Chapter 1

To Walk and to Be Walked... at the End of the World

Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

*To be a pilgrim consists of letting the Camino go through you...
you are walked by the Camino*

(pilgrim, fieldnotes 7-2-2011)

1.1 Introduction¹

To walk... and to be walked; this expression is used by many pilgrims on the Camino to describe the act of walking as a transformative experience. Walking the Camino is not so much about hiking but about 'letting the Camino go through you' as the pilgrim in the initial quote explains. In this book, we will analyze the expression 'to be walked by the Camino' from the viewpoint of those living in the towns and villages through which this pilgrimage route passes.

At a pilgrimage conference in 2011, in Antwerp, I asked the audience to close their eyes, breathe deeply, and visualize a place, person, object or scene related to

¹The chapters presented in this book are part of the research project 'Processes of Heritagization in the Camino: Santiago-Fisterra-Muxía' funded by the Galician Government (INCITE09606181PR). In addition, this chapter is linked to the network TRAMA3, funded by CYTED, Science and Society Area; and the project NEARCH funded by the European Commission CULTURE program, this publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

C. Sánchez-Carretero (✉)
Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC),
Santiago de Compostela, Spain
e-mail: cristina.sanchez-carretero@incipit.csic.es

the Camino de Santiago; whatever came to mind. When they opened their eyes, I asked how many had visualized the Camino landscape: 90 %. Sixty percent had visualized a pilgrim; 30 % visualized some of the paraphernalia associated with pilgrims such as shells, walking sticks or a backpack; 10 % of the audience, houses, buildings or a church in a village, town or city; when I asked how many had thought of the inhabitants of those towns or villages, the answer was unanimous: nobody.² Most of the conference attendees visualized a rural landscape, half of them thought of pilgrims, but no one had visualized the local residents.

This anecdote illustrates the one-sidedness of studies on the Camino to Santiago de Compostela. The large number of studies concerning the pilgrimage route contrasts with a near-absence of research into both the effects of the pilgrimage on the daily lives of the people who live along the route, and the commodification processes that result from the exploitation of the Camino for tourism purposes. This book seeks to contribute to redress this imbalance by analyzing the Camino from different perspectives: that of the processes of ‘heritagization,’ that of the effects of pilgrimage on local communities, and that of the perceptions of the pilgrims. To do so, the book focuses on a rather new and unknown section: the Camino to Finisterre and Muxía.

The project ‘Heritagization Processes along the Camino de Santiago: Route Santiago-Fisterra-Muxía’ addresses three issues: firstly, the consequences of pilgrimage on the daily lives of those living in the towns and villages through which the route passes; secondly, the heritage construction processes (heritagization) taking place along the Camino; and thirdly the ideas of the walkers on the history and mythology of the region and the perceptions of them on the qualities and the religious or spiritual dimensions of the route (Fig. 1.1).

This book is the result of a three-year research project (2010–2012) at the Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in collaboration with the Meertens Institute (Amsterdam). It is based on multidisciplinary collaboration between anthropologists, sociologists, historians and archaeologists. Various complementary methods were used for the project: historical, mythological and ethnographic studies of the route (Chaps. 2 and 3); data surveys to analyze the socioeconomic impact of the pilgrimage on businesses along the route and in Finisterre (Chap. 5); ethnographic fieldwork, particularly in three places on the Camino: Vilaserío (municipal district of Negreira), Olveiroa (municipal district of Dumbría) and Finisterre (municipal district of Finisterre) (Chaps. 4 and 6); and surveys to analyze the pilgrims’ motivations (Chap. 8).

A number of different results were obtained through complex analytic framework. With regards to heritagization processes for instance, it is worth noting from an ethnographic viewpoint the differences between what is considered ‘heritage’ by institutions and by local townspeople (see the conclusions to Ballesteros-Arias and Sánchez-Carretero 2011; Sánchez-Carretero and Ballesteros-Arias 2014; and Sánchez-Carretero 2012).

²The answers were not mutually exclusive. One person could visualize various things at once, for instance, a pilgrim in a rural landscape.

Fig. 1.1 Map of the Finisterre-Muxía Camino. *Source* Anxo Rodríguez-Paz

As for the effects on the local population, the main conclusion from the study, based on sociological surveys, is that there is a clear connection between the increase in the number of pilgrims following the Santiago-Finisterre route and changes in the local communities' productive model, which in recent years has moved towards offering services related to the pilgrimage. These activities socially and economically boost local communities on the pilgrimage route (Parga-Dans 2012a, b). While the data reflects growth and revitalization of local communities resulting from this phenomenon, qualitative and ethnographic research has shown that this productive revitalization also brings about changes that can be a source of conflict in local communities, such as hidden economy, sharp increases in transient population at specific times of the year, interpersonal conflict and resource management by new institutional bodies.

71 1.2 The Pilgrimage to Finisterre

72 Instead of ending in Santiago like the rest of the Caminos, this route finishes at the
73 Cape of Finisterre and Muxía on the Galician North-West Atlantic coast, 'where
74 the land ends and the sea begins' (Vilar 2010: 9).³ In Latin, *Finisterrae* means 'the
75 end of the earth.' Both Muxía and Finisterre are part of The Coast of Death, a terri-
76 torial label that aimed at forging emergent identity links among the inhabitants of
77 one of the poorest areas in Galicia. The coastline is distinctive for its high cliffs,
78 peninsulas and coves that give protection to small villages. This complex geogra-
79 phy made the area quite inaccessible from other parts of Galicia. The name 'Coast
80 of Death,' as explained by Paula Ballesteros-Arias in Chap. 6, was fully estab-
81 lished in the 1990s to promote the coastal area between Cape Finisterre and the
82 Sisargas Islands in Malpica. During that decade an association called Neria was
83 founded to promote and coordinate rural development and it was linked to EU
84 Leader funds for the development of rural areas. The main objective of Neria was
85 to 'promote and coordinate rural development, improve life conditions and to help
86 end rural depopulation.'⁴ The association wanted to promote the whole region and
87 needed to find a good name for the area.

88 There are different accounts to explain the origin of the name Coast of Death.
89 The term 'death' might be linked to the fact that this coastline represents Europe's
90 continental *Finisterrae*, where the land ends and the sun sets in a *mare tenebrosum*
91 or dark sea, as the Atlantic Ocean was called in Medieval times; but the name
92 could also be related to the numerous shipwrecks in the area. As the official guide-
93 book for the area explains, there is a dark legend regarding Galician inhabitants
94 who were believed to have provoked shipwrecks in order to steal their load.⁵

95 Cape Finisterre is part of the Coast of Death and it is said to be the westernmost
96 point of continental Europe, although geographers have now shown that both Cape
97 Touriñán -also in Galicia and very close to Finisterre- and Cape Roca in Portugal
98 are further west. Other European mythical 'ends of the world' include Land's End
99 in Britain, Finistère in French Brittany, and Dingle in Ireland.

100 This research project was carried out on this particular section of the route
101 because its promotion amongst pilgrims is relatively recent, although documen-
102 tation shows that there were pilgrimages to the area from as early as the 12th
103 century (Pombo 2000), with testimonies of pilgrims who visited the sanctuaries
104 dedicated to Santo Cristo in Finisterre, Virxe da Barca in Muxía and hermit San
105 Guillermo in Cape Finisterre (Vilar 2010). However, the links between pilgrim-
106 age to Finisterre and Muxía and the cult of Saint James are not that clear. Margry
107 and Vilar explore these links in Chaps. 2 and 3 respectively and conclude that the

³This route can be walked West–East towards Santiago, which is officially recognized by the Catholic Church. See Margry (Chap. 2) for an explanation on both directions.

⁴www.neria.es/quienes-somos.aspx, accessed July 23, 2014.

⁵<http://www.turismocostadamorte.com/ga/upload/des/59aGuia%20Xeral%20Costa%20Morte%20GAL.pdf>, accessed 23 July, 2014.

Camino towards Finisterre is related to the Marian pilgrimage to Muxía, the Christ of Finisterre and the hermit of San Guillermo rather than to St. James, and therefore in its East–West direction is not an old Jacobean route.

There are two types of historical accounts that link Fisterra and Muxía with Santiago: On the one hand, there are studies that see the pilgrimage to Fisterra and Muxía as a medieval construction and a unifying Christian strategy against Muslims; on the other hand, there is the sun worship explanation of pre-Christian origin, mostly upheld by 19th century Galician nationalists. In addition, there are several legends that connect these places and which are explored in the first part of this book. The use of legends to establish links among sanctuaries was a common strategy employed by the Catholic church to redirect pilgrims from major sanctuaries to less popular ones (Herrero 2009: 168).

It was not until the late 1990s that this part of the route began to be promoted; therefore its connection with the pilgrimage route is relatively recent, as is the economic, social and cultural impact on the places along the Finisterre-Muxía route. Furthermore, economic and heritage policies are being developed and fostered in response to the rise in tourism.

The revival of the Caminos began in the 20th century thanks to the ‘Associations of the Friends of the Camino de Santiago’ and subsequently various administrations contributed to the project. In 1993, the year of the Camino’s inclusion on the World Heritage List and a ‘holy year’ or ‘xacobeo’,⁶ the Galician Government initiated the ‘Xacobeo’ program. The Finisterre-Muxía Route was then included as one of the Caminos de Santiago (Vilar 2010). Between 1997 and 2004, the Galician Association of Friends of the Camino (AGACS) and Asociación Neria organized annual pilgrimages to Finisterre and Muxía. This part of the Camino de Santiago is not officially recognized by the Catholic Church and pilgrims walking the route do not receive the *compostela*, the recognition granted by the Catholic Church to those pilgrims who have walked at least 100 km of the Camino, as this route is less than 100 km long and does not end in Santiago. For these reasons, as well as its connection with sun worship, many local neighbors and pilgrims call this route ‘the Camino of the atheists’.⁷ In fact, the Catholic Church keeps a firm grip on the heritagization processes of the rest of the Caminos, but maintains a clear *ignoratio* strategy in relation to the Finisterre route: the Church does not officially oppose this route, but neither does it recognize it.

The route from Santiago to Finisterre and Muxía consists of three to five stages. Some pilgrims walk for three days from Santiago to Finisterre, adding one more day to walk from Finisterre to Muxía. Others take four days to reach Finisterre; whilst some walk first to Muxía and then from Muxía to Finisterre. Others don’t go to Muxía at all, while many pilgrims simply catch a bus from Santiago to reach ‘the end of the world.’

⁶A Xacobeo, jacobeo or holly year is a jubilee year that occurs when July 25th, the day of St. James, falls on a Sunday. For more information on this topic, see Vilar, this volume.

⁷This expression was recorded during ethnographic fieldwork among owners of small restaurants and hostels, as well as among pilgrims. However Margry, in his surveys and fieldwork, did not encounter it (Margry, Chap. 8).

There are various options of how to tackle the stages between the main points of the route:

Option 1:

1. Santiago-Negreira (22 km)
2. Negreira-Olveiroa (33 km): some pilgrims sleep at Vilaserío and walk directly from Santiago to Vilaserío; others walk from Negreira to Vilaserío (13 km)
3. Olveiroa-Cee (19 km)
4. Cee-Finisterre (16 km)
5. Additional stage: Finisterre-Muxía (31 km)

Option 2:

1. Santiago-Negreira (22 km)
2. Negreira-Olveiroa (33 km)
3. Olveiroa-Muxía: (28 km)
4. Additional stage: Muxía-Finisterre (31 km)

The structure of the route and its various alternatives—either finishing in Finisterre, in Muxía, or going to both places—is partly the source of conflict between the two arrival points, Muxía and Finisterre.

The Finisterre Camino reintroduces the idea of reaching the end of the Camino as the purpose of pilgrimage. According to Margry, ‘modern pilgrimage to Santiago changed the idea of pilgrimage from ‘reaching a goal’ (the shrine) to ‘being under way’” (Margry, Chap. 8) and the Camino to Finisterre brings back that urge for an end to mark the experience. It is physically impossible to continue as there is no more land ahead, only the ocean. The same idea is described in a municipal video by the pilgrim hostel-keeper in Finisterre: ‘Pilgrims reach the end and cannot continue any further. Finisterre was the end of the Camino of the Stars, the Milky Way.’⁸

The construction of Finisterre as a tourist attraction is based, according to anthropologist Nieves Herrero, on a symbolic event (Herrero 2008: 123–138). Those on the margins are looked down on by the official discourse and are, at the same time, part of the emotional repertoire and symbolic universe of dominant culture (Shields 1991: 5, cited after Herrero 2005: 122). These characteristics—being rejected and on the margins—allow the ‘marginal places’ to become ‘mythical places’. The stigma of marginal places, such as the Coast of Death, calls for a reconfiguration process in order to change the emotional repertoire linked to such places. In the present case study, Asociación Neria and the mayor of Dumbría (one of Neria’s promoters) made a conscious effort to transform the Coast of Death, which has the stigma of being poor and isolated, into a tourist attraction; a place worthy of being visited. In fact, the same reasons that forged the image of an isolated, semi-abandoned and poor part of Galicia also turned the Coast of Death into a tourist destination.

⁸Municipal video produced by Fisterre TV: <http://www.concellofisterre.com/ga/web/info.php?idc=37> accessed March 17, 2012.

Fig. 1.2 ‘No fire’ sign with evidence of fire in Cape Finisterre. *Source* Peter Jan Margry

Many pilgrims are attracted to the nostalgic idea of an isolated ‘end of the world’ and long for traditional pilgrimage as opposed to *turigrinos* (‘tourgrims’). The history of nostalgia dates back to the mid-1950s (see Starkie 1957), although it was triggered by modernization rather than by today’s touristification.⁹

In the reconfiguration of Finisterre as a mythical place, various rituals were promoted and, at the same time, some of them were institutionally banned; the act of burning clothes, for instance. Some pilgrims symbolically burn objects that they have used during the Camino such as t-shirts, socks or boots, as well as notes, letters or postcards; they may even burn symbols that they have carried from the beginning of their pilgrimage for this purpose alone. This is described in many guidebooks and books on the Camino to Finisterre as a ‘purification ritual of the end of the Camino’ (Pombo 2004; Rudolph 2004: 44; Vilar, this volume). Margry, in Chap. 8, gives a detailed description of the different types of rituals carried out by pilgrims, concluding that one third of those arriving in Finisterre made a fire and ‘when it was not possible to execute the fire ritual, as it sometimes simply proved too wet to do it, the result was an ‘unfinished’ feeling’ (Margry, Chap. 8). Fires were banned in 2011 after strong winds caused them to spread on various occasions. However, there are only a few unofficially worded signs informing pilgrims of this (Fig. 1.2).

Due to the fire ban, some pilgrims started to hang objects on the radio antenna masts at the Cape, instead of the fire ritual. However the climbing involved is risky and this practice has also been banned. In spite of the ban, pilgrims have recently started placing the objects on smaller, more accessible masts at the Cape (Fig. 1.3).

Placing objects at the Cape and the burning of clothes are two recurrent themes that come up in the interviews with Finisterre locals as the main source of conflict between them and the pilgrims.¹⁰ Some aspects of the behavior condemned by the locals are indeed part of the pilgrims’ mental map of what it takes to be ‘good

⁹See Margry’s comments on Starkie’s writing (Margry, Chap. 2).

¹⁰The conflicts between the various actors involved in the camino are explored in Chap. 4.

Fig. 1.3 Pilgrim paraphernalia deposited at a radio mast in Finisterre Cape. *Source* Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

pilgrim' ending his or her route in Finisterre. There are different ways in which the pilgrims' behavior is learned, produced and reproduced. Mass media—internet, books and films—is one of them; guidebooks or other books written by pilgrims, blogs and various internet sources all illustrate how to be a pilgrim (Vilar, this volume; Schrire 2007: 77). The film *The Way* (2010) directed by Emilio Estévez and performed by Martin Sheen, is a recent example of the Camino's media popularity. Another example is the Korean bestseller by Kim Hyo Sun, who gave fame to the Santiago pilgrimage in Korea. Capitalizing the book's huge success, the Korean TV channel 'Yon Hap News' screened a reality show based on five Koreans walking the Camino, the best-selling author among them.¹¹

The large number of references to the Camino in written sources—as demonstrated in Chaps. 2 and 3—and in the mass media is both cause and effect of the pilgrimage's success. Mass media expert Martín-Barbero points out that not only do we live in societies with mass media, but our societies are mass-mediated and the media construct us (Martín-Barbero 1987).

Another ritual act besides fire rituals consists of obtaining the *Fisterrana* or the *Muxiana*. Both municipalities have created a certificate to grant to those who complete the pilgrimage to Finisterre or Muxía. The number of *Fisterranas* has grown exponentially, from 1312 certificates in 1998, to 17,983 awarded in 2010 (Parga-Dans, this volume) (Fig. 1.4).

¹¹http://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/television/2013/10/18/camino-santiago-plato-reality-emitiran-corea/0003_201310G18P62991.htm (Accessed 17 July 2014).

Fig. 1.4 Reproduction of a *Fisterrana*

233 Finally, an important ritual when reaching the Cape, weather permitting, is the
234 contemplation of the sunset over the ocean. This ritual is described in detail by
235 Margry in Chap. 8.

236 1.3 Pilgrimage, Tourism and Heritagization

237 There is a wide range of views on pilgrimage and a constant re-evaluation of the
238 concept. Simultaneously, there are a growing number of multidisciplinary studies
239 on pilgrimage in different academic contexts. A quick look at the Centre for
240 Pilgrimage Studies website (University of York) gives an idea of the worldwide
241 interest in pilgrimage. The aim of this section is to briefly summarize the connec-
242 tions between pilgrimage, tourism and heritage, but not to cover the whole spec-
243 trum of pilgrimage studies.¹²

244 Eade and Sallnow (1991) established three key factors for the study of pilgrim-
245 age: person, place and text. A few years later Coleman and Elsner (1995) added a
246 fourth factor, movement. Sharon Roseman, in her analysis of the bid by Santiago
247 de Compostela officials for their city to be named a European City of Culture, sug-
248 gests that there is an important factor to be added to the traditional way of ana-
249 lyzing pilgrimage: that of heritage or cultural tourism (Roseman 2004: 70). The
250 present book will be focusing on this.

251 Tourism and pilgrimage are two fields of study that emerged independently but
252 then, in the last few decades have evolved side-by-side and they now intersect and
253 complement each other. The well-established fields of anthropology and sociol-
254 ogy of tourism have proven that tourism-travel comes in many shapes and sizes
255 and tourists have varying motivations (Cohen 1979; Smith 1989; Urry 1990). The
256 aforementioned ‘movement’ factor has been successfully applied to pilgrimage in
257 relation to tourism. Along the same lines, Coleman and Eade (2004) coined the
258 term ‘kinetic rituals’ when referring to the experience of pilgrimage.

259 Tourism studies have dealt profusely with the anthropology of movement. Urry
260 (2002), Clifford (1997) and Appadurai (1996), among others, stress the fact that
261 we live in ‘worlds in motion,’ questioning the approach that sees pilgrimage as an
262 exceptional activity. In our study, the non-exceptionality of pilgrimage is signifi-
263 cant, for the perspective switches from that of the pilgrims’ to the point of view of
264 the residents of the areas that are being ‘pilgrimaged’ or ‘walked.’

265 The futility of dividing tourists and pilgrims into separate categories is noth-
266 ing new. As Badone and Roseman (2004: 2) clearly reveal, ‘rigid dichotomies

¹²The bibliography of pilgrimage is too broad to be covered in this introduction. With the purpose of giving some general recommendations for studies on what it means to be a pilgrim, see the pioneer book by Turner and Turner (1978), Coleman and Eade (2004), Reader and Walter (1993), Morinis (1992) and Margry (2008a). For an analysis on pilgrimage routes as cultural heritage see Roseman (2004), Margry (2008b), and Roseman et al. (2008); for studies on pilgrimage and tourism see Cohen (1992), and Badone and Roseman (2004).

between pilgrimage and tourism, or pilgrims and tourists, no longer seem tenable in the shifting world of postmodern travel'. The non-separation or continuum between tourists and pilgrims is also pointed out by Reader's study on the pilgrimage route or *henro* that joins 88 Buddhist temples round the Japanese island of Shikoku (Reader 2005). In fact, from the hosts' viewpoint and the effects of pilgrimage on local policies and everyday life that we attempt to cover in the present book, the classical tourism/pilgrimage debate is useless. Pilgrimage is seen locally as a way of developing the tertiary sector and, therefore, no distinction is made between pilgrimage and tourism. According to Badone, both pilgrimage and tourism can be considered related forms of voluntary travel. In fact, she suggests that all tourist experiences are some sort of pilgrimage, and that tourism can be considered a type of religious experience (Badone 2014). Frey uses the expression 'leisure with meaning' (1998:254) to refer to the type of tourism bound for Santiago. Other authors, such as Margry, argue that 'it is contraproductive to use the concept of pilgrimage as a combination term for both secular and religious phenomena, thereby turning it into much too broad a concept' (Margry 2008b: 14). Along these lines we follow Margry's standpoint on the usage of the term 'spiritual' as a broad 'portmanteau concept, that comprises all expressions, in words or behavior, which relate in a transcendent way to one's existence and to the search for meaning in life' (Margry, Chap. 8).

1.3.1 Heritagization¹³

In comparison to the large amount of works on the topic of pilgrimage and tourism (see references mentioned above), the intersection of heritage and pilgrimage did not received much attention (Collins-Kreiner 2009: 445–448; Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell 2008; Wiley 2005). The analysis of the heritage regime in which pilgrimage takes place provides a different angle to look at the well-known "tourism plus pilgrimage" perspective to understand the internal dynamics of the pilgrimage to Finisterre. Our point of departure is the idea that pilgrimage is inserted in a heritage machine (Alonso González 2013) or heritage regime (Bendix et al. 2012); to use two of the most telling metaphors that are currently being employed to think about heritage.

In this book, we will use the concept 'heritagization' instead of 'heritage'. Paraphrasing Davallon, anyone looking at the notion of heritage today will notice the relative instability of such a notion as it designates realities which are largely contradictory: 'this is the reason why the quest for the right definition of this notion has been replaced by the study of the concept of heritagization' (Davallon 2010: 39).

¹³This section draws from an earlier version presented at the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, Göteborg 2012.

Heritagization refers to the processes by which heritage is constructed. This concept has been widely used among scholars in the south of Europe, by contrast with the invisibility of this term in English. The terms ‘patrimonialización’ in Spanish, or ‘patrimonialisation’ in French, have been employed since the mid-1990s and its use was well established in the decade beginning in 2000.¹⁴

In the English-speaking world, heritagization was first used by Walsh in 1992, as a pejorative way to refer to ‘the reduction of real places to tourist space (...) that contribute to the destruction of actual places’ (1992: 4); focusing on the idea of the destruction of culture produced by tourism. This was in line with the idea of selling ‘culture by the pound’ that Davydd Greenwood (1977) developed in the 1970s. This pejorative connotation marked the use of the term in English until very recently. For instance, in two articles written by Carmen Ortiz and Sánchez-Carretero for *Ethnologia Europaea* and for a book published by Sage, the word ‘heritagization’ was rejected by the journal editors and the book editors because it was not considered a common term in English (Sánchez-Carretero and Ortiz 2008, 2011). However, in the last few years, the term ‘heritagization’ has been employed in English with the same meaning as the equivalent terms in French, Portuguese or Spanish, referring to the processes by which heritage is constructed.¹⁵ Nevertheless, these articles rarely cite earlier works on the subject from non-Anglo traditions; leading to the invisibility, in the English-speaking academic world, of works on ‘heritagization’ conducted in the south of Europe.

The term in English is now well-established, due, also in part, to the role of Canadian scholarship. For instance, the Encyclopaedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America, funded by the Canadian Heritage Department, the Quebec Government and Laval University, describe their project using the word ‘heritagization’ as a synonym of heritage building processes.¹⁶ In addition, a Network of Researchers on Heritagization was recently created to serve as a network of ‘critical researchers on the heritagization of different countries and languages.’¹⁷ Even though the term ‘heritagization’ with this meaning has only recently been incorporated into English, the idea behind the concept has been used since the 1990s. For instance, Kirshenbaltt-Gimblett (1995, 1998), Hufford (1994) and Abrahams (1994) stress the idea of heritage as a meta-cultural production and a social construction.

Leaving aside Walsh’s pejorative use of the word, most of the definitions of heritagization share common elements, for instance the emphasis on the aspect of process and its social construction. Roigé and Figolé define it as ‘those processes of cultural production by which cultural or natural elements are selected

¹⁴In Spain, see for instance García (2007), Pereiro (1999), and Prats (2005); and in France, Faure (1998), Amougou (2004), Davallon (2006), and Drouin (2006).

¹⁵Bendix (2009), Flesler and Pérez Melgosa (2010), Margry and Sánchez-Carretero (2011), Margry (2011a, b) all offer examples of the use of ‘heritagization’ in English.

¹⁶<http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/en/authors-instructions.html>, accessed October 2, 2012.

¹⁷<http://respatrimoni.wordpress.com>, accessed October 2, 2012.

and reworked for new social uses' (Roigé and Figolé 2010: 12); Margry as 'the process by which cultural phenomena or cultural objects, old and modern, are labelled 'cultural heritage' by the involved actors and, as a consequence, acquire new meanings, undergo transformative changes and become an instrumentalization of the past for the future' (Margry 2011a, b: 336); and Davallon as 'the act by which a norm, a canon inherited from the past, is contested, subverted, submerged by a new categorization constructed from the present' (2006: 95, cited after Roigé and Frigolé 2010: 11).

In this book, the emphasis on the heritagization of the Camino de Finisterre/Muxía offers an alternative perspective on the relationship among the different actors involved, which will be analyzed in Chap. 4.

1.4 On Names and Conflicts

The last part of this introduction is aimed at clarifying the usage of place-names, starting with the name of the Cape itself. The term Finisterre, in Spanish, is used consistently throughout this book. Nevertheless, when the authors write in Spanish or Galician, we use the name Fisterra, because the norm is to respect the original language, in this case Galician, for place names. The variations between Fisterra and Finisterre follow an internal dynamic that Finisterre residents referred to explicitly during fieldwork.¹⁸ Our collaborators considered the name of their village to be Fisterra (in Galician) and that they are Fisterrans. Therefore, the emotional link is established with the label 'Fisterra'. Everyone we interviewed, however, was in agreement as to which name should be used to promote the village internationally: Finisterre. Antonio,¹⁹ in his mid-forties and owner of a bar well-known by pilgrims, insisted on the importance of keeping the 'name of Finisterre on the map... and by insisting on the Galician term 'Fisterra' we get the opposite effect' (fieldnotes 20-7-2011). According to Antonio, the village needs to be marketed as 'Finisterre instead of Fisterra because that is how we show on the maps; that is how everybody knows us, and we need to be on the map' (fieldnotes 20-7-2011). Finisterre should be the name used in every tourism brochure because of its international relevance: 'A name is also heritage' (fieldnotes 15-6-2011). The idea is that old maps already included the reference to Finisterre and therefore, it's a term with added value that should always be used in the same way. However, the fact is there is no continuity in how Finisterre is promoted and the issue raises strong criticism on behalf of the owners of bars and restaurants.

¹⁸For more information on place branding strategies see Jiménez-Esquinas and Sánchez-Carretero (forthcoming).

¹⁹We maintain anonymity of our collaborators, except in those cases in which they explicitly requested the opposite.

The second name-related issue deals with the controversy around the name of the route itself. Some people call it ‘an extension’ of the Camino de Santiago while others refer to it as ‘the end of the Camino.’ Those of the first opinion use various terms to express it: extension, continuation, prolongation and epilogue, all of which share the idea of a continuation beyond Santiago. The term ‘extension’ is employed by the Galician Association of Friends of the Camino (AGACS) and was used particularly from 1997 to 2004, in the organization of activities related to the route. This term is analyzed by Vilar (this volume) and is associated with the idea that the ending point of the Camino de Santiago is the city of Santiago de Compostela. Continuing beyond the city means extending this pilgrimage route, thus the use of the term ‘extension’ of the Camino de Santiago to Finisterre and Muxía. In a similar vein, some online guides use the term ‘epilogue’ (see, for instance, <http://caminodesantiago.consumer.es/los-caminos-de-santiago/epilogo-a-fisterra> and <http://elcaminotheway.com>).

On the other hand, those who refer to the route as ‘the end of the Camino,’ emphasize the idea of a pre-Christian pilgrimage which followed the Milky Way, before the existence of the shrine dedicated to St. James. It is sometimes linked to a Celtic past and is considered the ‘authentic’ pilgrimage. During fieldwork, we found various groups of people who shared this idea: pilgrims, restaurant/hostel/bar owners, foreigners who had decided to remain in Finisterre upon ending their pilgrimage, as well as some researchers such as Alonso Romero (1993). For them, Finisterre/Muxía is the original ending point of the whole pilgrimage route to Santiago. They base their opinion on Celtic and pre-Christian origins, which can be interpreted as an explanation more in line with the spirituality of a secularized society (Herrero 2005: 125).

The idea that the Camino to Finisterre/Muxía is not an extension but in fact the closing stage of the pilgrimage is explained plainly and clearly by one of the members of the cultural association ‘Fisterra, the true end of the Camino.’ According to this Finisterre resident, the main goal of their group was to claim that the Camino to Finisterre ‘is not a prolongation. It is indeed the origin and end of the Camino’ (Audio recording GR032, 22-7-2011). This association was dissolved in late 2011, in part because they were accused of having a negative attitude towards Muxía.

The conflicts between Finisterre and Muxía as to which of the two towns is the actual ending point of the Camino are based on explanations related to the route’s origin. Both use historical justifications for their claims, however, as will be explored in Chaps. 2 and 3, the longevity of the pilgrimage route to Finisterre and Muxía does not necessarily mean that it was linked to the Camino de Santiago.

Vilar, in Chap. 3, analyzes in depth the claims of both locations and the line of reasoning used to reinforce significant aspects of each town. In the case of Muxía, it is the cult of ‘Virxe da Barca’ (‘The Virgin of the Boat’) at her shrine next to the sea, whilst in Finisterre, three elements are highlighted: the Gothic image of Christ on the Cross, the Shrine of St William (ermida de San Guillermo), and the Cape’s status as the *finis terrae*, the edge of the known world (Fig. 1.5).

Frey, in her 1998 ethnography study, prior to the Camino de Finisterre boom, confirmed that the sanctuary of Virxe da Barca in Muxía is ‘another site that has

Fig. 1.5 *Double arrow* indicating Finisterre-Muxía in Hospital. *Source* Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

an equally rich link to the historical pilgrimages, but is not a common destination for contemporary pilgrims' (Frey 1998: 171). She already pointed out that 'while the majority [of pilgrims] finish in Santiago and spend a day seeing the city before going home, others feel a need to continue beyond Santiago' (Frey 1998: 170). Haab also sees the Camino to Finisterre as a way of consolidating the pilgrims' experience, giving them time to reflect and conclude their Camino before going back home (Haab 1996: 34). The same motivations/themes expressed by Frey's interviewees are also present in Margry's questionnaires analyzed in Chap. 8, 'disillusionment with Santiago, the significance of Finisterre's geographical placement, the contact with a physical end, the personalized rites of ending and purification, the relationship to the past, and the sense of closure' (Frey 1998: 174).

1.5 The Structure of the Book: Walking to the End of the World? or Being Walked?

Whilst the book provides a unified approach to our research questions, it also preserves the peculiarities of each of the authors' voices in terms of personal style, academic tradition, and disciplinary perspective. We suggest readers to immerse themselves in these pages with open-mindedness. As the potential reader travels throughout the book, he or she will find a plurality of styles that are partly related to different academic traditions. To keep these styles intact is a conscious decision so as not to impose a hegemonic format. Therefore, the editor has respected the different styles, methods and angles used by each of the research group members. Results are communicated in different styles: for instance, the straight-to-the-point prose by sociologist Eva Parga-Dans contrasts with the ethnographic descriptions of Margry and Sánchez-Carretero. These approaches prove to be complementary ways of working around the same research questions (Fig. 1.6).

Fig. 1.6 A boot with the message ‘Don’t dream your life’ deposited along the Camino. *Source* Paula Ballesteros-Arias and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero

An example of this multivocality can be found in the first part of the volume, dedicated to general aspects of the Camino to Finisterre, such as the history, myths and legends related to the ‘end of the world.’ In this section, Margry (Chap. 2) provides an international perspective on these topics based on the contents of guidebooks and academic literature on the flourishing theme of pilgrimage to Finisterre, including the esoteric perspective. The other side of the coin is provided by Vilar (Chap. 3), who gives international audiences the chance to gain access to Galician bibliography. His detailed description of the works written mainly in Galicia about the Camino of Finisterre provides an interesting perspective for non-Galician audiences who may have little access to these sources.

Part two of the book is entitled ‘Local impacts of the pilgrimage to Finisterre’ and deals with the effects of pilgrimage on towns and villages from a local perspective. Chapter 4, by Sánchez-Carretero, analyzes heritage policies related to the Camino and how they affect local residents, providing a wide range of testimonies, from mayors and priests to a pilgrim who occupied and lived in a concrete power transmission tower in Finisterre for a couple of years (see Fig. 4.6); in Chap. 5 Parga-Dans uses a quantitative approach to describe the ‘Finisterre boom’ and complements Margry’s analysis of the creation of a mythical sacred place in Finisterre. Chapter 6, by Ballesteros-Arias, offers a micro-analysis of one of the villages along the route, Olveiroa, and its transformation during the last few decades. Otero’s descriptive archaeological tone in the last chapter of the second part is a good example of the multivocality of this study. This chapter focuses on the link between archaeological sites and the Camino to Finisterre in order to analyze the effects of the Camino on the management of such sites.

Finally, part three, entitled ‘Spirituality, Motives and the End of the World,’ focuses on the research conducted by Margry on the motivation behind Finisterre being the ending point for pilgrims. In this chapter, the concept of ‘caminonization’ is employed to refer to the worldwide rise in sacred or spiritual footpaths, primarily stimulated by the success of the Camino, which cannot simply be equated with what is nowadays called spiritual tourism.

The village footpaths in this area are walked by literally thousands of pilgrims each year. Pilgrimage has transformed their landscape, daily life and economy. Coleman, in his study of the Marian shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk, England, suggests that pilgrimage should be used as a lens in order to focus on human behavior rather than focusing on the pilgrimage itself as separated from daily life (Coleman 2002). With this book, our goal is to use the daily life of local residents as a lens to focus on how pilgrimage and heritage machinery are modelling contemporary Galician landscape.

We want to thank the Galician government, the Xunta de Galicia for funding this project, our host institutions, the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and Meertens Institute and the participants in the research team: in addition to the authors of the chapters of this book, we want to thank Santiago García Vázquez, Jorge Braña and Xosé M. Sánchez Sánchez; special thanks to Pastor Fábrega-Álvarez for his photographs at the activities in Vilaserío, and Anxo Rodríguez-Paz for his graphics and technical support. We also appreciate the generosity of Xosé Manuel Santos Solla and his team at the Observatory of Pilgrimage for sharing the information about their projects on the Camino with us. We also want to thank Galician Association of Friends of the Camino (AGACS), the hostel managers along the route, and, above all, our collaborators in the field, particularly the inhabitants of Olveiroa, Vilaserío and Finisterre, and all the pilgrims who answered the questionnaires: without them, this book would not exist.

Bibliography

- Abrahams, R. (1994). Powerful promises of regeneration or living well with history. In M. Hufford (Ed.), *Conserving culture. A new discourse on heritage* (pp. 78–93). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Alonso González, P. (2013). The heritage machine: A heritage ethnography in maragatería (Spain). Ph.D. Dissertation. Universidad de León.
- Alonso Romero, F. (1993). *O camiño de Fisterra*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.
- Amougou, E. (2004). *La question patrimoniale: De la 'patrimonialisation' à l'examen de situations concrètes*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Badone, E. (2014). Conventional and unconventional pilgrimages: Conceptualizing sacred travel in the twenty-first century. In A. Pazos (Ed.), *Redefining pilgrimage: New perspectives on historical and contemporary pilgrimages*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Badone, E., & Roseman, S. R. (Eds.). (2004). *Intersecting journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage and tourism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Ballesteros-Arias, P., & Sánchez-Carretero, C. (2011). En torno a las ausencias y presencias del concepto de 'patrimonio'. Prácticas y discursos patrimonializadores en el camino de Santiago a Fisterra. In *Lugares, tiempos, memorias. Actas del XII Congreso de Antropología de la FAAEE* (pp. 1583–1592). León: FAAEE.
- Bendix, R. (2009). Heritage between economy and politics: An assessment from the perspective of cultural anthropology. In L. Smith, & N. Akagawa, (Eds.) *Intangible heritage* (pp. 253–269). London: Routledge.

- Bendix, R., Eggset, A., & Peselmann, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Heritage regimes and the State*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A phenomenology of tourist experiences. *Sociology*, 13, 179–201.
- Cohen, E. (1992). Pilgrimage and tourism: Convergence and divergence. A. Morinis (Ed.), *Sacred journeys: The anthropology of pilgrimage*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Coleman, S. (2002). Do you believe in pilgrimage? *Communitas* contestation and beyond. *Anthropological Theory*, 2(3), 355–368.
- Coleman, S., & Eade, J. (Eds.). (2004). *Reframing pilgrimage. cultures in motion*. London: Routledge.
- Coleman, S., & Elsner, J. (1995). *Pilgrimage past and present in the world religions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Collins-Kreiner, N. (2009). Researching pilgrimage. Continuity and transformations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(2), 440–456.
- Collins-Kreiner, N., & Gatrell, J. D. (2008). Tourism, heritage and pilgrimage: The case of haifa's bahá'í gardens. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1(1), 32–50.
- Davallon, Jean. (2006). *Le Don du patrimoine: Une approche communicationnelle de la patrimonialisation*. Paris: Hermès Sciences-Lavoisier.
- Davallon, J. (2010). The game of heritagization. In X. Roigé, & J. Frigolé (Eds.), *Constructing cultural and natural heritage. Parks, museums and rural heritage* (pp. 39–62). Girona: ICRPC.
- Drouin, M. (Ed.). (2006). *Patrimoine et patrimonialisation du Québec et d'ailleurs*. Montreal: Éditions Multimondes, Coll. Cahiers de l'Institut du patrimoine de l'UQAM.
- Eade, J., & Sallnow, M. (Eds.). (1991). *Contesting the sacred: The anthropology of Christian pilgrimage*. London: Routledge.
- Faure, Muriel. (1998). Patrimonialisation des productions fromagères dans les Alpes du Nord: saviors et pratiques techniques. *Reveu de géographie alpine*, 86(4), 51–60.
- Flesler, D., & Pérez Melgosa, A. (2010). Hervás, convivencia, and the heritagization of Spain's Jewish past. *Journal of Romance Studies*, 10(2), 53–76.
- Frey, N. L. (1998). *Pilgrim stories. On and off the road to santiago*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- García, J. L. (2007). Del conocimiento antropológico y de su patrimonialización. *Política y Sociedad*, 44(1), 159–173.
- Greenwood, D. J. (1977). Culture by the pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (pp. 171–85). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Haab, B. (1996). The way as an inward journey: An anthropological enquiry into the spirituality of present-day pilgrims to Santiago. *Confraternity of St James Bulletin*, 56, 11–36.
- Herrero, N. (2005). La Costa da Morte (Galicia): Localización de un modelo de turismo cultural. In A. Santana Talavera, & Ll. Prats Canals (Eds.), *Encuentros del turismo con el patrimonio cultural* (pp. 117–130). Sevilla: FAAEE-Fundación El Monte.
- Herrero, N. (2008). Reaching 'land's end': New social practices in the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21(2), 131–149.
- Herrero, N. (2009). La atracción turística de un espacio mítico: peregrinación al cabo de Finisterre. *Pasos* 7(2):163–178, www.pasosonline.org.
- Hufford, M. (Ed.). (1994). *Conserving culture. A new discourse on heritage*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jiménez-Esquinas, G., & C Sánchez-Carretero. Forthcoming. Who Owns the Name of a Place? On Place Branding and Logics in Two Villages in Galicia, Spain. *Tourism Studies*.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1995). Theorizing heritage. *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3), 367–380.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Margry, P. J. (Ed.). (2008a). *Shrines and pilgrimage in the modern world: New itineraries into the sacred*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- Margry, P. J. (2008b). Memorialising Europe. Revitalising and reframing a 'Christian' continent. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 17(2), 6–33.
- Margry, P. J. (2011). Memorializing a controversial politician: The 'Heritagization' of a materialized vox populi. In P. J. Margry, & C. Sánchez-Carretero (Eds.), *Grassroots memorials. The politics of memorializing traumatic death* (pp. 319–345). Oxford: Berghahn, New York.
- Margry, P. J., & C. Sánchez-Carretero. (2011). Rethinking memorialization. The concept of grassroots memorials. In P. J. Margry, & C. Sánchez-Carretero (Eds.), *Grassroots memorials. The politics of memorializing traumatic death* (pp. 1–48). Oxford: Berghahn, New York.
- Martín-Barbero, J. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones*. Barcelona: G. Gili.
- Morinis, A. (1992). Introduction: The territory of the anthropology of pilgrimage. In A. Morinis (Ed.), *Sacred journeys: The anthropology of pilgrimage* (pp. 1–28). Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Parga-Dans, E. (2012a). The offer of services on the way of St James between Santiago and Fisterra. Accessed September 5, 2013, Unpublished manuscript available at <http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/45780>.
- Parga-Dans, E. (2012b). The profile of pilgrimage on the way of St. James to Fisterra. Accessed September 5, 2013, Unpublished manuscript available at <http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/45922>.
- Pereiro, X. (1999). Patrimonialización, museos e arquitectura: o caso de Allariz. E. Fernández de Paz, & J. Agudo Torrico (Eds.), *Patrimonio cultural y museología* (pp. 97–110). Santiago de Compostela: FAAEE-Asociación Galega de Antropoloxía.
- Pombo, A. (2000). *Asistencia hospitalaria ós peregrinos na terra de Nemanco durante a Idade Moderna* (pp. 67–92). Asociación Neria: Actas do I Simposio de Historia da Costa da Morte. Cee.
- Pombo, A. (2004). *Guía del peregrino. El Camino de Santiago*. Madrid: Anaya Touring Club.
- Prats, L. (2005). Concepto y gestión del patrimonio local. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, 21, 17–35.
- Reader, I. (2005). *Making pilgrimages: Meaning and practice in Shikoku*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Reader, I., & Walter, T. (Eds.). (1993). *Pilgrimage in popular culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Roseman, S. R. (2004). Santiago de Compostela in the year 2000: From religious center to European city of culture. In Badone, E., & S. R. Roseman (Eds.), *Intersecting journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage and tourism* (pp. 68–88). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Roseman, S. R., Herrero, N., & Fife, W. (2008). The cultural politics of tourism and heritage in Galicia. *Anthropological perspectives, International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21(2), 73–86.
- Roigé, X., & J. Frigolé. (2010). Introduction. In X. Roigé, & J. Frigolé (Eds.), *Constructing cultural and natural heritage. Parks, museums and rural heritage* (pp. 9–24). Girona: ICRPC.
- Rudolph, C. (2004). *Pilgrimage to the end of the world. The road to Santiago de Compostela*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sánchez-Carretero, C. (2012). Heritage regimes and the Camino de Santiago: Gaps and logics. In Bendix, R. et al. (Eds.), *Heritage regimes and the state* (pp. 141–155). Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Sánchez-Carretero, C., & P. Ballesteros-Arias. (2014). *As outras caras do patrimonio*. Santiago de Compostela: CSIC-Incipient, Series Anaina.
- Sánchez-Carretero, C., & Ortiz, C. (2008). Rethinking ethnology in the Spanish context. *Ethnologia Euroaepa*, 38(1), 23–28.
- Sánchez-Carretero, C., & C. Ortiz. (2011). Grassroots memorials as sites of heritage creation. In H. K. Anheier, Y. R. Isar, & D. Viejo-Rose (Eds.), *Cultures and globalization 4: Heritage, memory, identity* (pp. 106–113). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Schrire, D. (2007). The Camino de Santiago. The interplay of European heritage and new traditions. *Ethnologia Euroaepa*, 36(2), 69–86.
- Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the margin: Alternatives geographies of modernity*. Londres: Routledge.
- Smith, V. L. (Ed.) (1989). *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (2nd edn.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- 626 Starkie, W. (1957). *The road to Santiago*. Pilgrims of St. James. London: John Murray.
- 627 Turner, V. W., & Turner, E. (1978). *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture*. Columbia UP/
628 Blackwell: Anthropological Perspectives. New York/Oxford.
- 629 Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage.
- 630 Urry, J. (2002). Mobility and proximity. *Sociology*, 36(2), 255–274.
- 631 Vilar, M. (2010). *El Camino al fin de la tierra*. Santiago de Compostela: Asociación Cámaras
632 Oficiales de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de los Caminos Jacobeos.
- 633 Walsh, K. (1992). *The representation of the past. Museums and heritage in the post-modern*
634 *world*. London: Routledge.
- 635 Wiley, E. (2005). Romani performance and heritage tourism. The pilgrimage of the gypsies at
636 Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer. *The Drama Review*, 49(2), 135–158.