., 1974., pp.10

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*. The map of Babylon shows the city at the center of a vast circular territory bordered by a river, precisely as the Sumerians envisioned Paradise.

empty in the middle of the village; there the ceremonial house will later be built, with its roof symbolically representing heaven.<sup>158</sup> In book V of *Laws*, Plato describes a similar ideal city.<sup>159</sup> The Roman mundus was a circular trench divided into four parts; it has been proposed that *Roma quadrata* is to be understood not as being square in shape but as being divided into four parts, however Rykwert tells us that the whole idea of a circular town was totally alien to Roman practice.<sup>160</sup> This is also supported by **Keith Lilley** in his detailed book *City and Cosmos*.<sup>161</sup> The mundus was clearly assimilated to the *omphalos*, the navel on earth. The city, *urbs*, was situated in the middle of the *orbis terrarum*. Setting in a territory is the same as founding a world.<sup>162</sup> In Galicia however the first settlements known as *castros* were not squared, and were formed by circular units of inhabitation that were built until the Celts' time. The hamlet of *Cebreiro* in the *camino*, first settlement in Galicia along the *camino*, is a *castro* that still preserves part of its original form. Otero Pedrayo describes the castros' cultural importance and argues that we find in them the origins of the Galician culture in a way that we cannot in the Romanesque church or feudal tower.<sup>163</sup>

### **Paths, Labyrinths and Crossings**

**Labyrinths** were one of the first archetypes to **represent pilgrimages**; for Solnit, symbolic structures such as labyrinths call attention to the nature of all paths, all journeys.<sup>164</sup> For Rykwert mazes were principally channels of salvation, patterns of initiation; but they were

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<sup>158</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.45

<sup>159</sup> PLATO. *Laws VI*. ... The temples are to be placed all round the agora, and the whole city built on the heights in a circle, for the sake of defense and for the sake of purity. Near the temples are to be placed buildings for the magistrates and the courts of law; in these plaintiff and defendant will receive their due, and the places will be regarded as most holy, partly because they have to do with the holy things: and partly because they are the dwelling-places of holy Gods. Cited in RYKWERT, J. 2010. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 97

<sup>160</sup> For more info about *Roma Quadrata* see: Rykwert, J. 2010. *Op. Cit.*, pp.98 ... the explanation that *quadrata* simply means rectangular seems too abstract for a ritual term. The only translation of *quadrata* which might fit this context is *quadripartite*; or squared in the sense that the four angles at the center are right angles. It would mean that all Varro and Ennius tell us about the topography of the Palatine city when they describe it as a *quadrata* it's that its *cardo* and *decumanus* crossed at right angles. *Quadrata* then is no guide to the shape of the primitive outline of the Palatine city, and offers no explanation as a ritual term. But *Roma quadrata* had a secondary meaning; it was the enclosure in front of the temple of Apollo ...

<sup>161</sup> LILLEY, K. D., 2009. "Founding a city founding a world." *City and Cosmos*. London: Reaction Books, pp. 77

<sup>162</sup> ELIADE, M., 1959. *Op.Cit.*, pp.47

<sup>163</sup> OTERO PEDRAYO, R., 1973. "O Castro" *Obras Selectas. Vol II*. Vigo: Galaxia. 1ª ed. 1965. *Grial* 8. For more references of this important geographer in Galicia go directly to the Bibliography.

<sup>164</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Wanderlust. A history of walking*. New York: Penguin, pp. 72

also devices for both immersion and exclusion. On thresholds, doors or windows they warn about the person; whereas on tombs they secured the spirits of the dead and excluded intruders.<sup>165</sup> For him also, one of mazes' purposes was to arrest and confuse the intruder faced with them, so that s/he was not able to go on until s/he had solved the riddle, or traced her/his way to the center of the maze.<sup>166</sup> Rebecca Solnit tells us that "*in such spaces as the labyrinth, we cross over; we are really travelling even if the destination is only symbolic. For her the labyrinth is a symbolic journey or a map of the route to salvation, but it is a walk we can really walk on, blurring the difference between map and world. And sometimes the map is territory, to the point where in medieval churches these maps were called "Chemins a Jerusalem."*"<sup>167</sup> Like the Stations of the Cross, she adds, labyrinth and maze offer up stories we can walk into to inhabit bodily, stories we trace with our feet as well as our eyes.<sup>168</sup> Besides, Lucy Lippard or Walter explain that when labyrinths had been Christianized by the Middle Ages they stood for pilgrimage, penance and redemption, as well as protection and secrecy.<sup>169</sup> The best example known is the mosaic labyrinth on the floor of the Chartres cathedral that pilgrims performed when they were not able to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land or later Santiago de Compostela. A path in Solnit's view is also a previous interpretation of the best way to traverse the landscape; to follow a route is to accept an interpretation, or to stalk your predecessors on it as scholars and trackers and pilgrims do. To walk the same way is to reiterate something deep; it is a form of spatial theater but also spiritual theater. It is this, in her view that makes a pilgrimage, with its emphasis on repetition and imitation, distinct amid all the modes of walking.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> RYKWERT.J. 2010. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 151.

<sup>166</sup> RYKWERT.J. 2010. *The idea of a town*. (1<sup>st</sup> ed, 1976). London: Faber, pp.145

<sup>167</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 70. In pp. 69 she tells us ... *I understood the moral of mazes: sometimes you have to turn your back on your goal to get there, sometimes you are furthest away when you're closest, and sometimes the only way is the long one.*

<sup>168</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.* 71.

<sup>169</sup> LIPPARD, L. R., 1983. *Overlay: contemporary art and the art of prehistory*. New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 148-149; see also WALTER, E.V., 1988. "Sacred Places." *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment*. Chapel Hill, London: U. North Carolina Press, p. 68 and 95.

<sup>170</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 68

I will end this subchapter with the explanation of the meaning of *crossings*. In many religions the sacred place is understood as a threshold, a point of crossing like a bridge between this and the other world. The journey that one makes to reach this connection is understood as a pilgrimage, as we learn from Eck. I will use the Indian example as in this religion a *river crossing* literally evolved into a sacred place called *dham*. The most common name for those places of pilgrimage is Tirtha, literally ‘a place of crossing’ or ‘ford.’ This term that originally referred to fording a river, where one could cross safely to the other side. Over the centuries, some of the most important pilgrimage sites were located along the banks of the great rivers and have been ‘fords’ in its geographic sense. As places of pilgrimage, they are also symbolic and spiritual fords, where one can cross the flooding of Samsara –a passage, ‘the term used to describe the relentless cycle of birth, death, rebirth. The changing world’. And the ‘far side’ has become the predominant image of Indian spiritual image of final destination of the soul, and ‘the crossing point’ has become a major image of the means to get there.<sup>171</sup>

Rykwert also explains that Romans held their walls to be sacred and that their untouchable character was guaranteed by the union of heaven and earth.<sup>172</sup> Anyone crossing over this place was an enemy of the life which that union had guaranteed. The gates however were not sacred, as movement was necessary through them. But Plutarch explained that the gates were bridges over a forbidden tract of earth charged with menacing power.<sup>173</sup> Naturally to cross over such a bridge was in itself a religious act. The gates were a complex of elements: vault, imposts, hinges, panels, threshold, each separately in the charge of a deity.<sup>174</sup> Janus was the gate personified, and also the god of all beginnings and openings. Monsters and fabulous creatures frequently guarded gates.<sup>175</sup> The city was also founded with a cross, as Rykwert also explains with the way Roman surveyors worked: ‘a sciotherum, an upright bronze rod, was set in the centre of a circle, probably on a marble tablet. The shadow of the rod was then observed, and the two points at which its tip touched the circumference of the circle before and after midday were

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<sup>171</sup> ECK, L. D., 1998. *Darsan. Seeing the divine image in India*. Columbia University Press: New York. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1981,

<sup>172</sup> RYKWERT, J. 2010. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 135

<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 137

<sup>174</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 139

<sup>175</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 142

marked and joined; the cord was bisected, and the line joining the centre point of the chord to the rod was the *cardo*, while the chord itself was the *decumanus*.<sup>176</sup> A cross within a circle is the symbol of the foundation of Roman towns.

**Nardiz Ortiz** shows the transformation of paths in Galicia, from primitive crossings of rivers and mountain passes in Galicia to the perpendicular paths established to reach the *castros*.<sup>177</sup> These were located in the high places every five to seven kilometers apart from each other, and by the side of their paths Celts built their funerary artifacts in the form of mamoas as explained above. The Roman network recycled the megalithic and castros' paths around Astorga, Braga and Lugo to bring minerals to the ports of Iria Flavia and A Coruña and in Christian times, the same cities became episcopal Sees together with the Miño passes at Tuy and Orense. Along the connecting Roman roads monasteries were established. With the Jacobean pilgrimage, Santiago became the center of the network, uniting recycled Roman roads, the Iron Age and megalithic to fully connect the territory, where the forts become parishes [II.7e,7f]. Times of pilgrimage paralleled times of *romerías* in the Middle Ages where farmers would come to these main cities to sell their products in a similar way that Indian *melas* do today.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.50. Rickwert tells us that the stone was divided into sixteen sections and carried the name of twelve different winds in the note.

<sup>177</sup> NARDIZ ORTIZ, C., 1991. *La transformación histórica de la red viaria en Galicia desde los condicionantes geográficos, geológicos y técnicos*. Tesis Doctoral Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.

<sup>178</sup> ECK, D., & BHATT, K., 2015. "Understanding the Kumbh Mela." *Op. Cit.*, pp.31

### 2.3 A walking world

I will finish this exploration on the contemporary *camino* today by looking at those walking and writing or walking and framing the *long way* in these days in comparison to those doing the same in the past. With them and the lessons from my own walk, I would like to reveal layers that are underperforming, that got obliterated when recovered or maybe need to be covered again. Some of these findings have already inspired the way in which the *camino* has been analyzed and represented in the cartographies that are shown and described in the next and last chapter of the dissertation.

Walking, hiking or taking the long arduous way, distinguishes contemporary pilgrims from tourists in the *camino*; 2000 *milers* from one to three day hikers in the Appalachians; or those waking from Kyoto to the bus riders in Kumano Kodo.<sup>179</sup> High up in the Asian mountains, the potentially endless circle of those performing the *kora* stands against the symbolic finality of the summit pursued by the mountaineer.<sup>180</sup> In Christian pilgrimage however, there is a symbiosis between journey and arrival, as there is in mountaineering; for to travel without arriving would be as incomplete as to arrive without having traveled in both cases<sup>181</sup>. Many scholars, like Solnit and Soria, mention the time and speed as a way to distinguish this slow walk from the good timing a hiker wants to get in a trek as well.<sup>182</sup> And yet in the *camino*, some need to go fast due to time constraints or during Holy Years to secure a bed, as discussed earlier.<sup>183</sup> In my *camino*, those walking under time pressures did longer walks per day; they arrived to the hostel very late in the afternoon and left very early in the mornings. For those walking at the slowest paces, when the *camino* is not a race,

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<sup>179</sup> This is sustained in the *camino* by FREY, N.L., 1998. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 228 and SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.* pp.51. By STARKIE, W. 1957. pp. 323 "... Nevertheless, my own experiences in pilgrimages to Rome, Lourdes and Fatima have convinced me that modern enterprise, by facilitating rapid mass travel and eliminating dangers, discomforts and delays on the ways to the shrines of the saints, has created the cult of "**pilgrimages without tears**" for the million, which is in complete antithesis to the original idea of pilgrimage transmitted by the saints to the Middle Ages."

<sup>180</sup> As we learnt already from MacFarlane in MACFARLANE. R., 2012. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 261-263.

<sup>181</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 50

<sup>182</sup> SOLNIT, R. 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 47 ... I have to keep repeating myself it wasn't a hike and get over my desire to move at my own speed and make good time. As it turned out, it was slowness that would make this walk hard.

<sup>183</sup> HITT, J., 2013 *Op. Cit.*, See above. SORIA I PUIG, A., 2001-2. *Op. Cit.* pp. 60-74, see above. In my walk in the camino in 2012, I found many pilgrims who had started in St. Jean Pied who needed to arrive in Santiago at a certain time. Ferruccio Scalvini for instance needed to arrive in Finisterre to get a plane back to Italy on a certain date.

contemporary pilgrims develop a changing sense of time, a heightening of the senses, and a new awareness of their bodies in the landscape. Frey explains this with detail in *learning new rhythms*, where she recalls that linear time often gives way to circular time while walking to Santiago<sup>184</sup>: “... the scenes change as the pilgrim moves forward through time and place, evolving and potentially transforming. From the perspective of many pilgrims, new rhythms are related to slowing down, appreciating the minute and particular learning to rely on **senses other than those of sight**, wanting to feel themselves connected to the road and the natural landscapes, and taking what it comes.”<sup>185</sup> A new relationship between body and environment is also developed through walking, as Edward S. Casey distills so well from Edmund Husserl,<sup>186</sup> supporting also Wallace Stevens’ thought “*I am the world in which I walk*”.<sup>187</sup> For Solnit, walking shares with making and working that crucial element of engagement of the body and the mind with the world, of knowing the world through the body and the body through the world, as well as the way the body measures itself against the earth.<sup>188</sup>

Within the characteristics that match contemporary pilgrims, secular and religious, Solnit says that there seems to be three motives for these long distance journeys: “... to comprehend a place natural’s or social makeup; to comprehend oneself; and to set a record; and most are the combination of the three.”<sup>189</sup> To my point regarding the similarities between the *camino* and the Appalachian Trail in these days, she also holds the opinion that an extremely long walk is often taken up as a sort of *pilgrimage*, a proof of some kind of faith or will, as well as a means of spiritual and practical discovery.<sup>190</sup> Solnit also develops extensively the relationship between walking, thinking, and writing. In her view, the slow walk at three miles per hour follows the speed of thought, and all the way back from the *peripatetic* philosophers, she explains how walking helps the writer to think and to build a cohesive

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<sup>184</sup> FREY, N.L., 1998. “Learning new Rhythms” *Op. Cit.*, pp. 72-86 ... time, place, movement and perception

<sup>185</sup> FREY, L., 1998. *Op. Cit.* pp.86. See above

<sup>186</sup> CASSEY, E., 1997. *The fate of place: A philosophical history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 225-228.  
 HUSSERL, E., 1981. “The World of the living present (1931).” *Shorter Works*. Peter McCormick and Frederick A. Elliston, eds. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. Of Notre Dame Press, 1981. Pp.238-250. Cited by SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.27 ...  
*Husserl’s proposal differs from earlier speculations on how a person experiences the world in its emphasis on the act of walking rather than on the senses and the mind.*

<sup>187</sup> CASSEY, E., 1997. *Op. Cit.* pp. 228

<sup>188</sup> SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.29; pp.31.

<sup>189</sup> SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. cit.*, pp. 128

<sup>190</sup> *Ibidem.*



narrative:<sup>191</sup> “ ... For writers, the long distance walk is an easy way to find narrative continuity. If a path is like a story... then a continuous walk must make a coherent story, and a very long walk makes a full length book.”<sup>192</sup> The *camino* probes this point from its very beginning, as since the *Calixtinus* was published in the thirteenth century many have been the pilgrims that have written about their experiences in their pilgrimages to Santiago. This was also the case for the Holy Land, when as early as the fourth century we find the recollections of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* circ.333CE and the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* circ.381-84CE, all the way to the dozens of books that have appeared in the last years since the frugal Anglo-Saxon culture has joined the *camino* journey.<sup>193</sup> From all of them, I would like to compare three descriptions of Finisterre done by three different writers in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. With them, I will illustrate the transition from a pious journey to that of a romantic walker. These are Domenico Laffi, George Borrow and Henry David Thoreau.

I learned about Domenico Laffi’s travels in Paolo Von Caucci’s recollection of written accounts from Italian pilgrims walking the *camino network* along the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>194</sup> But I have used the English translation from the recollection of his three journeys to Galicia in (1666, 1670 and 1673), published in 1881.<sup>195</sup> In this publication, Laffi travels from Bologna to Compostela, following the route from Le Puy, describing cities, towns, hamlets and monuments with good detail, as well as the dangers he faces along the *camino*. This was a long journey of 1300 miles that he extends to visit Finisterre and Padrón (Iria Flavia). Laffi is a Catholic traveler who stops to pray at every church along the *camino* and despite all scientific revolutions of the time, as for him the

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<sup>191</sup> SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.10

<sup>192</sup> SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 126-128: “ ... Just as the walking essay seems to have been the dominant form of writing about walking in the nineteenth century, so the lengthy tale or the very long walk is for the twentieth century. In the eighteenth century travel literature was common place, but the long distance walkers left little written record about their walks.” This is not true for the pilgrims through history.

<sup>193</sup> BORDEAUX PILGRIM. *Op. Cit.* See above; also EGERIA. 1970. *Op. Cit.* See above; MENENDEZ PIDAL, G., 1951. *Op. Cit.* pp. 41. There are many contemporary books about *camino* experiences.

<sup>194</sup> CAUCCI, & CAUCCI, P., 1983. *I testi italiani del viaggio e pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e diorama sulla Galizia* (Quaderni del Seminario di cultura gallega; 5). Perugia: Università degli studi di Perugia. Caucci transcribes in Italian the parts of those journeys within Galicia. These are, Bartolomeo Fontana walking from Venice to Galicia and back during 1538-39; Cosimo III dei Medici walking from Florence 1668-69; Domenico Laffi walking from Bologna three times as we mentioned before (1666, 1670 and 1673). And Paolo Bacci’s long travels from Arezzo (1763-1780)

<sup>195</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*,

Earth was still at the center of the universe.<sup>196</sup> When he arrives to Finisterre, this is his description [II.8a]:

*"... The church stands at the very end of the land. This is a promontory, or rather I should say the tip of a hill which runs westward to the ocean. At the end of the promontory, near the water, stands this little church with the two sacred images: the blessed Virgin and a crucifix. On the summit of the promontory, is a tower, or rather a lantern, which they call in their language farol. This tower is there so that a beacon can be lit on top of it at night, or during the day if necessary. The reason is that all the nations that sail on the ocean, weather to the north, the east, the west and the south, can recognize this cape, or promontory. They often disembark here, particularly those unbelievers who inhabit the northern kingdoms also those from the west and south ... As I said, they all come in to land here and disembark, causing much trouble to the inhabitants of these shores. But the sacred image of Mary and the one of her most beloved son are pledged to defend his place against such rabble ..."*<sup>197</sup> He continues with a detailed description of the church and its altars.

While describing the place, Laffi poses his eyes only on the built environment, whereas the natural features are described quickly to explain the setting place of these artifacts. Besides, Laffi remains at the base of the mountain; he never climbs to the top, as there is no church at the top, but a lighthouse.

George Borrow's travels, published in *The bible in Spain* (1843) became a best seller in the nineteenth century in Europe and America.<sup>198</sup> This is a tale of pure adventure that tells the travels of this Britisher on his mission to sell Spanish language Bibles in 1835. Borrow, who travels within Galicia, also visits Santiago and Finisterre. When he describes Finisterre he has already been close to death in a shipwreck while passing through the cape in his way to Lisbon;<sup>199</sup> he will face death again once he descends from the mountain of the Cape [II.8b]. His beautiful description follows:

*"... It was not without reason that the Latin gave the name Finis terrae to this district. We had arrived exactly at such a place as in my boyhood I had pictured to myself as the termination of the world, beyond which there was a wild sea, or abyss, or chaos. I now saw far before me an immense ocean, and below me a long and irregular line of lofty and precipitous coast. Certainly in the whole world there is no bolder coast than the Gallegan shore, from the debouchment of the Minho to Cape Finisterre. It consists of a granite wall of savage*

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<sup>196</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 111

<sup>197</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 165

<sup>198</sup> BORROW, G., 1896. *Op. Cit* Vol 2. P.25 -27

<sup>199</sup> BORROW, G., 1896. *Op. Cit.*, Vol 1., Chapter I, pp.1 Borrow starts his Spanish accounts at Finisterre where he almost dies in a shipwreck in his way to Lisbon

*mountains, for the most part started at the top, and occasionally broken, where bays and firths like those of Vigo and Pontevedra intervene, running deep into the land ... We stopped to examine a small dismantled fort battery facing the bay ... We now commencing ascending Finisterre; and making numerous and long detours, we wound our way up its flinty sides (he continuous explaining the effort of the ascension)... We were now standing at a great altitude between two bays, the wilderness of waters before us. Of all the ten thousand barks which annually plough those seas in sight of that old cape, not one was to be descried. It was a blue shiny waste, broken by no object save the black head of a spermaceti whale, which would occasionally show itself at the top, casting up thin jets of brine. The principal bay, that of Finisterre, as far as an entrance, was beautifully variegated by an immense shoal of sardinhas, on whose extreme skirts the monster was probably feasting. From the other side of the cape we look down upon a smaller bay, the shore of which was overhung by rocks of various and grotesque shapes; this is called the outer bay, or, in the language of the country, Praia do Mar de Fora: a fearful place in seasons of wind and tempest, when the long swell of the Atlantic pouring in is broken into surf and foam by the sunken rocks with which it abounds. Even on the calmest day there is a rumbling and a hollow roar in that bay which fill the heart with uneasy sensations. On all sides there was grandeur and sublimity. After gazing from the summit of the cape for nearly an hour, we descended*<sup>200</sup>

Even if trying to sell bibles, Borrow pays little attention to the church; it is never mentioned in his account, as he stops to inspect a ruin instead—a dismantled fort battery. He is walking and sensing like a romantic, not as a pilgrim in pain to visit the relic of a saint. Even if a romantic's walks also involved effort and stamina, he is enjoying the views and the landscape after his effort, within a new cult that later sanctified nature.<sup>201</sup> Borrow is one of those *solitary walkers* born after Jean-Jacques Rousseau, William Wordsworth, and a contemporary to Henry David Thoreau. They were philosophers and thinkers who laid the ground for the ideology within which walking would be enshrined.<sup>202</sup> With him and his

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<sup>200</sup> *Ibidem.* pp. 25-27

<sup>201</sup> SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, pp.119 "... nature that had been an ascetic cult in the eighteen century and became a radical cult at the end of that century, was by the middle of the next an established religion for the middle class and, in England, far more than in the United States, far much of the working classes as well..."

<sup>202</sup> ROUSSEAU, J., & FRANCE, P. 1979. *Reveries of the solitary walker* (Penguin classics). Harmondsworth, Eng.; New York: Penguin Books; WORDSWORTH, W., & WORDSWORTH, J., 1995. *The prelude: The four texts (1798, 1799, 1805, 1850)* (Penguin classics). London; New York: Penguin Books; EMERSON, R. W.; THOREAU, H. D. (n.d.). *Nature and Walking*. Beacon Press

SOLNIT, R., 2001. *Op. Cit.*, p.17; pp. 19 ... "Never did I think so much, exist so vividly, and experience so much myself, as in journeys I've taken alone and on foot" said Rousseau ; pp.111. "... When we walked, we naturally go to the fields and woods, remarked Thoreau, but Wordsworth headed as eagerly to the public roads as to mountains and lakes." pp.117 "... Growing acquainted with mountains was poetic training ... Wordsworth had connected walking to both pleasure and suffering, to politics and scenery. He had taken the walk out of the garden... ";

followers, a tradition started of solitary walkers in the search of adventure and discovery in mountains, lakes, roads, fields and woods; and Borrow is looking at the horizon from Finisterre using the same lenses. He gazes from the summit for one hour, and then he descends. Thoreau, famous American philosopher, who together with Emerson is considered the father of transcendentalism as well as the environmental movement in his country, also wrote about Finisterre while walking from south to north along the Eastern coast of Cape Cod [II.8c]:

*“The light house lamps were still burning when I rose to see the sun come out of the Ocean ... Again we took to the beach for another day (October 13) walking along the shore of the resounding sea, determined to get it into us. We wish to associate with the Ocean until it lost the pond like look which it wears to a country man. We still thought that we could see the other side... The nearest beach to us on that side, wither we look, due east, was in the coast of Galicia, in Spain, whose capital is Santiago, though by old poets reckoning it should have been Atlantis or the Hesperides; but heaven is found to be farther west now. At first, we were abreast of that part of Portugal between Douro and Mino, and then Galicia and the port of Pontevedra opened to us as we walked along ... The bold headland of Cape Finisterre, a little north of east, juttet towards us next, with its vain brag, for we flung back, -”Here is Cape Cod, -Cape Land’s-Beginning”*<sup>203</sup>

And in his famous end of a life text *walking* Thoreau explained to us that he walked towards a different west:<sup>204</sup> *“The West of which I speak is another name for the wild and what I’ve been preparing to say is that in the wild is the salvation of the world.”*<sup>205</sup> In Thoreau’s description of the Cape, all artifacts have disappeared and his eyes just rest on natural features, like rivers, bays, ports and capes. Thoreau is walking with his mind, not with his feet, along this geography to describe the past, as pilgrims who arrived in Cape Cod from Europe had a different prospect in America.<sup>206</sup> In his text “Walking”, he also uses many of

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Rousseau’s *Discourse on Inequality* (1754) where he portrays a man in his natural condition “wandering in the forests, without industry, without speech, without domicile, without war and without liaisons, with no need of his fellowmen, likewise with no desire to harm them” can be compared to Thoreau’s walking (1851), in the way they both have been interpreted as a attack on cities and human urbanization as we learn from J.B Jackson and Solnit.

<sup>203</sup> THOREAU, H.D. 1985. “The Sea and the Desert” *Henry David Thoreau*. New York: The Library of America. 1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1865, pp. 342

<sup>204</sup> THOREAU, H.D., EMERSON, R.W. 1992. *Nature, Walking*. Boston: Beacon Press.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibidem*. pp.94

<sup>206</sup> Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, very close to Cape Cod in 1620.

the characteristics of pilgrimage to describe a different walking, that whose destination was always nature.<sup>207</sup>

It's not by coincidence that Thoreau chose the coast of Galicia as the mirror of his own path along the coast of Cape Cod, where English pilgrims first landed in 1620. In Thoreau's evocation of the Cape's nature as a parallel and successor to the sacred landscape of Galicia, Spain, and Europe, we can see a microcosm of a shift that is affecting landscapes around the world today: the shift from sacred to secular, from medieval to modern, and from man's domination of nature to man's existence within an ecology.<sup>208</sup> At the same time, as a follower of Rousseau, his romantic and protective approach toward the sacred *wilderness* started a conservative environmental movement in America, which would endeavor to build walls around nature.<sup>209</sup> For this reason his text has been understood by many as a critique of cities and human inhabitation.<sup>210</sup> As pointed out before, Romanticism and transcendentalism embraced the *wilderness* that Christians always saw to order or protect from. As a consequence, Christianity built one of the most beautiful cities in the world, whereas romantics and transcendentalists built one of the most beautiful national parks on Earth. From America, one wished to have many Copenhagens closer to these shores. From Spain, when year after year people start fires along the already arid geography to burn the little forests remaining, one wishes that more Thoreaus would have preached on those shores as well. A hybrid between the two could be found in the *camino*, if in these days we could design a way to sustain the landscape along the *camino* going beyond the efforts of only protecting what is already there.

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<sup>207</sup> Thoreau compared his walking to that of the *saunterers* –pilgrims walking towards the *Sancte Terre* or those *sense terre* vagrants—He also mentions crusaders. He adds..*if you are ready to leave father and mother, and brother and sister, and wife and child and friends and never see them again –if you have paid your debts, and made your will, and settled all your affairs, and are a free man, then you are ready to walk*” This was the case of a long journey.

<sup>208</sup> CAPRA, F., 1996. *The web of life: A new synthesis of mind and matter*. London: HarperCollins. *He explains the change of paradigm from a mechanistic understanding of life to an ecological one. See introduction.*

<sup>209</sup> JACKSON, J.B. 1997. “J.B Jackson and the discovery of the American Landscape.” *Landscape in Sight*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, p. xxx

<sup>210</sup> JACKSON, J., & LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ, H., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 175

People like Walter Starkie walking and following the route from Le Puy as Domenico Laffi, and citing him several times along his journey, writes in the twentieth century after his third visit to Santiago. Starkie does not travel to Finisterre. He is an Irish Catholic who enjoys the cultural journey along the *camino*, and he criticizes, already in 1954, the *camino* as a better marked itinerary that is missing adventure and places to get lost. Solitary walkers as Robert Macfarlane in search of mountainous adventure do not take the *camino* towards Santiago, but he mentions and explains it.<sup>211</sup> Walking artists such as Richard Long or Hamish Fulton do not follow marked itineraries, as the latter well explains<sup>212</sup>. Fulton however, takes the *camino* backwards twice when walking from Porto to Finisterre and the Mediterranean Sea, a walk that he names [II.9]: “*A journey by foot of 43 days along roads, paths and lanes, starting at the mouth of the river Duero in Porto and ending with the summer solstice at the delta of the Ebro River in Cataluña. Portugal, Spain, Vasc Pirynees, Francia 2001*”<sup>213</sup>: (From Porto by the Atlantic, north to Santiago de Compostela, then I turned and faced east. Walking on ‘the camino’ for about 800 kilometers to Saint Jean Pied de Port before continuing to the Mediterranean Sea. As a contemporary artist my rule was to walk the whole route in one go, not in sections – and never on a bicycle. Clear rules are what hold the walk together): “ I was informed by at least 500 people in the English language that I was walking, the *WRONG WAY*. ... **As a walking artist I walked away from the cathedral at Santiago**. In ancient times pilgrims had to walk both ways. To and from Santiago. In the camino in 2001, I did in fact meet one or two people who were doing just that, walking back to Amsterdam, walking back to Basel. Before I met Saint-Jean-Pied in France, I met the French dancer/choreographer Christine Quoiraud. Walking along –words of wisdom from Christine: “On the camino we confront our prejudices.” For the record, I fully support the institution of the “camino.” It is always there, waiting for pilgrims and walkers from Spain, or as far as Brazil.”

After having completed five coast to coast walks in the Iberian Peninsula between 1989 and 2004, Fulton says he had the great idea of taking the directions of the previous walks to design a sixth walk: “*A 2498 kilometers walking journey through on Spain starting from the Atlantic coast at **Finisterre**, dia de la hispanidad 12 October 2005, ending at the bank of the Rio Tajo, Toledo in the horizon.*” This walk traces a rectangular spiral for a walk that

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<sup>211</sup> MACFARLANE, R. 2012. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 243

<sup>212</sup> FULTON, H., 2008. “The one hundred dollar barrel of oil.” *Hamish Fulton : El camino*. Badajoz: Fundación Ortega Muñoz, (non-paged publication) “... I made my first two coast to coast walks on the Iberian Peninsula in 1989 and 1990 with Richard Long, a friend from student days. Richard and I designed these two walks.”

<sup>213</sup> FULTON, H., 2008. *Op. Cit.*, (non-paged publication)

ends at the geographical center of the Iberian Peninsula: “... walking east for 16 days to Logroño, walking south for 15 days to Elche de la Sierra, walking west for 11 days to Sevilla, walking north to Plasencia, walking east for 6 days to Toledo ending by the Banks of the Rio Tajo. Toledo horizons: there was nowhere else to end than in Toledo, a former capital located in the center of the country. Fulton also describes his attitude towards the *camino* and pilgrimage:<sup>214</sup> “... Contemporary artists may reject the practice of pilgrimage, preferring to design their own journeys (‘I did it my way’) for myself, I sympathize with both attitudes –the artist creating an original route and, the pilgrim surrounded by ghosts –adding their footprints to the dust of time. (A real pilgrimage takes the participant to the limits of her or his endurance and courage –and mirrors strengths, weaknesses and truths of the inner life)”

From a *pious* walk to a *romantic* discovery, to an *art platform*, the *camino* is today a hybrid of many cultures traversing its long kilometres. Many complain about the rigidity that the itinerary is taking, such as Starkie, or Fulton when he describes the annoyance of being advised many times that he is going in the wrong direction by modern pilgrims that understand the *camino* as a one way street. Like the High Line, the *camino* serves also as a platform for performing artists such as Christine Quoiraud, whom, we learn from Fulton, walks blindfolded along the highway –facing the traffic—left foot on the grass, right foot on the road, as an act of trespass. The *camino* needs to accommodate today more ways of walking towards Santiago and Finisterre.

### **The *camino* today, a synthetic chart**

I have portrayed the *camino* today in figure [II. 10a] as a cultural itinerary or urban-rural trek. The *camino* has a hybrid urban-rural quality very unlike more modern equivalents like the Appalachian Trail that traverse only nature as described before. Santiago is 800 km away from the border with France, and it takes at least 31 days to walk the whole distance. It takes a total of three more walking days to get to Finisterre. My chart of the Camino shows kilometers as distances between stations and meters as altitudes along the way. The Camino is a hybrid of infrastructure, nature, and urbanity. From the 45 original settlements cited in the Codex Calixtinus there are 326 settlements today, transforming the *camino* into one of the first examples of how infrastructure drives growth. The *right distance* between

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<sup>214</sup> FULTON, H., 2008. *Op. Cit.*, (non-paged publication)

stations can be decided and adjusted to the needs of the walker. Plenty are the city-stages along the way and almost all settlements have today services related to the camino as we can read in the lower part of the map. This is an equipped way to walk, an infrastructure designed for a *slow walk*. For those willing to find more adventure, the network has four more paths crisscrossing the Iberian Peninsula as we saw in figure [I.13]. But one could just take to try to make the *camino* backwards to enter into a real nightmare as a Basque peregrino explained to me at Melide, as the arrows only work in one direction and it is easy to get lost and walk unnecessary kilometers when going from west to east along the *camino*. This diagram shows the 32 settlements placed at the distance that would allow for an arrival in Santiago in 31 days and three more to Finisterre. But walkers could adjust within this chart to their own rhythms and needs. In the chart, we can appreciate the territorial reach of the camino, crossing four provinces of Spain from Navarra and the high Pyrenees mountains, passing along the bull-ring lands of Pamplona, the red lines of la Rioja full of wines of the same color, crossing then Castilla and the lands of the Cid in Burgos and the original kingdom of Leon, it enters in the green and mountainous lands of Galicia to pay tribute to St. James in Santiago to end at the end of the World of the Romans at Finisterre. This is the camino today, a long line west-east line in the territory; but this line is serendipitous and does not go straight, as it was the result of recycling what was taken back from the Moors through a Christian Holy War. A contemporary design at this scale was made with the Appalachian trail, a path that only criss-crosses nature. The camino as a hybrid between urbanity and culture could benefit with the addition of more natural layers along its way. In figure [II. 10b] inspired by Minard's chart of the advancement of French soldiers towards Russia, I created a chart where I measured all the different parts of departure along the network of the *camino* and incorporated these figures in the number of pilgrims entering at each of the city-stages along the *French Camino*, in this chart the fact that Sarria represents a big jump in the *camino* is visually portrayed.



### 3. Ten stages to Finisterre: The shape of a slow movement

#### 3.1 A hybrid descent: 7 days walking and 3 riding a car

In 1962 writer and journalist Alvaro Cunqueiro takes the road in a Seat *seiscientos*<sup>1</sup> from Piedrafita (at the base of Cebreiro) to Compostela with a photographer friend, Magar.<sup>2</sup> Together with his friend, Cunqueiro visits the main villages along the *camino* where he stops, explores the churches, describes their original trees and fields, and enjoys the food while talking to their peoples in Galician, their mother tongue –for Fascism’s prosecution of Iberian original languages never conquered these mountains, just as the Moors failed earlier.<sup>3</sup> The writer follows SAGRARIO DE MOLINA’s description of the Kingdom of Galizia, and the same territory, five hundred years later, is still described as medieval in nature.<sup>4</sup> His writing reveals for us that the inhabitants of these settlements have forgotten pilgrimage to the point where, when asking two children in Cebreiro, they don’t know what a pilgrim is<sup>5</sup>; and a woman says that two years have passed since she saw one last.<sup>6</sup> Cunqueiro wonders if this was a warrior like Guesclin or a poet like Nouveau, using them both as symbols of two previous stages of the current forgotten path: the medieval wall against the Moors, and the romantic ruin of the Enlightenment. Cunqueiro rides his car through a new era of silence: *an enormous silence, a silence from before the invention of the camino, weighs on the world.*<sup>7</sup> Earlier, when walking for the fourth time towards Santiago in 1954, the first Holy Year after the Civil War, Walter Starkie is told in Triacastela of many pilgrims going by buses and cars to Santiago, but the author mentions very few walking like him.<sup>8</sup> For the

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<sup>2</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A., SINGUL, FRANCISCO, & GARCÍA CASTRO, MANUEL, 2004. *Por el camino de las peregrinaciones: Y otros textos jacobeos* (1.st ed.). Barcelona: Alba Editorial. “...the texts originally appeared in the newspaper *Faro de Vigo*. The chronicle of the journey between Piedrafita and Compostela was published between 14 and October 24, 1962, under title: *Along the path of pilgrimage. From Piedrafita to Compostela*.

*Siscientos* was a typical 60’s small car in Spain, similar in size to the Italian mini cooper.

<sup>3</sup> The Franco dictatorship suppressed the language of the different regions of the Peninsula.

<sup>4</sup> SAGRARIO DE MOLINA, B. 1550. *Descripcion del reyno de Galizia*. Mondoñedo.

<sup>5</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 34

<sup>6</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 26

<sup>7</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 34

<sup>8</sup> STARKIE, W., 1957. *The road to Santiago; pilgrims of St. James*. London: Murray, pp. 294

same reason, when Cunqueiro offers counsel to build a hostel by the side of the recently transferred church in Portomarín, a villager asks: *Do you think that they would ever come back?* Cunqueiro's optimistic answer has been proven right, as pilgrims have come back by the thousands to these lands in the twenty first century [III.1a, 1b].<sup>9</sup>

Fifty years after Cunqueiro, in July 2012, I followed the same road but instead of Santiago, I extended my journey, finishing in Finisterre, where I planned to arrive with a full Moon. I divided the whole length of the transect from mountains to mountain in sets of three city-stages and made it in three days. Differing also from Cunqueiro, I did not stop at Vilar de Donas, a Romanesque church close to Palas de Reis. Instead, I visited the *mamoas* up in the mountains of Melide, testimonies to the megalithic archaic landscape of the Galician territory. By the side of the *mamoas*, a bull was grazing and the moon was almost full in the sky. I thought that there could be no more cosmological landscape remaining in the Iberian Peninsula than that of the mountains of Galicia. This was the spot that walking artist Richard Long would have chosen for one of his circles, lines or squares made of re-arranged or subtracted stones. And the dry wheat the bull was browsing could well have served as good material for a treaded line made by walking.<sup>10</sup> The wind mills in the horizon, however, brought me back to the twenty first century [III.2a]. Once again the next day I went back in time while contemplating the full moon in Finisterre, rising to the East of the western setting sun from the cape. Many contemporary pilgrims and vacationers had gathered as well to enjoy this astral and liquid landscape thought sacred by our ancestors from *illo tempore* [III.2b].

I had already walked the *camino* from Cebreiro to Santiago de Compostela in May the same year, following an established itinerary that matches the city-stages described by Cunqueiro. For this walk, I simply trained for seven days in my city, trying to cover the biggest possible area day after day, and fasted a little to lose unnecessary weight. Sometimes, these training walks took the shape of lines, other times of circles, or the combination of both. If my body had the necessary resistance, I intended to follow the

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<sup>9</sup> The original town at Portomarín was flooded with the building of a dam down the river as will be explained.

<sup>10</sup> Lippard, L. R. 1983. *Op. Cit.* pp. 126-9

proposed itinerary carrying the least weight possible, and wished for the best. I arrived by car to Cebreiro on Sunday May twentieth and walked to arrive on Whit Sunday or Pentecost in Santiago. Pentecost marks fifty days after Easter Sunday or seven weeks. Mine was also a seven day walk with overnights at Cebreiro, Triacastela, Sarria, Portomarin, Ponte Campaña (between Palas and Melide), Arzua and Lavacolla; fifty years after Cunqueiro rode his car from the same town towards Santiago de Compostela.

During the walk, with the wise advice of Anne W. Spirn I focused my iPhone lens towards the intimate relationship between the walker and the path, trying to portray its continuous and developing sectional profiles along the course of my slow movement.<sup>11</sup> With them, I also tried to decipher the language of the *camino* for contemporary pilgrims. I discovered then that the territory of the pilgrim along the *camino* is very small, just the space of her/his body at every step in a continuous movement. Being the walk's smallest unit, the step varies in length, pace, and pressure with every pilgrim. We can discern these qualities in the different footprints they have left on the ground. Spatially, this walk unit could account for one square meter at every step, a unit amplified by the senses and the mind while walking. Some of these extensions were for me the different tread touches, related to different path conditions along the way, or the number of blisters on your feet.<sup>12</sup> Together with the sense of freedom provided by long vistas from the mountains or prospects at lower levels. Especially in forests, one's sight, no longer entertained by the beautiful view, gets focused on following the yellow arrows, letting the mind wander freely through past memories or future projects. The space of the walk becomes a space for reflection this time. This also happens when the path is uninteresting and the direction is clear in a long horizon. Finally, the sound of your heartbeat and steps marching on the ground brings you back to the rhythm of your body, measurement in your long walk for every action you make. Sometimes, the sound of silence becomes denser than the internalized white noise of the city, and the smell, no longer camouflaged by CO<sub>2</sub>, returns to assist our perceptions. Tired after long daily walks, pilgrims usually move little during city-stages, where they stay in the

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<sup>11</sup> Anne W. Spirn encouraged me to bring my iPhone while walking instead of a heavy camera. My way of portraying the landscape of the *camino* was inspired by her advice. Today, that wisdom of Landscape photography can be found at her book *The eye is a door*, an e-book that like the hostels along the *camino* is only \$5 on Amazon.

<sup>12</sup> Many pilgrims explained that they got blisters the first days when they tried to force the length of the stage.

immediate surroundings of their hostels. There, they talk about their daily experiences, the way they discovered the *camino*, how they trained to make it possible, etc... I remember a middle-aged Canadian in Sarria, walking from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, who, thinking about the great effort, trained for a month in Montreal hiking a hill every day with her backpack. After that, she was finding the *camino* easy. Others talked about the many metaphors and lessons this long journey was giving them to continue their lives –as some were taking the journey to change them. These conversations happened while walking, within the intimate space that the *camino* provides, of a few centimeters between two bodies walking in a parallel movement.

The next unit to the step in the *camino* is that of the daily walk's stage, marking the difference between movement and the necessary break to rest for the next day. The length of the stage, like the step, also varies with every pilgrim as it depends on resistance, time available and whole distance covered.<sup>13</sup> Normally, this length ranges from 20 to 30 kilometers per day. And pilgrims talked about an increase in the number of kilometers they could accomplish per day, and a decrease in the time to do it as well. This is the territory of the pilgrim along the *camino*, a moving section of one meter from resting-stop to resting-stop, that becomes a 20 or 30 kilometer line when one stops for the day. This one meter section gets amplified at every step by the senses, being that sight is the one that captures the biggest terrain possible along the way.

When I later took to the road used in these days by cyclists to get to Santiago, I wanted to capture this panoptic view from the *camino*.<sup>14</sup> This bigger territory of the pilgrim's sight counterbalancing the smaller occupied terrain of the walking pilgrim. For that reason, I went back with my landscape lenses, to those panoramas that I marked while walking.<sup>15</sup> While driving, I should note, I never interacted with pilgrims, as our territories had now different scales and rhythms. Inspired by Cunqueiro, once the section and panorama frames

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<sup>13</sup> The longer the distance covered in the *camino*, as those walking from the Pyrenees, the bigger the stage also.

<sup>14</sup> I only counted two Basque cyclists in their twenties, riding their bikes along the path walkers use, the rest were taking the roads.

<sup>15</sup> These were Canon 10-22 EF-S. I want to thank my friend Diego Fernandez Villaverde for his knowledgeable advice about lenses and photography.

were selected, I decided to provide an account of the urbanized terrain of the *camino*. This would be a comparison between these days and the writer's fifty year old account of the *camino*. Therefore I also used the trip to capture bigger perspectives of the city-stages that would later help me overlay this fifty-year time-frame in my mappings. This panoptic view of the town only appears to the walker when the arrival into the city-stage happens through a descent, or when the view is clear of trees while ascending. Within the last ten stages, I selected twelve major city-stages along the *camino*. These are: Cebreiro, Triacastela, Samos, Sarria, Palas de Reis, Melide, Arzúa, Santiago, Negreira, Cee-Corcubiión and Finisterre. Continuing to understand the *camino* as an infrastructure interlaced with its surrounding territory, I also looked for those moments that increased this interlace between the pilgrim and the *camino*. And I framed the *crossings* with other infrastructures that in my understanding and experience brought one back to more contemporary layers.

### **3.2 The *camino* language**

My search through the previous frames with the camera lenses, the observation of pilgrims' performance, as well as *camino* writers' descriptions, helped me define five elements of the *camino* language today. For me, these are: hostel, path, crossings, artifacts and prospects along the way.

#### **Hostel**

During the suffering of the walk, many pilgrims long for the warm shower and the restorative meal and bed waiting for them at the end of their effort.<sup>16</sup> As all our needs go down to essentials while walking the *camino*, the smallest space needed is that of a bed, a shower and a dining room that normally assemble under the ceiling of a **hostel**. These are not the basic conditions that one finds in a hiking trail camp, like those in the Appalachians, but are more similar to its huts. However, the fact that this bed is shared in space in public hostels with the snores of your walking friends, takes some comfort out of the picture. Some cycling pilgrims, however, use the carrying capacity of their bikes to bring their own tents with them, and they camp by the side of the public hostels along the route. Normally

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<sup>16</sup> This is the case of Colm Toibín when he is ascending to Cebreiro to discover that there are not beds for him. TÓIBÍN, C., 1994. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 120-1.

settled on a town's main street, the space of the hostel is also enlarged to that of the city-stage pilgrim's street where pilgrims usually find everything they need to continue their walk. When the settlement is small, like those of Cebreiro, Triacastela or Samos, the pilgrim's street and settlement coincide. In the case of Sarria, the oldest medieval *camino* fabric, still recognizable in the figure ground of the city, forms the pilgrim street today. We learn from Passini and Soria, but also from Laura G. Morelli's dissertation that hostels were normally built by the side of a newly constructed medieval bridge, both of which became the seed for the establishment of new settlements.<sup>17</sup> This is the case in our study of Portomarín, Leboeiro, Furelos, Ribadiso or Ponte Maceira among others.<sup>18</sup> To commemorate the 1993 Holy Year, the Galician government built public hostels at major city-stages. Today, many private hostels have appeared as well, as we will discover [III.3a].

## **Path**

The path is the *camino*'s real matter, the linking bone that interlaces everything and everyone together. As in the Middle Ages, the path is still trodden by many classes and cultures. The most particular characteristic of the *camino* in the twenty first century is that those walking towards Santiago have more reasons than religious to take the way. The *camino* is not a walk through nature like in a National Park, but one that is along a one thousand years old urbanized area. This gives the path a hybrid urban/exurban quality, crisscrossing many different city sizes, cultural landscapes and climates, an experience difficult to match around the globe. In addition, the path between city-stages and its repetition over many days, as well as the way in which city-stages have evolved from it, is the another quality that differentiates the *camino* from other pilgrim paths. The length of the path remains the platform for transformation and discovery along the way, taken today by artists like Fulton and Christine Quoiraud among many unknown others, or photographers

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<sup>17</sup> PASSINI, J., 2000. *Op. Cit.* pp. 31-46. SORIA i PUIG, A. 1991-2. Vol 1: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 161-180. See also: MORELLI, L. G. 1998. *Medieval pilgrim's hospices on the road to Santiago de Compostela*. Yale Univ., pp. 25. In her dissertation Morelli tells us that from the 350 hospices that she estimated to have stood in circ.1200CE, along the four major roads in France and the *camino* in Spain, she knows of the appearance of only twenty five that made of stone resisted the pass of time and the growth of city-stages. Hospices many times places in the outskirts were many times eaten by growing peripheries.

<sup>18</sup> NARDIZ ORTIZ, C., 1995. "Las carreteras y el territorio en Galicia." *OP*, 3349, p. 51-57

that I found such as Franco Fontana, Xurxo Lobato, or Manuel Valcárcel.<sup>19</sup> The path's composition changes the tread touch. Stretching from firm to hard, and after millions of walkers, the path is never smooth. When the path is not paved, the hardness of the tread is the result of the geological layers underneath your body, which in Galicia are usually granitic. Other times, the Roman road still remains at the surface, giving the *camino* the same *kairological* quality that one finds by the side of the *mamoas* or at Finisterre. Its slope, on the other hand, can transform the *camino* into an easy walk, a hard ascent or a comfortable descent, the latter becoming difficult on your thighs with very steep ones. Slope and effort go together along the path. In the middle of nowhere one can find a *cafe-bar* in Galicia. This, as explained before, is the result of the Church of Santiago making it mandatory to stamp the *Compostelana* at least twice along the route in between city-stages. Part of the charm, but also the challenge of legibility along the *camino*, is that the path does not maintain a continuous section along the route. Sometimes it is a lane, other times a country road or a street within a city-stage, and others the unpleasant service lane of a national road. Especially when the latter occurs, as happens in Galicia between Portomarín and above Palas de Reis, the path becomes dangerous and unpleasant and should be redesigned. The continuous overlay of the path's sections is the mental image that I keep from my walk [III.3b].

### **Crossings**

We have read already that pilgrimage is understood as a crossing in India, a threshold between two worlds, a passage. Bridges to cross water, we learnt from Rykwert, were also sacred to Romans, connected to gates, only aperture in the revered wall. Crossings were marked in the Galician territory as well, says Murguía, by *dolmens* that were later transformed by Christianity into *cruceiros*. Along the *camino* today, I found five types of crossings. These crossings are first, with other paths of the same caliber or country roads; with modern high-ways or train tracks; with water; with settlements; and with mountain chains. All of them, if not well marked, are potential deviations from the walker's itinerary.

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<sup>19</sup> FONTANA, F. & MANFREDI, V.M. 2002. *El camino*. Parma: La Stamperia; LOBATO, X., CARANDELL, L., & MARTÍNEZ, P., 1991. *El Camino de Santiago*. Barcelona: Lunweg Editores. VALCARCEL, M. 2010. Memoria de Peregrinación. Camino de Santiago, Primer Itinerario Cultural Europeo. Santiago de Compostela.

Differently from fifty years ago, the *camino* is well marked today with yellow arrows in the direction towards Compostela, as well as concrete posts every kilometer.<sup>20</sup> The way back, on the other hand, could become your own *dérive*, as signs are almost non-existent at intersections in the opposite direction. All crossings along the *camino* are moments of design. For instance, there are many ways in which the *camino* crosses water along Galicia's *waterland*. From big stones, to Roman bridges, to big modern concrete ones like at Portomarin. The *camino*'s intersections with highways also become bridges or underpasses, normally unpleasantly shared with cars. There is a point in the outskirts of Sarria where the *camino* crosses a train track and elevated highway at the same point. This overlay of ancient with contemporary networks should be taken into consideration with real care as a really interesting exercise of design that would require wisdom and talent combined. The *camino*'s intersection with settlements should be well calibrated as well, especially at the intersection with peripheral areas or city extensions. From a certain distance, the panoptic view of the town should be taken into account in future design. The crossing with the city is marked in the *camino*, from the open section of a *rurban* condition to that of walking again through urban streets. From all the crossings, the ones that remain more special and sacred, in an ancient way, are in my view the mountain passes. Both the Pyrenees and the Courel mountains are big ascents that pilgrims need to make in order to get to Compostela. The long mountain views in Cebreiro were as special to me as the sunset from Cape Finisterre. Mountains mark the beginning and end of the *camino* in Galicia [III.3c].

### **Artifacts**

From beginning to end, the *camino* is also marked by artifacts of many kinds. All of them give the *camino* its character and contribute to the grammar of its language along the way. Included in this group are the signs that allow us to continue on route; the fountains that permit refreshing our bodies and horses along the way; the little Romanesque churches visible in little urbanized areas in the distance, as well as the big Cathedral in Santiago that we see from the Mount of Joy. Different in size and form, one characteristic unifies these

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<sup>20</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 122. Cunqueiro claims a better signage for the *camino*.



artifacts: their *granite*. Contemporary pilgrims, religious or not, still visit or admire these Romanesque churches. Some find their silent interior a treasure, and in the middle of summer others long to arrive to their fresh chambers. One wonders however, how the church could better use these spaces, empty in many cases, as the number of priests is decreasing. I was told that one priest is normally in charge of a few parishes, enormous in number and very small in size, as these were never unified since the Middle Ages. The sizes of the parcels along the *camino* are also small, as they have kept being subdivided since Roman times. This is good for the *camino* as the cultivated land the pilgrim transverses retains the same scale as their bodies, with only one or two farmers managing this self-subsistent agriculture. The beautiful stone walls that divide these parcels form part of the *rurban* beautiful parts of the *camino* in Galicia. The famous yellow arrow, *la flecha amarilla*, has become a symbol of the *camino* today. This handmade mark, first by Valiña as I explained before, is similar to the blaze made on tree trunks on trails and lacks a permanent and consistent support. The arrow is painted at every crossing on top of the most visible element at hand. In these days, the arrow is normally paired up with another sign of *bar*, the place where one can get a beverage or small lunch on route. As explained above, their number has increased and pilgrims complain about their prices, as many profit by their adjacency to the *camino*. As for the arrow, its flexibility allows for volunteers and grassroots groups to easily and economically provide for its continuity. At least within Galicia, inhabitants of nearby towns dispute the *camino's route*, and some re-paint the arrow so that the path detours through their town. Painted on every surface, this arrow is part of the *camino* language. Within the cities and settlements this sign is further designed. In Santiago for instance, the sign has the form of a golden scallop shell that is inlaid into the granite stone of the pavement. In other places, the scallop shell is a carving on a concrete wall or a blue tile with the modern yellow sign of the *camino* [III.3d]

### **Liquid Prospects**

In an urban era and for an urban society, the *camino* shares values with the Appalachian Trail, as was explained in the previous chapter. Like the latter, the *camino* provides a space to break with the routine and monotony of our daily lives, and also to discharge and disconnect from an overly connected world. However, this disconnection happens only

when we walk, and when we do so until we feel tired day after day. This was probably different before, when without cars walking was the only way to get to places and therefore routine. We are however a less walkable society, especially in the US, where walking seems to be devolving. But even in Europe, we are also used to daily commutes within cities, being underground in subways for some time during the day, stuck in some of that traffic that before we only heard of from America, and we are also accustomed to be enclosed within the walls of offices and apartments inside buildings. Therefore, in this urban era, the *camino* is also a platform of oxygenating long views and prospects that break with the monotony of our everyday closer ones. This is not something specific to the walk along the *camino*, but for those walks that involve the movement of the body cross-country, which is always associated with freedom and re-direction. My mental image of the *camino* is that of the continuous overlay of layers underneath my feet, together with the overlay of long views along the way. The *camino* is today for me a palimpsest, and the observatory from where the discovery of panoramas happens. After the arid Castilian meseta, the *camino* is green in Galicia. It receives us with similar lanes as those in Ireland, which as Galicia never went through a British *enclosure act* and that share religion and Celtic culture like the bagpipes. The dry atmosphere in Castile gives way to a 100% humidity, and the covered and fresh sky warns us that soon it will rain. The *camino* is now a humid relief, after the arid *meseta*. Galicia is rich in water and water's cycle moves quickly from ocean to mountains. So when it rains in Cebreiro, we are already getting the ocean from Finisterre. From a very foggy morning, to a very sunny afternoon it can rain at night and keep raining for many hours or days if we are in the fall or the spring. Those are the atmospheric conditions that make these prospects become liquid along these last ten stages of the *camino* [III.3e].

### **3.3 A cartographical journey along the last 10 stages**

There are two series of mappings that result from my hybrid experience of walking and car riding along the *camino*'s last ten stages. The first of these tries to synthesize the experience of the walk day after day, and the second reveals the evolution of major city-stages along its transect, a total of twelve, in the last fifty years since Cunqueiro drove his car. In order to portray both, I selected two frames for mapping. The first is the daily stage of continuous

one meter/step sections that become a line of twenty to thirty kilometers by the end of the daily walk. The second is the major city-stage within a circle, two and a half kilometers in diameter, that covered settlement and surroundings in 1956 and today, but for Santiago de Compostela, Cee-Corcubión and Finisterre, as I will explain. The representation of both mappings is the result of my mental image of the *camino* after the walk: that of the continuous overlay of layers underneath my feet, together with the overlay of long views along the way. I thus portray the *camino* as *palimpsest*<sup>21</sup>, and the *camino* as *panopticon*<sup>22</sup>. The *camino* as *panopticon* was the departing point to frame and explore each of the ten stages's viewshed, the principle to frame the panoramas along the *camino*, and the point of view to freeze in an image the current state of its settlements. The palimpsest, on the other hand, was the guiding idea for both mappings, understood as an overlay of stages, sections, and effort day after day; and the result of the process of additions and subtractions of figures and grounds at every settlement. The data used for the assemblage of both series was provided by the Santiago de Compostela City Council, the Office of the Patronato, and the Instituto de Estudios del Territorio in the same city.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Stage**

The daily stage, as the step, varies with every pilgrim as they walk or ride a bicycle. Walking shortens the stages, reducing the size of their territories along the way in comparison to those of the car. In parallel to the shorter stage and smaller territory, the flexibility of the stop increases. Walking or cycling pilgrims can stop wherever they want if they have a tent and get permission; if it is summer and they want to sleep under a tree; in case they are invited by a priest to sleep in the church; or more often, wherever there is a public or private hostel in the area. Private hostels have appeared along the whole length of the *camino* and outskirts of major settlements. The stage does not necessarily start and end at every city-stage today, but it is more a result of the walker's resistance day after day. To graphically represent this factor, the maps were not systematically cut from city-stage to

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<sup>21</sup> Explained in Chapter One.

<sup>22</sup> Define panopticon

<sup>23</sup> The Institute for the Study of the Territory has a website where you can download multiple data as well: [<http://visorgis.cmati.xunta.es/cdix/mapa.html>][[http://www.cmati.xunta.es/organizacion/c/Instituto\\_Estudios\\_Territorio](http://www.cmati.xunta.es/organizacion/c/Instituto_Estudios_Territorio)]

city-stage but were focused in a twenty-five kilometer average daily walk, portrayed in a 1 to 20,000 meters frame.

This daily walk was understood as a walker's effort, a moving section of one meter becoming an average 25 kilometer line when one stops for the day, the *panopticon* of view sheds, and the prospect of adventure and discovery. To map this image, the stage was divided in five layers. The first portrays the stage with the linear element of the *camino*, the major and minor settlements the walker crosses while walking, as well as the visual territory s/he discovers from the *camino* panopticon. The second draws the line of the *camino* with all its crossings as well as its different slopes along the daily traverse. This slope ranges in color from yellow to red revealing the parts where the walk is going to demand more effort. In my experience, being mentally prepared for those moments helps you overcome them better. The third layer displays the multiplicity of sections one perceives along the way, and in this case draws them every five hundred meters to synthesize a series of millions. The fourth layer synthesizes the idea of prospect and adventure along the walk by drawing the perspectival view of every stage, portraying for each of the stages the perspective of the terrain to be covered, the sections along the way as well as the *camino* in a perspective view ahead of us. Last but very important, the fifth layer compiles the different panoramas discovered along the way.

Layer after layer and stage after stage, like the walker, the reader is travelling from Cebreiro to Finisterre in a permanent descent, from a mountain pass to a mountain cape. Reading with her/is eyes, they will go up and down many times through the wrinkled terrain of these last ten stages of the *camino*. Religious pilgrims could compare this twelve city-stage transect with the twelve stations of the cross in a *via crucis*, a religious walk marked by crosses that represents the twelve times Christ stopped along the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem, while carrying the cross towards Mount Calvary – today found within the walls of the Holy Sepulcher [I.4e]. The *camino* becomes a territorial *via crucis* in that case. In the twenty first century however, the *camino* is no longer a religious suffering to obtain virtue by punishing ourselves, but a walk to open many possibilities and projects, to reach an end that is not

enclosed by walls but exposed to the horizontal line of the setting sun at the Romans' end of the world.<sup>24</sup>

The compilation of five layers at every stage is the image of a daily walk, as well as the platform for action that could be used to project a better interlace between the walker and the *camino* in the future. For Manuel de Solà, this mapping exercise is already a project, as for him “*to draw was to select, to select was to interpret and to interpret was to propose*”.<sup>25</sup> And this was the method used by his *Laboratorio de Urbanismo* de Barcelona to produce the image of the Catalan counties in the ‘eighties at the scale 1/10.000.<sup>26</sup> The territory described in those images was also understood as a palimpsest that Solà called “historic nature”. Therefore the mappings paid attention to the territory in terms of place, measures, scale and distance, focusing their analysis on territorial relationships.<sup>27</sup> The territory traversed by the contemporary pilgrim is if anything a “historic nature” as well, and in this way I have also analyzed it. My mapping exercise borrows also from Geddes' instrumental technique for mapping the landscape through the “valley section,” one that he in turn borrowed from French geographers Elise Reclus and Paul Vidal la Blanche and French sociologist Frederic Le Play. The valley section indexed the various strata of flora, fauna, and minerals present in the landscape, and Geddes mixed a sectional and panoramic view in

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<sup>24</sup> STARKIE, W. 1957. *Op. Cit.* pp. 323 “... *The Medieval pilgrimage was not only an act of grace bringing the believer into close contact with the saints and martyrs of his religion, but also an act of atonement for his past sins. Pilgrims today are even more gregarious, more robot like than they were in my younger days, thirty years ago, and such attention has been paid to their personal fads and fancies by the confraternities who supervise their prayers and the tourist companies who plan their journeys that not unforeseen adventure happens to the pampered pilgrims of today while they are on their travels. Nevertheless, even today, there are still in every country a number of lonely pilgrims who forsake the rapid-moving supervised pilgrimages and make the long journey guided solely by the myriads of wandering souls in the star-dust of the Milky Way.*

<sup>25</sup> SOLÀ-MORALES, M. de. 1989. “The culture of description.” *Perspecta*. Vol.25. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 16-25

<sup>26</sup> SOLÀ-MORALES, M de.1980.“La identitat del territori.” *La Identitat del Territorio Català: les Comarques. Quaderns*, vol.1. Barcelona: COAC, pp.3. A contribution from the architectural vision of the territory, with mappings that recognized building footprints that man has been deposited along its history (parcels, communication works, topographical changes, urban factories, etc. Also informed by the cadastral vision as inventory or encyclopedic compendium;

<sup>27</sup> SOLÀ-MORALES, M de.1980.“Reconeixament comarcal i ordenació del territori.” *La Identitat del Territorio Català: les Comarques. Quaderns*, vol.1. Barcelona: COAC, pp.59, The territory is not understood as an organism, but as a complex form of economic, political and social relationships within the country and nation to which they belong and the county as the optimal form to democratically order it. For Solà, these socio-economic relations together with the laws of production build the territory, which Solà- Morales coined as “historic nature.”

See Also: SOLÀ-MORALES, M de, PARCERISA, J.1980. “La forma de un país.” *La Identitat del Territorio Català: les Comarques. Quaderns*, vol.1. Barcelona: COAC, pp.4 ... Together with Parcerisa, they call this mappings descriptive maps, literary territory and conceptual architecture

his visual surveys. In his own words “survey then plan”.<sup>28</sup> Survey involved inventorying the components of a landscape and understanding the relationships among these components over time. The view was overlaid with history and imagination in a vast synoptic combination. Geddes’ view of the landscape expanded upon repeated surveys and over the depth of time that was lent by historical information.<sup>29</sup>

The maps of stages could serve therefore as the platform for a later overlay with a social, economical and ecological analysis. This would disclose that this is a shrinking region [III.4], with a big migrant population from the countryside to coastal cities or more frequently to Europe and South America.<sup>30</sup> As a result migrants’ small pieces of land are scattered along the Galician territory, a patchwork that makes the process of re-parceling extremely difficult. This shrinking process in parallel with an aging population results in many abandoned settlements, and in many others with few inhabitants across the interior. This could affect tangentially all the stages of the *camino* until Santiago de Compostela, since every settlement but for Sarria and Melide has lost population in the last ten years and during the last century—see table 1 in chapter one. This is not the case for the settlements from Santiago to Finisterre, since for all other parts of the World the coast has been urbanizing rapidly in these lands as well.

Under these circumstances, now that the *camino* has been protected, this could be the time for the *camino* to hybridize with the natural layers of the Appalachian Trail in order to become a hybrid cultural/natural/sacred linear park.<sup>31</sup> Nature would be understood not as wilderness but in Anne W. Spirn’s understanding of the term.<sup>32</sup> Within this idea, a better

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<sup>28</sup> EASTERLING, K. 1999. *Organization space: Landscapes, highways, and houses in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 21

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*. pp. 22. Easterling tells us that this perceptual practice reflected his admiration of French philosopher Henri Bergson. For Bergson the mind was a function of time and experience

<sup>30</sup> That is why all Spaniards in South America, regardless their origin in the Peninsula, are always called Gallegos.

<sup>31</sup> See above in chapter One

<sup>32</sup> SPIRN, A. W. 2014. *The eye is a door*. e-book, location 738 “... To me, nature is the sum of creative and life-sustaining processes that connect everything in the physical universe, including humans, processes that connect scales of time and space, and all that lives within them. It is not a place, like a wilderness park, not an object, like a flower... To photograph nature as I seek to do demands a craft akin to that of a documentary photographer, capturing the stories of formation, the unexpected,

integration of path and pilgrim would happen in my view by keeping the scale of the path tuned to the human scale of her/his body while allowing for the view to have as many panoramas as possible. The control and design of the viewshed could bring back many natural layers while bringing in the ecological processes that improve the quality of the terrain. Benton MacKaye planned the Trail as an economical network as well, using silviculture and forestry as economical drivers, for instance.<sup>33</sup>

When I portrayed the ten last stages of the *camino* after its protection had already been approved, I calculated the viewshed from the *camino* in GIS to frame the larger territory of the pilgrim. This was a process that took an average of ten hours per stage, and three days for that of Finisterre. I realized then that the protection plan had taken, at some areas, this view shed as a second level protection zone that they called “zona de respeto”: a respect zone. My understanding of this viewshed goes beyond a frozen image in time, to a zone to bring back, for instance, many of the natural layers lost to fires, farming or deforestation, now that many of these areas are thinly inhabited [III.4].<sup>34</sup> For all the technical processes involved in obtaining this image, I closely followed the advice provided by my colleague at MIT Sarah Williams.<sup>35</sup>

### **The City-Stage**

There are twelve major city-stages, from the mountains of Cebreiro to the mountain cape of Finisterre. Those before Compostela coincide with those visited by Cunqueiro in 1962 and are proposed in the *camino* itinerary today. These were also the stages where I overnights or walked through, fifty years after the writer. The ones after Santiago de Compostela were

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*paradoxical, and anomalous, the complex and the dynamic, the serendipitous and ephemeral, as well as the eternal and monumental.”*

<sup>33</sup> EASTERLING, K. 1999. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 29 “... He studies its effect on labor, resources, and population migration. Hydro engineers, foresters, silviculturalists, and economist, for instance, were all technicians in this endeavor. He considered his own practice of geotechnics or “regional engineering” as he called it, to be a kind of composite form.” See also: MACKAYE, B., 1928. *The new exploration: a philosophy of regional planning*. New York: Hartcourt, Brace and Co, pp. 34-5.

<sup>34</sup> Galicia struggles with many induced fires during the summer. See Table 1. In Chapter One for population.

<sup>35</sup> Sarah Williams is the Director of Civic Data Design Lab [<http://www.civicdatadesignlab.org/>] (Last Accessed, Jun'15) The slope and topography of every stage were also obtained from a DEM in GIS. Topography was exported into Rhino and the orthophoto projected, or draped, over the rugged terrain of Galicia. Grasshopper was used to calculate the sections and the maps were all finished in Illustrator.

selected in terms of walking distance, services provided to the pilgrim, and population.<sup>36</sup> Similarly to the stage, the city-stage was understood as the overlay of this fifty-year time lapse, when the *camino* was almost forgotten, to its second golden age today.<sup>37</sup> With them, I wanted to unravel the consequences that this contemporary resurgence had for the *camino*'s built environment. I did so by giving a graphic account of the process of addition/subtraction of figures, grounds and infrastructure at these major settlements. Besides, these mappings were made after the *camino*'s protection plan was approved in 2011-2012. Therefore, they mark a moment in time from where their evolution would be, *if everything goes as planned*, more closely directed. The comparison was made between the information provided by aerial orthophotos taken in a 1956-57 flight with those from a 2012 one, together with the Spanish cadaster information.

Mayor city stages are also understood as historic nature, like the stages they belong to, but their layers are different. To create the image of the settlement, **five layers** were selected. The first is the 1956 orthophoto that gives us the image of the settlement and land division at that time--the latter missing in the study.<sup>38</sup> The second layer portrays the settlement's topography and water, major conditions for the form and formation of the settlement in a pre-modern era.<sup>39</sup> Besides, as we have learnt in past chapters, the crossing of water was a foundational factor of settlements along the *camino*. The third layer is that of the figure ground and infrastructure of the settlement in 1956 --traced completely by myself in CAD over the aerial photo. The fourth layer on top is that of the settlement's figure ground in 2012, using the data provided by the cadaster.<sup>40</sup> The last layer is the combination of yesterday and today's figure ground with the trace of the *camino* in its actual route. All

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<sup>36</sup> Assuming that the pilgrim would have walked, like I did, only from Lavacolla to Santiago, he could continue to Negreira, in the same day. From here there are two options: walking to Olveira and from there to Finisterre or walking to Corcubi3n and from there to the cape the next day. Olveira is the stop proposed by the government organization, the Xacobeo. It has a hostel and also allows to get to Mux3a directly in a day walk. My decision to analyze Corcubi3n-Cee in the *camino* was taken to show the different trend that urbanization has on the coast.

<sup>37</sup> As we learnt from Cunqueiro. See above: CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 26 and 34.

<sup>38</sup> This analysis did not count with 1956 cadaster.

<sup>39</sup> 1956 is considered pre-modern along the whole transect of the *camino* in its last ten stages. Late industrialization happened in major cities in Galicia in the XX century.

<sup>40</sup> I was helped to clean this data in summer 2014 by MIT UROP student Chandan Sharma Subedi, from Nepal. Chandan who did not know how to draw in a computer when he first started, used this project to learn how to use Cad, Rhino and GIS. He also helped me to obtain the topo layers for the settlements and stages in GIS.



together these let us understand the evolution and form of each settlement in these last fifty years. The sum of all of them is a good way of sensing the different relationships and processes of the areas that surround the *camino* along this last ten stages. We can see that the slow processes of the interior of the region, as well as its high topography have also slowed down the process of urbanization in the stages from Cebreiro to Sarria. The latter however, is settled in a big valley and in possession of the only train station but for Santiago. Sarria is the second largest settlement followed by the settlements of the coast like Corcubi3n and Cee if these two considered together –as their footprint is today—and Finisterre. The twelve settlements were framed into a two and a half kilometer square, and inscribed in a two and a half kilometer circle that includes arrival, departure and first prospect. This happens in all settlements, but for the already described bigger ones. In the following paragraphs, I will end this chapter by describing the analysis of the combination of stage and city-stage that I will analyze and describe under the light of the five elements of their language: Path, Crossing, Hostel, Artifacts and Prospects. As the *camino* is well described in many guides today and can be planned through multiple websites as well, this description will instead read it under a different light that focuses the lenses on each of the previous elements to portray the *camino* image today.<sup>41</sup> In order to do so, I divided the *camino* into three major stages, with three major cities in each. These are the three stages from Cebreiro to Portomar3n, Portomar3n to Santiago, and Santiago to Finisterre. I gave special attention to three settlements in each stage: Cebreiro, Santiago and Finisterre. Respectively, these are the beginning, major destination, and end of the *camino* at the ocean.

### **Cebreiro to Portomar3n**

Cebreiro-Triacastela: [S.1] [CS.1] [CS.2]

Triacastela-Sarria: [S.2] [CS.3] [CS.4]

Sarria-Portomarin: [S.3] [CS.5]

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<sup>41</sup> Many pilgrims directed me towards Eroski's website [<http://caminodesantiago.consumer.es/>] where one can find all the major stages of the whole network of *caminos* in Spain with major hostels, services, etc...

For pilgrims coming from St. Jean-Pied-de-port, when they start to ascend the last mountain pass in **Cebreiro**, they are repeating what they have already done at the Cize pass in the Pyrenees. After that big effort they have found that “*the sun also rises*” in Pamplona, and if they happened to pass on July 7<sup>th</sup>, would have had to give right of way or join the people running ahead of bulls in the streets, as Hemingway did in the 1920s.<sup>42</sup> From the red wine lands of Rioja, pilgrims have trodden the arid Castile land of cereal, wheat and rye across the battle grounds of Christian and Moor, the Cid, or the hallucinating Quixote at Burgos and León. Cunqueiro describes beautifully this arrival:

*“...Astorga, Ponferrada, Villafranca del Bierzo... Here pilgrim eyes first greet the Galician mountains crowned with fog. Slow is the hike to Piedrafita. From the camino, green meadows can be seen in narrow valleys, where the poplar nicely grows, and clear and sound waters descend. When the pilgrim crowns the rough port, oversees a lengthy ocean of mountains, warped and old bare summits. In the nearest slopes, here and there, small hills show their slate roofs today ... The Pilgrim comes along the road, not by the arduous old path that climbed the Faba, passing by the Laguna de Castilla and the hermit church of the Saints; and crowned the summit at Santa María la Real of Cebreiro. Climbing in about seven kilometers, around 700 meters. It was perhaps the most difficult stage of the long French camino. The pilgrim stops to contemplate the harsh hike of yesteryear. This was done by Saints, Kings and Queens, the flower of chivalry, rich burghers of Flanders and the Ile de France, monks and beggars.... The Galician days of the camino begin.”<sup>43</sup>*

The recovery of the old path and consequent segregation of pilgrims from the roads has been an important work of associations of Friends of the Camino de Santiago and public administrations, performed with great success during the final two decades of the twentieth century as we learnt in Chapter One. The pilgrim arrives today through the old path that Cunqueiro describes as one of the most beautiful panoramas of the whole transect, comparable for me with the view of the Cathedral from the Mount of Joy in Santiago or the horizontal abyss at Finisterre. At these three spots the *camino* is a *panopticon* at its best. The path guiding us into Cebreiro shows at its surface the traces of the old Roman and megalithic ways, bringing us back in time and space to these older layers of its history. Cebreiro, a megalithic *castrum* in origin itself, still preserves its oval iron-age huts, used today as storage for pilgrims’ provisions. As we discover in Cebreiro’s map layers, this

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<sup>42</sup> This is the title of Ernest Hemingway’s famous novel: Hemingway, E. 1954. *The sun also rises*. New York: Scribner.

<sup>43</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A. et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 22 (translated from Spanish by author)

hamlet has grown little and is today a hostel-stage and a pilgrim street at once, where every building is used to shelter and feed pilgrims' hunger. But for the public hostel, all other buildings are private ones with restaurants at their main floors. Its major artifact, apart from the huts, is the medieval monastic complex at its peak that receives the pilgrim when he has finished marveling the beautiful view at the end of this big ascent. This is St. Maria la Real del Cebreiro, established by the Benedictine order in the twelfth century. Laffi and Cunqueiro describe the miracle that happened in this old monastery founded in 836.<sup>44</sup> If one keeps ascending here, s/he would perceive the entire geography of the town at the ridge of this mountain pass.

After this big ascent of Cebreiro, the path to **Triacastela**, next city-stage on route, is a smooth descent that offers big panoramas into the Courel and Oribio mountain systems.<sup>45</sup> These are also some of the most sublime prospects into the mountainous Galician territory. The panoptic view of Triacastela is blocked today by bushes and it is difficult to see the city-stage until one arrives there when walking. This is unfortunate, as the town is settled in the Oribio river valley and its prospect would enrich the walk. Bigger than the hamlet of Cebreiro, Triacastela is a linear settlement that has doubled the pilgrim path to the north with a road where buildings that are too bulky and tall have been constructed. Like Cebreiro, all buildings along the pilgrim street are related to the *camino*, transforming this stage, like the previous, into a hostel linear-street-town at a bigger scale. Triacastela has grown little in the last fifty years, but the new buildings have shown little sensitivity to the human scale of the pilgrims nor to the *rurban* condition of the town. Its main artifact is the church and cemetery of Santiago<sup>46</sup>, used for pilgrims in the past, just at the center of town.

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<sup>44</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 156 "...There is a Benedictine monastery here where the monks give pilgrims a *passada* of bread, wine and other alms. There is also a hospice for pilgrims. Celebrated holy relic."; pp. 157 miracle of Cebreiro. pp. 159 "... Laffi tells that see has seen the flesh of the size of the finger with his own eyes.(the Benedictine abbey of el Cebreiro was said to have been founded in 836 though the oldest documents that mention it date from the end of the 11th century. It was closed in the XiX century and only the church remains. It contains the greatly venerated relics, kept in silver caskets, as well as the chalice and paten, on the event described by Laffi. It is said to have occurred about 1300 and it's recorded on a papal bull and other early documents.)

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*. "...After seeing the holy relic we went on our way through the mountains, passing through a number of small villages inhabited by shepherds. Then we began to descend. After a long walk we came at last into a plain, where there was a village of some size, with good houses called Triacastela."

<sup>46</sup> For a description of the church go to: CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 45 "...The church of Santiago in Triacastela has, as has already been said, with twelfth-century Romanesque apse and Baroque façade-tower last third of the

As head of its parish, Triacastela also includes a city council by the end of the street and plaza that allows crossing the river Oribio to continue our walk into Samos. From this valley onward, all the waters that we cross are on their way to the river Miño in Portomarín, as we are.

**Samos** is an artifact-stage constituted by the Benedictine monastery that gives name to the town. The monastery was built in the seventh century and kept growing until the confiscation act in the eighteenth. Unfortunately, the building went through a big fire in 1951 that decimated its precious library, but it has been thoroughly restored since. Still today, Gregorian Chants can be heard at Laudes and Vespers within the walls of this artifact.<sup>47</sup> The monastery also has a little hostel, where the shrinking population of monks receives pilgrims in their way to St. James. Everything in the town is an infrastructure made by the monastic order, from the path and fields that receive us before we start descending into the narrow valley of the Sarria river, to the old and new bridge that allows us to cross its waters before the Monastery, until the dam and water mill a little further down that reduces the strength of the water by the town and allowed to grind the cereals produced in their fields.

The path keeps to the slope of the river for a while after Samos, towards our next city-stage in the camino, **Sarria**. This is the biggest settlement before Compostela in this *camino* transect, as it also conquers a generous river valley like Santiago. Besides, the town has also a train station that connects the city to the north with old Roman *Lucus Augusti* (Lugo) in forty minutes, and to the south with Orense in one hour.<sup>48</sup> These are reasons that made Sarria grew substantially in the last fifty years. This growth of the city fabric is perceived by the pilgrim only tangentially as the oldest medieval street in town, still showing some signs of a derelict past, is now being recovered as a pilgrim street for the *camino*. The

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XVIII. *It was built with limestone and shale. His typology is rectangular single nave with wooden frames and two sheds gable roof. The medieval apse has a rectangular section and a semicircular covered respectively with a barrel vault and dome oven. Chancel and nave communicate via a triumphal arch. The sacristy is attached to the south wall. At the foot of the nave is a high rostrum or choir with remains of mural painting from the triumphal arch.. Moved to this location after the last restoration of the temple. In the process of restoration 1996-97"*

<sup>47</sup> Respectively at 8:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m.

<sup>48</sup> Major cities in the region and both major city-stages of the *Camino Primitivo* and the *Vía de la Plata* today

pilgrim coming all the way from the Pyrenees however, experiences in Sarria a big jump in the number of pilgrims joining the path as this stage marks a little over the 100 kilometers walk required to receive the *Compostelana* as we saw in figure [II.10b]. The city-stage is the combination of various elements. Pilgrims walk by the side of a road for a while before the path enters into Sarria through its southernmost part through the *Peregrino* Street. After the river has been crossed over a modern bridge and plaza, pilgrims can see the bell tower of Santa María church at Main Street along the old medieval route of the *camino*. This is today a pilgrim street-hostel, similar in form to Triacastela but more urban in appearance and settled on a hill instead of at the valley's base. The street is aligned with all the hostels, public and private ones, along with restaurants in their main floors that are open to pilgrims at their arrival. The street is signaled with many artifacts such as two churches at the base and peak of the hilly street that is conquered by the ruins of an old castle.<sup>49</sup> Many pilgrims sleep, as I did, in the Convent of La Merced by the side of the town's cemetery further up.<sup>50</sup> Settled in the hilliest part of the valley in order to protect the settlement from the Spring flooding, this medieval old town of Sarria allows pilgrims to get a panoptic view of the town without having to enter into its modern fabric. However, the big highway near the Convent simultaneously overlays medieval and modern layers at the same time for the pilgrim bringing him back to speed and urbanization.

The *camino* leaves Sarria by crossing a beautiful small medieval bridge, after which it crosses two major modern infrastructures, the train track and a aqueduct highway at the same exact point. After climbing out of Sarria's river valley, the path starts descending

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<sup>49</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 159, "... We passed some villages until we crossed a river where there are several mills, and climbed the road to Sarria. This is very fine prosperous town, with attractive houses and a monastery of the white Friars who give pilgrims a *passada*. Above the town is a splendid, strong castle surrounded by very high walls, where the lord of the town lives. He also gives a *passada*, in the form of money to pilgrims coming from Compostela and acts as magistrate being absolute ruler hereabouts

<sup>50</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 67 "... The Convent of Mercy in Sarria (Magdalena monastery) was built on top of the town of Sarria, near the Count's Castle. Its foundation dates back to the early thirteenth century and was due to two Italian pilgrims belonging to the congregation of Penance Martyrs of Christ. From 1568 the community that inhabited the monastery happened to be governed by the rule of St. Augustine. Its original function was primarily hospital and healthcare, becoming during the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries one of the most famous hospitals in the Camino de Santiago pilgrims. This hospital remained in operation until 1835. Thereafter and as a result of the seizure, the monastery buildings were abandoned until 1896, the year in which they were recovered by Mercedarians."

towards Galicia's major river, the Miño, at **Portomarín**.<sup>51</sup> The traverse from Sarria to Portomarín changes the *Camino* from the mountainous path at Cebreiro, and the country road through the bigger fields of the Sarria valley, to being a lane between beautiful stone walls by smaller parcels. This being a cattle area, the pilgrim usually shares this lane with blonde Galician cows or other imported breeds. The times of harvest, mowing or sowing on the other hand, are also closely perceived at this transect of the *camino*. Portomarín is a crossing-stage. The medieval town and bridge that pilgrims used to cross in the past rests in peace under the river waters, since 1965 when the Belesar Dam was built down the river and the villages on its riverbank submerged.<sup>52</sup> Only Portomarín was transferred five hundred meters up the hill as it formed part of the Camino Heritage Protection plan from 1946. Saved from eternal oblivion, the *new town* was built in a project laid out in 1955, and completed by 1965.<sup>53</sup> We can see in Magar's pictures that the works of the modern bridge entering the town were still under way when Cunqueiro visited the town in 1962.<sup>54</sup> As a result, very different from the other settlements on the *camino*, the path does not go through Portomarín and pilgrims can continue walking towards Palas de Reis after crossing the bridge without entering the town. This is the only time this happens at this transect of the *camino*. Out of being planned from scratch in the fifties, this stage has a gridded plan instead of a linear one, and is therefore the most modern settlement in our way to Compostela. Its pilgrim artifacts however, the medieval churches of St. St Nicolás, and St. Pedro, are the only remaining stones from the past; one by one they were transferred to New Portomarín.<sup>55</sup> When the dam is opened and the water is low, pilgrims can still see the

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<sup>51</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 160 "...after we left Sarria we arrived at Puertomarín, a distance of three leagues. This is a fine town. Through the middle flows a large river with plenty of fish, particularly eels and excellent trout. Along the river are large vineyards and many orchards. One half of the town lies on the near side of the river, the other half on the far side, the two parts being connected by a large splendid bridge, which gives the place its name, Puente del Miño." The town as Laffi describes it no longer exists.

<sup>52</sup> Portomarín, San Vicente de Mourello, Porto, Pincelo, Ferreira, Leijón, Ribas de Miño, San Juan de Loyo, Santa Marta, Riobó y Barco. Only the medieval Old Portomarín, which had been declared a Historic -Artistic by decree of February 9, 1946 and with strong roots based on the transit of pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela change its location 500 meters from its usual place.

<sup>53</sup> The *camino* was declared Bien del Patrimonio Histórico cultural on that year.

<sup>54</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 72-73

<sup>55</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 77-8. Note 53 from Singul: "... St. John is one of the most beautiful proto-Gothic churches of Galicia, built in the vicinity of 1200 by members of the workshop for Maestro Mateo St John parcel of Portomarín. From the point of view historical and artistic highlights its harmonious architecture unique fortified church and presbytery apse shot wide ship, fully vaulted spaces, the facade with its sculpted rosette and covers. The main features three

ruins of the old Roman and medieval bridges as well as what remains from their old fabrics.<sup>56</sup> From its new location, the city-stage offers good prospects of the river reservoir and the approach to the town is one of the most perspectival view along the *camino*.

### **Portomarín-Santiago**

Portomarin-Palas de Reis: [S.4] [CS.6]

Palas de Reis-Arzua: [S.5] [CS.7] [CS.8]

Arzua-Lavacolla: [S.6]

Lavacolla-Santiago: [S.7a] [S.7b] [CS.9a, 9b]

After leaving Portomarín, the pilgrim is half way to Compostela since s/he started in Cebreiro. Ahead are Palas de Reis, Melide and Arzua; pilgrims will be joined in Melide by the ones walking the Primitive *camino* from Oviedo –oldest path of the pilgrimage network to Santiago. And further up in Arzua, they will be joined by those who have walked all the way from the Irun pass at the Pyrenees Mountains. These pilgrims have traversed all the Cantabrian coast along the North *camino*. This increase in the number of pilgrims is reflected in the number of hostels that are now offered along the way.

The path from Portomarín to **Palas de Reis** is the worst walking experience before Santiago. The path goes for too long by the side of cars on the road, and it needs to cross main highways before arrival into this city-stage. When the *camino* is segregated into a dirt path by the side of the road, the path has neither character nor shade, which is ridiculous within the green Galician country side. Apart from a small Romanesque church at the peak of the hill where the town was founded, Palas de Reis is a road-crossing that has paid very

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*archivolts on three pairs of columns of monolithic shafts and capitals with floral motifs on the outside of an arc archivolt pineapple, a thick baquetón embraced by a succession of lobed developps. They are mateanos reasons [from master Mateo, same as the Portal of Glory at the Santiago Cathedral]. The intermediate archivolt presents vegetal decoration with large cuadrifolias and inner archivolt the subject of the elders of the apocalypse playing musical instruments surrounding the image of Christ Patocrátor that since its manodrla and bless, stars in the tympanum of the cover. This is the iconographic aspect that links this magnificent work with artists of the Portico de la Gloria of the Cathedral of Santiago, whose style is reflected both in the architectural solutions and the working of the pieces that make up the facade of the temple-castle.”*

<sup>56</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 74 “... This arch and a tower with chapel inside are elements of the medieval Old Bridge were transferred to the entrance of the new town. The arch is the only element that remains of the medieval bridge built by Pedro Peregrino in the twelfth century. The work was commissioned by Queen Urraca and rose on the basis of the second century Roman Bridge. After moving to New Portomarín of the remains of the Old Bridge, he was also transported the simple chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Snows, the work of the late eighteenth century.”

little attention to the *camino* within its urban area, making pilgrims leave town walking by the side of trucks and cars with no shade for more than one kilometer. Once the pilgrim leaves the awful road and enters again the small lanes and country roads, s/he is at good rescue again. Before Melide, the pilgrim crosses the river Pambre at Ponte Campaña, the River Seco at Leboreiro over a small medieval bridge close to the Romanic church of Santa María<sup>57</sup>, and the river Furelos over a beautiful medieval three-arched bridge. Both Leboreiro and Furelos are little settlements that resulted from this water intersection with the *camino*.

**Melide** is a beautiful artifact-stage whose origin is also on top of the hilliest part of town, where the Carmen church and cemetery has been since 1741.<sup>58</sup> This area was originally a pre-Roman *castrum* that was later transformed into a castle in the Middle Ages and fortified until it was destroyed by the Irmandiños revolt.<sup>59</sup> This is a nice point from where one gets a panoptic view of town. In the maps we can see that the town has grown towards its north east and south east quite a bit. Melide is a very old settlement, transformed into a medium-size medieval castle-town, and as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Iron Age *mamoas* sleep within its upper hills. The town is also full of pilgrim artifacts and the first of them receives the pilgrim at Main Street. This is the Romanesque church of San Roque<sup>60</sup>, built in the twentieth century with the remains of two previous Romanesque churches, those of San Roque and San Pedro. By its side, the town claims to have one of the oldest *cruceiros* in Galicia and at the main intersection in town a beautiful granite fountain welcomes pilgrims with fresh flowing water. The town center today is placed where the *burgs* was built outside the medieval walls. This is a beautiful stone granite square called *Plaza del Convento*, surrounded by the old Romanesque church and medieval Hospital of

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<sup>57</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 108 Built between the XIII and XIV centuries.

<sup>58</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 161, “...Next morning we went to Ligonde and Mellid, here we spent some time looking around the town which is attractive but not very big. It has a fine monastery as well as a number of houses

<sup>59</sup> (1467-69) Revolt of people against the Galician nobility, a little French revolution within the Galician territory.

<sup>60</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 110, “.. *The San Roque Chapel of Melide was built with materials from the disappeared parish of San Pedro, demolished in 1842. From this temple only the magnificent Romanesque portal, reused on the facade of the chapel remains. This entry is from the thirteenth century and has three pairs of columns with monolithic shafts and high small bases, vegetable capitals and decorated with leaves and palmettes picture rails. Holding a complex system of rings semicircular archivolt and the outer archivolt shows a beater in zigzag decorated with scallop shells in relief.*”



the *Sancti Spiritus* and the *Colegiata de San Antón*, formerly a *pazo* and City Council today. In the same plaza, the Museum of the Lands of Melide can also be visited, a good work of architecture with a very well curated collection.<sup>61</sup>

When leaving town, the path passes by the remaining medieval town walls before it arrives to the beautiful Romanesque church of Santa María de Melide. This point marks half way of the *Compostelana*, as we are now fifty kilometers away from Compostela. Just after the church, we see the first eucalyptus in the *camino*. A middle-age Australian couple told me that they feel like home, when I asked them why they looked so overjoyed. The eucalyptus, used abundantly as source for paper in Galicia, especially along the coast, has been eroding the earth of these lands for many years now. After an easy flat walk, we cross the Iso River at **Ribadiso** over a medieval bridge<sup>62</sup>, where we find another fountain to refresh ourselves and a beautiful public hostel. When Cunqueiro visits this place in 1962, the fountain was absent and the hostel was then a farm house.<sup>63</sup>

Once we cross the Iso River, we start our way to **Arzua**, only forty kilometers away from Santiago. We have left behind a slow Galicia by entering the influence of the metropolitan area of Santiago. Arzua is a medium size town, but not as beautiful as Melide. This city-stage is famous for its cheese and its cattle and farmers fair, as well described by Cunqueiro that happens in these days twice a month on the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 22<sup>nd</sup>. Arzua is a linear town with the main road crossing right through its center, growing in this last fifty years towards its north and east. The pilgrim path is literally the back stage of the main road that traverses the

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<sup>61</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 110, "... *The Convent of the Holy Spirit in Melide was ruled by tertiary Franciscan friars, since its founding in 1375. It was one of the most important monasteries of this branch in Galicia, with frequent residence own general of the Order and to receive numerous donations of noble families of the region. Thanks to the sponsorship of the notary of Melide Lopes and his wife Fernan Gonzalez Aldara was possible to build the convent and hospital of Sancti Spiritus. In 1419 Alfonso Vazquez de Insua based on his sepulchral temple chapel and placed under the patronage of Saint Catherine. In 1498 Sancho Sanchez de Ulloa, I Count of Monterrei, I send rebuild the chancel of the church as a building material using the stones of the demolished castle Melide, battered by the onslaught of Irmandiños. The convent church had important reforms in the eighteenth century.*"

*Pazos* are big country houses that nobility built in Galicia during the Middle Ages. They the secular form of a monastery, as they were also centers of exploitation and management of the surrounding lands.

<sup>62</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 111. Medieval bridge from the XIII century, restored in 1993.

<sup>63</sup> CUNQUEIRO, A.et ALL. 2004. *Op. Cit.* pp. 112. Old medieval hostel since 1523, restored for the Holy year of 1993 with the rest of public hostels along the *camino*

town. Arzua is an exemplary example of linear towns in Galicia where only the first parcels by the road were considered urban, and where therefore the city is urban by the road and rural in its backyards<sup>64</sup>. This very interesting pattern repeats all through the region. The town has a generous plaza by the middle of town and side of the major church. There pilgrims gather to relax in the late afternoon after they have rested from the daily walk. The next day, they would be almost in Santiago. Some would stay at the Mount of Joy, other at Lavacolla and from there just after a little stroll, they would arrive in Compostela. The city-sanctuary of **Santiago de Compostela** evolved into a university town, similar to those of Cambridge and Oxford, into the twentieth century, until it became the capital of the region in 1981. A Metropolitan See since 1120 under the tenure of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, Santiago is today a small metropolitan area overly built with infrastructure. Under the tenure of city-major and urbanist Xerardo Estevez (1983-1998), it was protected from aggressive growth with a green-belt. Unfortunately ever since, the city has fallen under the hands of civil engineers that have crisscrossed the eastern Sar River valley with a major high-way and peripheral road “*a la Americana*.” By that I mean that the humane connections of the city with its surrounding country side in the form of beautiful *rueiros* are now broken by major car arteries out of scale for a city of this size.<sup>65</sup> This can be all too well perceived in the difference between the 1956 and the 2012 orthophotos. Sacred and secular meanings are contested at Santiago in these days.

The Santiago Cathedral is first seen by pilgrims from the Mount of Joy. After making ablutions at Lavacolla, pilgrims usually shouted and cried at this point. Starkie and Laffi did so as well, even when this was the third time that they contemplated Compostela at their arrival.<sup>66</sup> Five kilometers distance this mount from the Santiago Cathedral. From here, the

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<sup>64</sup> Explained by NARDIZ ORTIZ, C., 1995. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 51-57

<sup>65</sup> Rueiros are a hybrid between an urban street and a country street. This can be found at Santiago in the Hortas and Sar streets today.

<sup>66</sup> LAFFI, D., & HALL, J., 1997. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 161 “...From there we continued until we came to a Spring, where we thoroughly refreshed ourselves and changed our clothes, for we knew we were near St James. From this Spring we climbed for about half a league to the top of a hill called the Monte del Gozo. From here we could discern Santiago, the city we had so much longed to reach some half a league away. (The spring was a place called Lavacolla, where pilgrims performed what was in effect a rite of purification by washing. It was a symbolic cleansing before entering the sacred precincts of the city. The original meaning of the place-name) ... Monte del Gozo, or Muntjoy in English, originally denoted the stone cairns that were erected by the wayside to guide travelers. For French pilgrims it became a popular cry, Montjoie! Shouted on first setting eyes

pilgrim starts to descend the mount where a big pilgrimage hostel-camp was built with the venue of the 1993 Holy year with capacity for 500 people, made of temporary housing units that are far from being cozy or charming. Geographically the location could not be better, but the place would definitely benefit from some material improvements. Just continuing down the same road, the pilgrim can see the whole urbanization of the city, with a problematic warehouse area to the north that is fully perceived from this point. Just a little further down, the whole infrastructural power of the city's highways and train tracks is in the pilgrim's sight and at their feet, and needs to be crossed over.

After the modern and far from inspiring crossing, we walk along St Lazar Street that, even at the periphery of the city, has been nicely designed for the walker. We cross over Valiño and Fontiñas Streets until we arrive at one of the previously mentioned *rueiros*, called first, Street of Concheiros (seashell sellers), and further down, named for St. Peter. By the end of this *rueiro* we pass by the St. Domenic Monastery to our right before we enter through the opening of the long gone *Puerta Francígena*, French Gate, into the old granite town of Compostela. Just at this intersection we can drink nice fresh water from a granite fountain as well. Since we entered the city, the yellow arrow that has been guiding our itinerary has been transformed into a golden scallop shell inlaid into the granite stones of the pavement of Santiago, and we will continue to follow it now till the Cathedral. Along the *Casas Señoriales street* we pass close by the convent of St. Agustin to our left and to the Alms Chapel to our right before we enter in the Cervantes Square and start to walk down the *Azabachería street*, black amber, until the square with the same name, where we see the

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*on their journey's end. It is said that Charlemagne uttered it first seeing Rome from the top of Monte Mario. He then dismounted and entered the city barefoot, like a penitent. On seeing the city we fell into our knees and, with tears of great joy falling from our eyes, we began to sing the Deum; but after two or three verses we could continue no more, such were the floods of tears we shed and the sobs that choked our song ...and we went on singing as we descended Mounyjoy and until we reached the outskirts of the city."*

*Starkie makes the parallel between him and Laffi: STARKIE, W., 1957. Op. Cit., pp. 305, "Less than a mile after Lavacolla I came to the "Monte Gaudi" or Mountjoy, so called because from its summit the pilgrim for the first time sees the towers of the Cathedral of Santiago. And so, to be precise, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1954, the Holy Year, at sunset, I hastened up the road to the crest of the hill of St. Mark. Below me outlined against the hills and the flaming sky in the west I saw clearly and unmistakably the three bell towers of the Cathedral of St. James. Like the French pilgrims of the Middle Ages, when in the joyousness of their hearts they saw the portus quietis and the end of their long toiling, I too, cried out, "Mon Joie! Mon Joie! ...Our Italian clerical companion of the seventeenth century with whom we have traveled in spirit becomes emotional when he reaches the summit of Mountjoy and says ..."*

northern gate of the cathedral for the first time with the monastery and hostel of St. Martin Pinario to our right. We will continue going down, passing under the Archbishop's palace into the Obradoiro square where we will be facing the western and most famous portal of the Cathedral, surrounded by the Hostel of the Reyes Católicos, the Rajoy Palace City Council and the St. Jerome University rectory, all named in the order of the pilgrim's glance as s/he enters the plaza. They will continue into the Franco street, where *Franci* settled in the Middle Ages, walk up the Fonseca, named after the University founder, along the walls of the Cathedral cloister. At the end the pilgrim would be at the *Platerías Square*, southern portal of the Cathedral. Quickly they would enter the Vilar Street to get their *Compostelana* at the Pilgrimage Office and leave their backpack before they enter the Cathedral to hear the pilgrims' mass at 12 or 19:30 pm, where the *botafumeiro* will swing within the northern-southern portal of the cathedral as it has ever since the Middle Ages. If this is a Holy Year, they will go back to *Platerías Square*, where they could drink if they wished at the beautiful granite horses fountain, and go up the steps by the clock tower into the Quintana Square flanked by the Easter portal of the cathedral and the Convent of St. Paio, where they would have to line up for more than hour to enter the Holy Door of the Church. At this point, pilgrims have performed almost an entire circle before entering the cathedral. To the north of the plaza is the *Casa de la Parra* and to the south the *Casa de la Conga*, the latter See of the Architects Association of Galicia.

If this is not a Holy year, the pilgrim will go back to the *Obradoiro* Square and enter the cathedral through the Baroque double ramp stairs to cross the façade and the Portal of Glory, in order to visit the *invented* relics of the Apostle.<sup>67</sup> They would do so in the crypt under the Major Altar and go up the stairs of the latter to hug the golden figure of St. James Apostle from its back. Once these protocols are concluded they will stay to hear mass and the names of their original towns proclaimed by the cathedral priest. These protocols used to start at the Portal of Glory, today under repair, where pilgrims used to place their hands over its main column from the narthex and hit their forefronts against architect Mateo's

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<sup>67</sup> As we learnt in the first chapter, the Portal of Glory, was a jewel of Romanesque Sculpture in Europe priced by Professor Kingsley Porter, and deciphered by Professor Moralejo in the twentieth century.

granite head, master of *the croques*, from the main nave.<sup>68</sup> Manuel Rivas says that the Portal of Glory was a Braille text that allowed Jorge Luis Borges to read with his hands the mind of the master when he visited Santiago, being already blind in 1964, two years after Cunqueiro's visit.<sup>69</sup>

For many Pilgrims, this is the end of their pilgrimage. They will stay in Santiago for a night and take a flight or a train back home from Santiago. Many in these days, however, as they did in the past would continue walking or go by bus to the end of the World, and would only go back home after having seen Finisterre. The monumentality of Santiago deserves more pages than the ones that have been offered, but I will come back to Santiago once I finish my dissertation with a Fellowship earned with the Andrew Mellon Foundation and others to continue exploring the relationship between the human scale of the walker and the city's monumentality.<sup>70</sup> Santiago can be understood as a stone theater, designed to materialize in granite the perspectival views the pilgrim has discovered along the *camino*. Chamoso Lamas explains that Santiago is a city where geometry and theater overlay and he names fifty-one artifacts in the area that I have framed for this study.<sup>71</sup> In some of these beautiful artifacts, pilgrims can overnight as they have some areas become hostels today. I will explore Santiago in the Spring of 2016, but until then, I will continue our travel to Finisterre.

### **Santiago-Finisterre**

Santiago-Negreira: [S.8] [CS.10]

Negreira-Olveiroa: [S.9]

Olveiroa-Cee-Corcubi3n-Finisterre: [S.10] [CS.11] [CS.12]

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<sup>68</sup> The Portal of Glory has been under restoration since 2009 with the founding of the Barrie de la maza Foundation and the Andrew Mellon Foundation.

<sup>69</sup> FRANCO, C. 2012. "Borges era siempre literatura" *La Voz de Galicia*. Santiago, 28<sup>th</sup> September. Interview to writer and many years collaborator of Jorge Luis Borges, Mar3a Esther V3zquez..

<sup>70</sup> The Barrie de la Maza has founded the Works of restoration of the Cathedral since 2009. In these days the Colegio Complutense at Harvard University under the direction of Francisco Prado-Vilar started a program in 2012 called "*The Santiago Cathedral Project*" supported by the Andrew W. Mellon and Pedro Barrie de la Maza foundations to advance the knowledge about Santiago and its cathedral.

<sup>71</sup> CHAMOSO LAMAS, M., 1982. *Santiago de Compostela*. Spain: Silex

As I did not walk from Compostela to Finisterre, I will only explain briefly the *camino*'s major settlements along the route that allow us to understand the difference between interior and coastal settlements along the *camino* in Galicia. Before Negreira, the *Camino* crosses the river Tambre at **Ponte Maceira**, a beautiful medieval crossing settlement with a hostel close to the bridge as discussed before. The channel was also created for the use of a water mill. **Negreira** on the other hand is not a town with a lot of character, as it has grown rapidly in the last fifty years due to its proximity to Santiago. Along the *camino* we cross by the end of town a hybrid of a castle and a *pazo*. I discovered too many parts of the *camino* in this area following the road, or, as this is a deforested area, many of these tracks going uncovered and exposed. **Cee** and **Corcubi3n**, which fifty years ago were two towns across the *Ria*, have evolved today to being perceived as only one, as can be discovered in the map layers. The pilgrim has arrived to the Atlantic Ocean for the first time as this towns, as George Borrow did in 1896 and very soon they will arrive in **Finisterre**.<sup>72</sup> They enter into this last settlement along the beach and walk along the low or rising tide of *Langosteira* Beach (Lobster Beach). Once they reach the end of town they are more than prepared for their last ascent at the Cape. I arrived at the sunset to the Cape and as soon as Hesper was setting, the Moon was rising behind the conic shape of Mount Pindo. Cosmology and liquid prospects can be seen at Finisterre at their best, and now the pilgrims can go home while the ground is prepared along the *camino* to be sensibly designed in the XXI century.

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<sup>72</sup> Laffi's description of Finisterre was transcribed in Chapter Two. Cunqueiro and Laffi do not go to Finisterre but George Borrow does.

#### 4. Conclusions: A Geography of Hybrid Slow Lines

This last chapter brings to the fore the discoveries made along the way while trying to synthesize a new vision and approach to the *camino* in the twenty-first century, after its recovery in the previous one. It also recollects the lessons that the *camino* still keeps as a tool of territorial urbanization and aperture, as well as its value as a *palimpsest* and *panoptic slow line* that could be used to counterweight the speed of other lines in the territory. The chapter concludes with the reading of the potential of this hybrid historic nature to become a re-linked network at the scale of Europe, a territory that once again starts to rebuild the walls that, in the past, pilgrimage was able to erase.

In the introductory chapter, this study was positioned within major contemporary discussions around the topic of big scale and infrastructure in urbanism. The purpose of such an overview was to prepare the ground and move beyond an understanding of the *camino* usually only portrayed as a sacred medieval artifact in the Iberian Peninsula, towards that of a network at the scale of Europe. For that reason, this overview recovered discussions around infrastructural networks, and looked more closely at those who have framed Europe from this perspective. While highlighting contemporary works of recycled and social infrastructure, I traced some links between them and the contemporary *camino*. Besides, in the *State of the Art*, with the summary of the *camino* scholars and works that have informed the previous research, I revealed the areas on the topic that were still to be covered, such as an *actual approach* that goes beyond the necessary Medievalist studies that have informed the *camino*'s recent protection. However, by highlighting the role of the Harvard medievalist scholars who studied these *pilgrim roads as a network* in the first half of the twentieth century, I wanted to recover the value of such an international approach, stopped from 1936 to 1975 by the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship. The same literature review also showed that only Barreiro at the scale of Europe; Passini and Soria at the scale of the Peninsula; or Menendez de Lueca, Nardiz and Priegue in Galicia; have recovered such a study of the *camino* as a network in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Studies that were therefore taken as point of departure in the dissertation.

Besides, the close relationship that dictator Franco kept with the Spanish Roman Catholic Church and the consequent anti-clerical feelings of Spaniards after his passing in 1975, did not help the evolution of the *camino* per many years neither, as Marquez Villanueva very well explains. This was emphasized by the fact that Franco only tried to re-launch the *camino* as a car trip, and institutionalized St. James as the Patron Saint of Spain during his tenure. Therefore, I proposed to look at the *camino* with new eyes, moving beyond the medievalist studies --found prevalent in the literature review-- or the above cited anti-clerical/clerical approaches. I have done that by revealing more ancient layers in the *camino*, as well as more contemporary ones. Within them, those from being a Roman *Itinerarium* to effectively bring metals back to Rome, or getting to their believed end of the world at Finisterrae; even earlier ones from being a path to contemplate the setting sun at the *Nerio* promontory's *Ara Solis* in Finisterre; or those others from being today a multi-cultural, multi-religion path, that has been traversed by people of 187 different nationalities in the last ten years. Therefore, I concluded that the necessary update of the *camino* in the twenty first century should recognize and react to convey these multiple character and layers as well as its new secular values.

While looking for the lessons that this infrastructure could offer in our century, I have studied the potential that the *camino* has in a rapidly urbanizing and shrinking world, as a tool to shed light on a sensible way of occupying, recycling and symbolizing territory. In parallel, I have explored its possibilities as *slow infrastructures and itineraries* that could be used in our modern metropolises to counterweigh the speed at which other *fast lines* such as high-ways or train trucks are consumed. To expand and unfold these ideas, Chapter One and Two looked respectively into revealing those above mentioned missing Roman and cosmological layers at the European and global scales, as well as the actual state of the *camino* network to Santiago and Finisterre in the Iberian Peninsula. Closing the compass to get closer to the path, Chapter Three discovered the units and language of the *camino* today after walking and car riding from Cebreiro to Finisterre. An experience later translated into a cartographical journey that synthesizes the different layers of the walk into a tectonic, visual image of the *camino-stage*, in parallel to showing the evolution of its *city-stages* in the last fifty years. The proposal to end at the cosmological Cape of Finisterrae,



counterweighting the Catholic weight of Compostela, goes in line with the previous approach to the study.

After cartographically portraying its evolution at the European and Iberian scales, giving a brief account to show the layers preceding the pilgrim network in the Middle Ages, Chapter One unraveled also the role of the *camino* as a geo-political strategy, a project of territorial control to re-conquer, as well as conquering, lost and newly discovered territories in Europe and the Americas --from the twelve to the nineteenth centuries. I showed how this value, makes the *camino* similar to other American lines such as the *Camino Real* in California, transformed into a highway at the beginning of the twentieth century. Fortunately, we saw the *camino* being saved from the same destiny by the friends of the *camino* as well as the confraternities of St. James by the end of last century. I ended by raising the awareness towards the *camino*'s recent protection and used Francoise Choay's ideas to express the *camino*'s need to keep evolving, instead of being frozen in time. After my walk, I proposed that this could happen, with the addition of contemporary layers that enhance the relationship between walker and the natural world, while preserving the difference between local and foreigner. A value that has continued to characterize the *camino* as a walk across foreign lands since its conception. Expanding also Choay's ideas to articulate old fabrics in cities through their open public spaces, I proposed to use the *camino* as the backbone for articulation of the whole network expanding and contracting to absorb the adjacent public spaces along its way. In this sense, Soria's metaphor of the *camino* network, understood as a train infrastructure of stations, ways, and signals, was found obsolete. As for to enhance the *camino* and walkers's relationship with its surrounding territory, we need to put a cadence in the path, instead of in its stations. And train infrastructures give a value to the stops, which usually neglects the experience and movement of the user from station to station --which happens in Foucault's terms, inside the heterotopia of the cabin.

In Chapter Two, by opening the compass again, I framed the global scope of the multi-cultural and secularizing pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and Finisterre, explaining how the protocols of pilgrimage have evolved today to hybridize with those of walkers and hikers in the territory. From a pilgrim to a walking world, the chapter shows, in the words

of Meera Nanda, that globalization has been good for the gods --with three hundred and thirty million pilgrims a year visiting a sacred destination. Besides, that even in a secularizing world, when looking at the *camino* in the context of other major pilgrim networks, pilgrimage is more popular than ever. At this global frame, the *camino* was compared to the *Kumano Kodo* in Japan and the Appalachian Trail in the US. Either from the point of view of its users, experience, form or some sharing protocols, I explained that these are the other geographical human-lines in the territory that share some characteristics with the *camino* in this century. In the following paragraphs, the *overlaying process* of meaning and historical layers that go together with these pilgrim infrastructures was explained. The same process that transforms them into *territorial palimpsests*. This guided me to study with some detail the archetypes that constructed the original language of pilgrimage before Christianity, while revealing the layers of such a language along the *camino* network in Galicia. This language will allow others to read these earlier layers, still present along some paths of the *camino* network today and never considered in its twentieth century's recovery. Also, to get closer to the original language of pilgrimage, common to the people of multiple cultures who walk the *camino* today. After these findings, I concluded that the *camino* needed to convey and design for more ways of walking towards Santiago and Finisterre. Besides, that secular and touristic, the *camino* could no longer be understood only as a *rosary*, Soria's metaphor to describe it in the 90s, as many are the religions and reasons for people to walk along this route today. With the previous discoveries, I ended the chapter with a synthetic chart of the *French Camino*, where this human line in the territory was portrayed as a hybrid between urbanity and culture, one that could benefit from the addition of more vegetated layers along its traversed territory. The same chart was used to probe that, the *Compostelana* and its 100 kilometers walk imposition, has introduced a cadence in the number of pilgrims at the scale of the region, which is normally a reason for complaints from those walking from the Pyrenees. But also, a boundary to blur if we were willing to expand the network again at the scale of Europe.

The dissertation ends with the compass closing down to get to the real matter of the *camino* in Chapter 3, the experience of walking across the territory. Here, the hybrid experience of walking and car riding the *camino*'s last ten stages, let me discover and transfer its visual

and tectonic matter into a photographic and cartographical journey. Both mappings were the result of my mental image of the *camino* after the walk: that of the continuous overlay of layers underneath my feet, together with the overlay of long views along the way. I thus portrayed the *camino* as a *palimpsest*, and a *panopticon* combining five different layers in two series. The first series of mappings tried to synthesize the experience of the walk day after day, and the second revealed the evolution of major *city-stages* along its transect, a total of twelve, in the last fifty years since Cunqueiro drove his car. The first is the daily stage and territory of the pilgrim along the *camino*, a moving section of one meter from resting-stop to resting-stop, which becomes an average 25 kilometer line when one stops for the day. This one meter section gets amplified at every step by the senses, being that sight is the one that captures the biggest terrain possible along the way. This biggest territory is portrayed in the mapping as the *viewshed*. The second is the major *city-stage* within a circle, two and a half kilometers in diameter, which covered settlement and surroundings in 1956, and today but for Santiago, Cee-Corcubi3n and Finisterre.

The idea of *panopticon* and not of panorama follows the *camino*'s recent protection as a mechanism of control. I then concluded that the *viewshed* from the *camino*, declared in many cases in this protection as a *respect zone*, needed to go beyond a frozen image, to become a platform that could bring back, for instance, many of the trees lost to fires, farming, eucalyptus or deforestation, now that many of these areas are thinly inhabited and sparsely urbanized. Under shrinking circumstances, this could be also the time for the *camino* to hybridize with the Appalachian Trail in order to become a hybrid cultural/natural/slow and sacred linear park. Within this idea, a better integration of path and pilgrim would happen by keeping the scale of the path tuned to the human scale of her/his body while allowing for the view to have as many panoramas as possible. This control and design of the *viewshed* could also bring in the ecological processes that would improve the quality of the eroded terrain. Within city-stages, on the other hand, the *camino* could become a pedestrian street that finds mechanisms to return the relationship between body and *urbs* (stones), while enhancing the connection with its *civitas* (people). In Galicia the city-stages allow us to see the different rhythms in the region between its hinterland and the coast. Besides, that in this region where city-stages are small and urbanization

dispersed, the difference between the beds and the thread of Soria's rosary is not that great. Apart from the *viewshed* related to the liquid prospects that define the walk in this region, other points of intervention could be any of the elements defined in the *camino* language as explained. These being the path, crossing, hostel or artifact along the way.

At the European scale, the *camino* reminds us of the powerful tools these paths were in the Middle Ages, a time of feudal power and closed walled cities in order to opening up that territory to move Europe into its Renaissance. Today, there is also a shared thought among modern pilgrims that the *camino* has become a place where the best values of a collective society remain in an untouched state. In a time when many walls are being built again, one cannot stop thinking on the powerful image of this network at the scale of Europe to start blurring barriers and to enhance connections in a territory that struggles to keep united. At this scale, we could start re-linking the broken network as a symbol of bounding that counterweights the forces of rupture that once again are rising walls within this broken territory. Starting at the region and growing into the Peninsula and Europe as well, we could start using the *viewshed* of the walker from the *camino* to re-forest thinly populated stages along its way with the potential of creating a European network of linear *hybrid parks*. Within city-stages, and following the pedestrianization that many European city-centers have undergone, these *caminos* could be re-thought to re-establish a walking connection from center to periphery. Many are the pictures of Syrians refugees walking and traversing Europe in these days, like the Barbarians, running away from a different kind of twenty first century Huns. With them in mind, I would like to end by saying that in the *open caminos* there would always be hope. As I planned to arrive to the End of the World in Finisterre with a full moon, I have ended today by chance on a full super blood moon eclipse on September 27, 2015.

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