



2015

The Last 100 Kilometers: A Values Based Analysis of What the Camino De Santiago Can Teach About How the Built Environment Can Preserve the Human Experience

Sarah Blitzer
University of Pennsylvania

Follow this and additional works at: http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses

 Part of the [European History Commons](#), [European Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Historic Preservation and Conservation Commons](#)

Blitzer, Sarah, "The Last 100 Kilometers: A Values Based Analysis of What the Camino De Santiago Can Teach About How the Built Environment Can Preserve the Human Experience" (2015). *Theses (Historic Preservation)*. 591.
http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/591

Suggested Citation:

Blitzer, Sarah (2015). *The Last 100 Kilometers: A Values Based Analysis of What the Camino De Santiago Can Teach About How the Built Environment Can Preserve the Human Experience*. (Masters Thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/591
For more information, please contact libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu.

The Last 100 Kilometers: A Values Based Analysis of What the Camino De Santiago Can Teach About How the Built Environment Can Preserve the Human Experience

Abstract

The Camino de Santiago is a medieval pilgrimage route that dates back to the 11th century. Today, pilgrims from all over the world undertake the journey to Santiago de Compostela to share in the experience. To earn a compostela the minimum distance that a pilgrim must walk, established by the Church, is 100-kilometers. It is also the boundary of Galicia. The result is that the long-distance pilgrim is forced to contend with the short-distance pilgrim, the pilgrim that walks the minimum. The mixing of these two populations produces friction, caused by each group's different valuations of the Camino as a experience. As a nightly, physical point of convergence of pilgrims, the albergues, or hostels, are an opportunity to preserve the Camino experience. This study undertakes a close examination of nine albergues located along the entire route and how those albergues support or undermine the unique qualities of the Camino. The analysis is based on drawings, photographs, and personal observations recorded during a July 2014 pilgrimage. This investigation determined that certain albergues were more successful in preserving the experience than others. The successes were albergues that are small in size and, above all, simple. In offering too many amenities, the albergue resembles a tourist's hostel and thus undermines what is unique to the Camino. If the recommendations determined here were incorporated into Galicia's attitude toward its network of albergues the last 100-kilometers of the Camino Santiago be reinforced and preserved for future pilgrims to experience.

Keywords

cultural capital, carrying capacity, cultural landscape, historic value, social value

Disciplines

European History | European Languages and Societies | Historic Preservation and Conservation

Comments

Suggested Citation:

Blitzer, Sarah (2015). *The Last 100 Kilometers: A Values Based Analysis of What the Camino De Santiago Can Teach About How the Built Environment Can Preserve the Human Experience*. (Masters Thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

THE LAST 100 KILOMETERS: A VALUES BASED ANALYSIS OF WHAT THE CAMINO
DE SANTIAGO CAN TEACH ABOUT HOW THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT CAN
PRESERVE THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE

Sarah Julia Blitzer

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2015

Advisor and Program Chair
Randall F. Mason
Associate Professor

For the *peregrinos*.
Past, present, and future. Long-distance and short.

The Camino does not end in Santiago. It begins.
This was another journey accomplished alone but with others by my side:

David and Megan, who listened.

Hilary, who read.

Randy, who listened, read, and advised.

Mom and Pop, who've done it all.

And, of course,

Sarah, Declan, and Joe, who walked with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of drawings and images.....	v
1 Introduction	1
2 Medieval Pilgrimage.....	8
3 Literature Review	18
4 Case Studies	
The Appalachian Trail	45
Hadrian's Wall.....	51
5 <i>Albergues</i>	60
Roncesvalles.....	61
Lorca.....	66
Logroño	71
Grañón	76
Burgos	82
San Nicolas del Real Camino.....	88
Foncebadón	93
Pereje	98
Hospital da Condessa.....	104
6 <i>Albergues</i> and Cultural Landscape	110
Historical Background	112
Municipal <i>Albergues</i>	117
Amenities.....	118
7 Lessons Learned & Recommendations	135
Bibliography	143
Appendix: Elevation and <i>Albergue</i> data	150
Index	151

LIST OF DRAWINGS AND IMAGES

1. Ecotone Gradient	31
2. Roncesvalles: Camino route and site plan.....	63
3. Roncesvalles: Floor plans	64
4. Roncesvalles: Various photos	65
5. Lorca: Camino route and site plan	68
6. Lorca: Floor plans	69
7. Lorca: Various photos	70
8. Logroño: Camino route and site plan	73
9. Logroño: Floor plans	74
10. Logroño: Various photos.....	75
11. Grañón: Camino route and site plan	78
12. Grañón: Floor plans	79
13. Grañón: Floor plans	80
14. Grañón: Various photos.....	81
15. Burgos: Camino route and site plan	84
16. Burgos: Floor plans.....	85
17. Burgos: Floor plans.....	86
18. Burgos: Various photos.....	87
19. San Nicolas del Real Camino: Camino route and site plan.....	90
20. San Nicolas del Real Camino: Floor plans	91
21. San Nicolas del Real Camino: Various photos	92
22. Foncebadón: Camino route and site plan	95
23. Foncebadón: Floor plans.....	96
24. Foncebadón: Various photos	97
25. Pereje: Camino route and site plan	100
26. Pereje: Floor plans	101
27. Pereje: Floor plans	102
28. Pereje: Various photos	103
29. Hospital da Condesa: Camino route and site plan.....	105
30. Hospital da Condesa: Floor plans	106
31. Hospital da Condesa: Various photos	107
32. Possible plan of San Froilán's hospital.....	115
33. Roncesvalles.....	122

1 | INTRODUCTION

“[...] we strongly discourage beginning the Camino in Sarria. Due to mass use and total loss of the spirit of the Camino between Sarria and Santiago, a pilgrim that begins in Sarria will not experience the essence of the Camino which profoundly impacts so many people. The Camino of Santiago that all people should experience at least once is not the distance between Sarria and Santiago de Compostela.”¹

Above is advice from *jacobeo.net*, a Spanish site and database for complete information on the Camino de Santiago, a religious pilgrimage route dating back to the Middle Ages. Despite strongly advocating the Camino and its experience, *jacobet.net*'s reporters simply advise against beginning in Sarria, 100-kilometers to the Camino's end, in Santiago de Compostela. Why? What happens past Sarria? In July 2014, I got my answer and the basis for this investigation. I took four weeks to walk the *camino francés* as a pilgrim, beginning in St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, 800 kilometers from Santiago de Compostela. As I moved along the route, I observed certain characteristics of the *albergue*, the pilgrim's hostel, that seemed to reinforce the experience of the Camino, such as an adaptively reused house. The central aspect of this experience is the sense of an individual journey through a historic landscape, a journey that is also shared by the other pilgrims that happen to be there at the same moment. During the day, the pilgrim is alone with her thoughts. At night, the pilgrim is with others who have had similar thoughts and feelings that day. The Camino is about being alone, together.

As *jacobeo.net* suggest, there is a significant shift in “the essence of the Camino,” from a shared yet individual journey, to a purely individual one. This shift

is both a result of the convergence of the various routes of the Camino de Santiago and the minimum distance necessary for a *compostela*.² This happens 100-kilometers from Santiago de Compostela. The Camino is composed of many routes that join at several points as one moves west in the northern region of Spain. With 100-kilometers remaining to Santiago de Compostela, all routes have connected to the *camino francés* and all pilgrims must share the same physical space. In addition to the convergence of pilgrims from the various routes, 100-kilometers is the minimum distance required for a pilgrim traveling by foot to receive the *compostela*. As a result of the sudden and dramatic crowding of the route, long-distance pilgrims – those pilgrims that have traveled hundreds of kilometers – who cross this 100-kilometer threshold note a marked change the Camino, compared to the experience further east. This change serves as the impetus for this investigation. It is a distinct boundary that points to a shift in values and in approach to preservation.

To better understand the shifting values around the 100-kilometer mark, this project will examine the Camino as a cultural landscape and the system of *albergues* that are integral to that landscape. The intent is to examine how these *albergues* support or undermine the cultural capital that is unique to the Camino. In examining the *albergues*, the intent is to recommend methods for alleviating the shift in experience 100-kilometers to Santiago de Compostela. As the Spanish Development Ministry's map of projects along the Camino demonstrates, there is a significant concentration of investment from the Spanish government in Galicia. (Figure 1) Projects on the map are at least partly funded by the Spanish government's *1,5% Cultura* initiative. This initiative requires that 1.5% of contracts for public works go to the conservation or enrichment of Spanish national heritage.³

The map illustrates that a considerable percentage of projects that are associated with the Camino and take advantage of *1,5% Cultura* are concentrated in Galicia, the last 100 kilometers of the route. This concentration of funding in Galicia points to an avenue through which recommendations could be directed, for the Camino's maximum benefit.

The clustering of heritage preservation projects in Galicia is no doubt a response to the 100-kilometer minimum required for pilgrims to earn their *compostela*.⁴ It is the most popular, least time intensive, and least expensive option for completing the Camino. In August 2014, according to statistics made available by Santiago de Compostela's Pilgrims Office, 26.93% of pilgrims that arrived in Santiago de Compostela began their journey in Sarria, the city just beyond the 100-kilometer threshold.⁵ This statistic points to the confluence not just of pilgrims from the various routes, but of a completely separate group of short-distance pilgrims who have not yet experienced the trials of crossing several hundred kilometers by foot. The result is friction between short- and long-distance pilgrims, resulting from two distinct sets of values, corresponding to the two different groups of pilgrims.

It is within this 100-kilometer radius to Santiago de Compostela that social values associated with tourism overshadow the unique experience, or "essence," of the Camino, or the social and heritage values associated with participating in the Camino as a pilgrim. This very sudden, very tangible, shift in the character of the Camino provides an opportunity to examine across one site how shifts in valuation affect the integrity of a site's cultural capital and to develop methods for addressing this shift through a deliberate approach to the *albergues*.

The issues addressed here also relate to issues of tourism and site management. Tensie Whelan describes the notion of “ecological carrying capacity,” which is the amount of visitors and use that a site can tolerate before these visitors begin to negatively impact that site.⁶ Whelan also describes “aesthetic carrying capacity,” which is more appropriate in the context of the Camino and, in particular, in its last 100-kilometers. Aesthetic carrying capacity is “reached when tourists encounter so many other tourists, or see the impacts of other visitors [...] that their enjoyment of the site is marred.”⁷ This concept speaks to the friction between short- and long-distance pilgrims, the result of differing values for the Camino, in which social values outweigh heritage values. Carrying capacity will come into play while determining the efficacy of the *albergues* in their ability to support the expectations and values of long-distance pilgrims.

In an effort to closely examine and compare specific projects along the Camino, this investigation will look at nine selected *albergues*. These *albergues* will be sited throughout the Camino and will be analyzed with regard to what they offer and how they contribute to preserving the experience as a whole. As will be made clear, some *albergues* are more successful than others, but each one offers opportunities for the preservation of the Camino’s intangible character.

Albergues run by a municipality offer an interesting study of *albergues* verging on the commercial. Galicia’s municipal *albergue* specifically exhibit hints of this commercialization of the system of *albergues*, with a standardization of fees, rules, and organization across the region. Galicia’s municipal *albergues* are most indicative of the shift in experience and yet also present an opportunity for designing *albergues* that improve the experience in Galicia and within 100-

kilometers of Santiago de Compostela. These *albergues* have been designed and constructed in response to the masses of pilgrims Galicia must accommodate, in particular during Holy Years.⁸ They are mostly new construction and sometimes there is more than one municipal *albergue* within a given city, due to its popularity as a pilgrim's stopping point and the amenities the city offers (shops, restaurants, supermarkets). I suspect that the more commercial character of the hostels in Galicia is what breaks that intangible connection between the living pilgrim and the heritage of the Camino. Before the 100-kilometer mark, one finds that all municipal *albergues* are either adaptive reuse projects or historically were hospitals for pilgrims. Galicia's municipal *albergues* tend to be larger, limiting opportunities for spontaneous interaction between pilgrims who are otherwise strangers, thus diluting the cultural value of the Camino, a value that has its root in the pilgrimage's history.

Research methods will include review, and comparison, of architectural drawings of selected private, municipal, and parochial *albergues*, to further investigate the connection between the physical landscape and experience. The nine *albergues* that will be examined here are located in Roncesvalles (municipal), Lorca (private), Logroño (private), Grañón (parochial), Burgos (municipal), Foncebadón (parochial), Pereje (municipal), Hospital da Condessa (municipal), and San Nicolas del Real Camino (private). In addition to reviewing physical design, available data regarding restoration of these *albergues* and economic resources used will be gathered and analyzed with the intent to understand how the albergues' cash flow plays into these projects.

Ultimately, the goal is to understand how heritage values and social values interact and the means by which the built environment supports or undermines these values. As a cultural landscape, the Camino is an opportunity to closely examine how a single element plays into determining experience across one, expansive, site. For the pilgrim who walked for weeks along the route, the shift in the “cultural ‘ecosystem’” upon entrance into Galicia is stark.⁹ While there is a loss here, a degradation of the highly valued experience, the Camino can offer lessons in how design and preservation of the built environment affect social fabric and how concentrating those efforts in certain areas allows for complete preservation of the built and social fabric on the whole.

Chapter Endnotes

¹ “En Sarria,” <http://www.jacobeo.net/index.php?modulo=83&pad=133>.

² The *compostela* is a kind of certificate awarded to the pilgrim upon arriving in Santiago de Compostela. For the faithful, it is an indulgence, wherein the individual is forgiven for a certain degree of sins and thus less time in Purgatory. For more on the history of the indulgence, see the chapter on medieval pilgrimage.

³ Jordi Tresserras, “El Camino de Santiago: la gestión sostenible un itinerario cultural transnacional”, http://www.fundacioabertis.org/rcs_jor/pdf_tresserras.pdf, 5.

⁴ The 100-kilometer minimum was determined by the Church. When I contacted the Pilgrims Office in Santiago de Compostela, I was told that 100-kilometers was selected because that is Galicia’s border.

⁵ “La Peregrinación a Santiago en agosto 2014,” accessed September 2, 2014, <http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/pilgrims-office/statistics/>. Sarria is just beyond the 100 kilometer mark to Santiago de Compostela and as a result is a popular beginning point for those pilgrims looking to walk the minimum for the *compostela*, hence *jacobeo.net*’s warning against beginning one’s journey in Sarria.

⁶ Tensie Whelan, “Ecotourism and Its Role in Sustainable Development”, in *Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment*, ed. Tensie Whelan (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1991), 11.

⁷ *ibid.*, 11.

⁸ Holy Years for the Camino de Santiago occur when the Feast of St. James falls on a Sunday. For more on Holy Years, see the chapter on medieval pilgrimage.

⁹ David Throsby, “Cultural capital”, in *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*, ed. Ruth Towse (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003), 167.

2 | MEDIEVAL PILGRIMAGE

As detailed in the introduction, the Camino de Santiago's historic and religious roots lie in the legend surrounding Santiago's remains. Regardless of the "truth" and despite the uncertainties of Santiago's life and how his relics ended up in Galicia, Santiago's purported grave was found in A.D. 814 with the help of a hermit, Pelayo, and bishop Teodomiro. This same bishop sent word to Alfonso II, ruler of the Asturian kingdom, and a church and monastery were constructed at the site of Santiago's remains. This site is Santiago de Compostela, "City of Saint James of the Campus Stellae – the field of stars – or of the Compostum – the cemetery [...]"¹ Alfonso III (866-910) and Bishop Sisnando of Iria promoted pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and completed the construction of a church dedicated to Santiago in 899.² It is during this century that the city of Santiago de Compostela came to be called the "the Christian Mecca", by both Christian and Muslim "medieval commentators."³ Yet it is not until the 12th century that the Camino de Santiago reaches its height of popularity as one of the three major Christian pilgrimage routes in history.⁴

The first medieval pilgrims came from France, trickling across France and Spain, and sowing an interest and desire in others to make the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in their wake.⁵ It has persisted as a pilgrimage route for a millennia, with pilgrims traveling from all over Europe: Italy, France, Germany, Hungary, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Spain.⁶ These medieval pilgrims, as they do today, crossed political and mountainous boundaries, traveling through cities,

provinces and empires.⁷ Scholars of pilgrimage have written that this current of people, of various nationalities helped diffuse the Romanesque style of architecture (as manifested in the various churches and chapels along the route, even today) more so than any other means of communication.⁸

In addition to its architectural impact, the pilgrimage route was also partly shaped by the political climate. That Santiago is buried in Galicia, taken there by miraculous boat or dedicated disciples, was a boon for the locality and the country. In the 8th century, “Christian political fortunes in the land were at their lowest ebb.”⁹ The Iberian Peninsula was conquered by the Moors and Spain needed a “religious-national figure of apostolic grandeur.”¹⁰ Webb suggests that the pilgrimage may have in fact benefitted from the *reconquista* efforts – during which Spain attempted to wrest the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim control – which functioned as a kind of “publicity” that encouraged pilgrimage, with miracles told of Santiago miraculously appearing before or during battles against the Moors.¹¹

These miracles added and strengthened Santiago’s “miracle collection”.¹² While pilgrims first arrived in Santiago de Compostela “haphazardly, individually”, more responded to the miracles associated with the saint and then “progressive routinization and institutionalize of the sacred journey” developed.¹³ These journeys further contributed to the saint’s miracle collection as any pilgrimage will “accrete rich superstructures of legend, myth, folklore, and literature.”¹⁴ Further miracles attributed to the saint occur as pilgrims make the difficult journey, further strengthening the routes power to draw more pilgrims. An essential piece of literature associated with the Camino de Santiago is the *Codex Calixtinus* (1140), a manuscript attributed to Pope Callixtus II which relates the miracle collection of

Santiago.¹⁵ The *Codex* also “denounced all those who defrauded and preyed upon pilgrims in general and St James’s pilgrims in particular.”¹⁶ The most well known section of the *Codex* is the fifth part, a “Pilgrim’s Guide” that loosely describes the routes through France (which converge just before the Pyrenees into one route to Santiago de Compostela) as well as shrines along these routes. Thus the pilgrimage perpetuates itself – through the miracle collection, guides, and word of mouth – as more pilgrims travel the route. As the political climate changes, as the popularity of a given saint’s cult rises and declines and then rises again, so too do pilgrimages. Yet it is rare for a pilgrimage route such as the Camino de Santiago to completely disappear. Such pilgrimages are known “to revive after a period of decline,” just as the Camino is experiencing a resurgence today.¹⁷

Potential pilgrims were further persuaded to undertake the venture by the pope and Holy Years. In 1300, Pope Boniface VIII, in an effort to make a pilgrimage to Rome at the turn of the century more significant than a pilgrimage during any other year, declared the first Holy Year or Jubilee. The pilgrim who made the trek to Rome during a Holy Year was awarded a plenary indulgence, of varying durations, depending on the distance the pilgrim traveled. The plenary indulgence is an all-encompassing forgiveness of past transgressions, which meant a “remission of at least a proportion of pains to be expected after death.”¹⁸ Not all indulgences were plenary indulgences and could be distributed in various forms. The indulgence could be a specific amount of time one was saved from Purgatory, or it was forgiveness of half of one’s sins, or it was complete forgiveness. Complete forgiveness is a plenary indulgence and was, as can be expected, the preferred variety of indulgence. Before the initiation of declaring certain years Holy Years, the plenary indulgence was

initially reserved for crusaders.¹⁹ Not surprisingly, the prospect of being granted a plenary indulgence was a very attractive reward for pilgrims. Thus the Holy Year illustrates the power that popes wield to encourage pilgrimage. In Santiago de Compostela's case, the *Año Santo Compostelano* was the parallel to Rome's Holy Year. The holy years in Santiago are the years in which the Feast of St. James, July 25, falls on a Sunday.²⁰ Pope Callixtus II, the same pope who supposedly penned the *Codex Calixtinus*, was the first to celebrate the *Año Santo Compostelano* in 1126. Pope Alexander III officially defined the *Año Santo Compostelano* "in perpetuity" in 1179.²¹ Just as in Rome, pilgrims who completed the pilgrimage during an *Año Santo Compostelano* earn a plenary indulgence upon reaching Santiago de Compostela.

Holy years happen only a few times in a person's lifetime yet medieval pilgrims traveled to Santiago de Compostela every year, each pilgrim propelled along the difficult journey by their own motivations, in particular when a plenary indulgence was not available. Despite the plenary indulgence, the central motivation for undertaking a pilgrimage was for forgiveness of a sin(s).²² An individual could choose to embark on a journey of penitence of their own free will or the journey could be imposed by clergy or laity as punishment for a crime.²³ One could be sentenced to undertake a pilgrimage for various crimes, "from slander and trouble-making to homicide [...]."²⁴ Those who elected to make a pilgrimage were also motivated by devotion, in addition to penitence. These self-motivated pilgrimages usually began with a vow and thus – though voluntary in nature – the pilgrimage became mandatory, though the pilgrim was free to decide when to begin.²⁵ The decision to undertake a long distance pilgrimage was probably fueled by an individual's

devotion to that saint, often the result of the vow made.²⁶ For this reason, and because of the time required to make the journey, the most important shrines were not places where an individual would seek a cure. Larger pilgrimage sites, such as Santiago de Compostela, were where the devoted went to seek forgiveness and demonstrate religious devotion.²⁷

In addition to forgiveness and devotion, pilgrimage was the only means of escape available with medieval society. It was the only journey that an individual could take away from their homes and villages.²⁸ The clergy, too, took advantage of a pilgrimage to escape the daily routine. For the monk, this separation from the familiar could provide a means to salvation.²⁹ Yet the majority looked to pilgrimage to break away from the habitual, to experience an adventure, to satisfy curiosities.³⁰ Men or women “could claim” to have vowed a pilgrimage and could thus embark on an experience radically different from their daily life.³¹ While the decision to undertake a pilgrimage was an individual one, if not imposed as punishment, the experience brings the pilgrim “into fellowship with like-minded souls, both on the way and at the shrine.”³²

This singular experience, undertaken with “like-minded souls”, was an essential element of the pilgrimage, and, as will be discussed later, still is today. The pilgrimage experience was a social, in addition to a spiritual, journey.³³ Pilgrims traveled together in organized groups or in “a Chaucerian company met with by happenstance.”³⁴ This bonding is described as “*communitas*”, where social interactions are no longer dictated by the social structures the pilgrim left behind.³⁵ Just as medieval pilgrims journeyed and prayed together -- visiting shrines and religious relics – so too did they “play” together, visiting secular sites and sharing

meals.³⁶ The pilgrim would discover at the end of her journey that she is “ a member of a vast throng. But this in a throng of similars [...]”³⁷

The sense of “communitas” imbued throughout the route was essential, in particular due to the difficulties of the journey. For a pilgrim to reach the final shrine, a great degree of “effort and endurance” was necessary, an effort which bore “witness to the faith” of those pilgrims.³⁸ The journey itself acted as its own form of physical training. A pilgrim that managed to reach the Pyrenees was “sufficiently well prepared, both spiritually and physically” to follow the route as it wound its way up and down mountains into the second, and most challenging part of the pilgrimage, through Spain’s terrain.³⁹ Though services to meet the needs of pilgrims – such as hospitals, inns, and taverns – cropped up along the route and roads were inspected, the journey was never completely safe.⁴⁰ Many pilgrims interpreted these dangers as part of the penance of the journey.⁴¹ Some have also suggested that the danger of the Alpine passes to Rome may have contributed to the popularity of the pilgrimage to Santiago.⁴²

Despite the tremendous physical and emotional exertion of the journey, as it developed, the route did offer pilgrims certain services. In fact, the pilgrimage itself was also shaped to maximize the economic advantage of a steady stream of devoted pilgrims through one’s town on their way to Santiago de Compostela. The roads pilgrims elected to take, those deemed to be the most secure, were an opportunity for economic growth. The hospitals, inns, and taverns mentioned above arose in response to the pilgrims’ presence and, in addition to providing economic income for locals, had a secondary effect of further securing roads.⁴³ While the roads became more secure, they were also manipulated so that, instead of leading pilgrims directly

to the shrine or church, pilgrims were led past local establishments that could benefit economically from the flow of pilgrims.⁴⁴ Amenities of all varieties were built by ecclesiastical and lay landlords to appeal to the enormous variety of pilgrims, from all social strata, traveling the route.⁴⁵ Local merchants and vendors took advantage of pilgrims' devotion by establishing markets where they sold "statuettes and pictures, rosaries, missals, sacred tracts, and a variety of other sacramental objects and edifying literature."⁴⁶ The *Codex Calixtus* mentions a market in front of the church of Santiago de Compostela, "the earliest known evidence for this trade in the Christian west."⁴⁷ Traveling in the 12th century, William of Malmesbury commented on the fair at St. Aldheim, which lured those "who were not attracted by devotion."⁴⁸ In addition to attracting trade, pilgrimage routes had major impacts on transportation and communication by promoting not only the improvement of roads, but also the construction of infrastructure to serve the stream of pilgrims making their way.⁴⁹ In fact, many saints owe their canonization to their work in relation to serving the needs of pilgrims.⁵⁰ This economic impact extended out beyond Spain's borders. The flow of money and goods that resulted from such a movement of people toward Galicia "could not have escaped at least some of the Gallic minds."⁵¹ It is clear that, from the local to the international level, pilgrimages were economically felt. The organization of villages along the route, some examined here, illustrate the Camino's economic power to sustain these villages (see analysis on Pereje, in Chapter 5, *Albergues*).

The emergence of lesser shrines along pilgrimage routes also reacted like the businesses that took advantage of the dependable flow of pilgrims. Small, more localized shrines attracted pilgrims within a smaller radius, with long-distance

pilgrims stopping at these lesser shrines as they passed.⁵² These kinds of stops were interpreted as another opportunity for the medieval pilgrim to further request forgiveness or demonstrate earnest devotion, a kind of preparation for finally reaching their objective shrine.⁵³ For these small stops, proximity to a major pilgrimage route was essential. Many of these smaller shrines sold “souvenirs” that pilgrims would outwardly wear as they continued their journey, thus advertising that shrine during and after the pilgrimage.⁵⁴

Chapter Endnotes

- ¹ Ellen O. Feinberg, *Following the Milky Way: A Pilgrimage Across Spain* (Ames: Iowa State Press, 1989), xii.
- ² Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 13.
- ³ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia Press, 1978), 233.
- ⁴ Webb, 12-3.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.
- ⁶ Feinberg, xii-xiii.
- ⁷ Turner and Turner, 6.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.
- ⁹ William Melzcer, trans. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1993), 15.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*.
- ¹¹ Webb, 23.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 63.
- ¹³ Turner and Turner, 25.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.
- ¹⁵ Webb, 24.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.
- ¹⁷ Turner and Turner, 26.
- ¹⁸ Webb, 21.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21-2.
- ²⁰ Feinberg, xiii.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*.
- ²² Webb, 20.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii.
- ²⁸ Turner and Turner, 7.
- ²⁹ Webb, 46.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70-1.
- ³¹ Pilgrims came from all ranks and stations, with women participating as freely as men. No class of medieval society was excluded from undertaking a pilgrimage. See Webb, 17, 57 and 78.
- ³² Turner and Turner, 31.
- ³³ Webb, 71.
- ³⁴ Turner and Turner, 13.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.
- ³⁸ Webb, xi.
- ³⁹ Melzcer, 25.
- ⁴⁰ Webb, 38-9; Turner and Turner, 233; Melzcer, 24.
- ⁴¹ Webb, 51.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 15.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 51.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 36 and 38.

⁴⁶ Turner and Turner, 25-6.

⁴⁷ Webb, 35.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 35-6.

⁴⁹ Turner and Turner, 233-4.

⁵⁰ Webb, 37.

⁵¹ Melzcer, 19.

⁵² Webb, 3-4.

⁵³ Turner and Turner, 22-3.

⁵⁴ Webb 35 and 64.

3 | LITERATURE REVIEW

Values

Values theory arose as a means for addressing the various facets of a site and a response to the economic valuation of a resource. For, as Arjo Klamer writes, if the argument for preservation is solely an economic one, then preservation will never win.¹ It is difficult to make an economic argument for preservation of a site when that site cannot produce the kind of financial output required by that investment of capital. An argument in defense of preservation is that of preservation as a public good, one whose benefits outweigh the economic investment required by cultural resources. Here, economics plays a smaller role. The method for articulating this argument is made primarily through values theory, a means for addressing, and even quantifying, the more ephemeral values, and thus the public good, associated with a site. These values, as will be discussed, can vary across a site and across the various stakeholders.

The best place to begin is with a site's heritage value. Heritage value, straightforward at first, bleeds into and informs other associated values of a site. Mason defines heritage value as the quality of "past-ness" of a site or object.² While the site's association with the past is primary in determining heritage value, Mason offers sub categories that inform heritage value: cultural, aesthetic, artistic, and research values.³ Along with its historical value, these four additional values are a means for expressing a site's significance to a group or an individual. One person may value a historic home for its architecture – its aesthetic value – while another

may value that same home for its role during the Revolutionary War – its historical value. Both individuals value the site for its connection with the past, though the particulars vary. The assignment of value is dependent on the individual's assessment of value.⁴ This simple example begins to illustrate the complexities and potential conflicts that arise with regard to values theory. Despite the individual valuation of a site, heritage value is, as Avrami writes, “an essentially collective and public notion”, an idea that points to the purpose behind values theory, and that is of preservation as a public good.

A site's heritage value connecting individuals takes a site's values from being more firmly attached to that site's physical condition to a discussion that is even more difficult to pin down. Holtorf writes that, as heritage value can vary across individuals, that valuation relates to how that individual connects with themselves and their roles within a larger community.⁵ Just as heritage value relates a site's “past-ness”, it also encourages “cultural, social and economic interaction” within a community.⁶ This leads to consideration of a site's social value. Mason defines social value as relating to a site's current use, “realized by a range of economic, recreational, political, or even commemorative activities.”⁷ A historic house's heritage value includes its place in history, whether that is the country's history or architectural history. That same house's social value includes its role in the community, perhaps as a public library or a community center.

Throsby uses the term “cultural capital” to address a site's social value. While his definition is similar to Mason's in that cultural capital is a site's contribution to the “cultural ecosystem”, cultural capital also takes heritage value into account.⁸ Cultural worth, writes Throsby, is informed by “aesthetic quality”, “spiritual

meaning”, “social function”, “symbolic significance”, “historical importance”, “its uniqueness, and so on.”⁹ Thus the network of values associated with a site value grows and becomes more complex in its subtleties. Throsby¹⁰ and Russell¹¹ distinguish between “tangible and intangible” cultural capital.

Tangible cultural capital includes “artworks and artefacts such as paintings and sculptures, and heritage buildings, locations and sites [...]”¹² This more physical manifestation of cultural capital directly relates back to that site’s heritage value. In his discussion of continuity, Lowenthal describes the layering of time’s passing, which he describes as: “Residues of successive generations in ancient sites [...]”¹³ These residues hint to past “partnership, harmony, and order.”¹⁴ This is the site’s heritage value, which reminds, and connects, a visitor with the past. Lowenthal explains that these residues allow for individuals in the present to connect with the past and describes a scene in which a mother connected with her deceased daughter by watering her daughter’s plants. For the pilgrim, this connection stems from walking the pilgrimage route and engaging in experiences that only other Camino pilgrims have shared.¹⁵

Lowenthal’s discussion on “diachronic continuity” also connects social and heritage values. This physical manifestation of change over time, writes Lowenthal, allows the viewer to see the object as it was in the past and as it is in the present. It furthers the individual’s connection with the past. Continuity, as Lowenthal describes, “implies a living past bound up with the present [...]”¹⁶ But what happens if this diachronic nature does not relate a continuous passage of time? The image Lowenthal provides, though it is there to illustrate Lowenthal’s point of continuity,

also points to the fact that much time has passed between completion of the Roman wall and construction of the house.

To contrast, intangible cultural capital relates to that site's social value. The intangible is that site's place in "cultural networks and relationships that support human activity."¹⁷ Cornelius Holtorf argues that a site's intangible cultural capital, its social value, is its most significant value.¹⁸ A site's place within a culture, or "cultural ecosystem",¹⁹ is especially valuable because it connects an individual with the larger community and to that community's past, which speaks to that site's heritage value.²⁰ Holtorf points to UNESCO World Heritage sites in particular, which "emphasize our identities as members of the same species and the fact that all people on this planet in fact belong to this same category."²¹

With an understanding of values theory, it is clear that an economic valuation of a site does not adequately address the true worth of a site. As Avrami explains, an economic assessment of a site does not distinguish "cultural and social values in a manner that maintains the integrity, potential, and rich meaning of these values."²² Yet, despite the shortcomings of an economic argument, a site's economic value continues to play a significant role in a site's management because "the marketplace has become the thing that determines how resources are allocated [...]."²³ It is in response to this reality that Throsby considers heritage value and social value together as cultural capital, as "something we may inherit or that we may create by new investment, and that we have to maintain. If we don't maintain it, it decays."²⁴ This makes room for consideration of a site, not purely in economic terms, but also in cultural, social, and heritage terms.

How these values are determined is yet another layer of values theory. Clark's discussion of value relates directly to how individuals determine a site's heritage value. To better understand how a site's heritage value is understood, Clark offers another layer of values: "intrinsic value (individual experience of heritage), instrumental value (associated social or economic aspects of heritage), and institutional value (the processes and techniques institutions use to create heritage value)."²⁵ It is clear that how one experiences a heritage site will affect how that same individual values that particular site. Robert Peckham's first definition of heritage also addresses how experience can determine heritage value, in particular the relationship between heritage and tourism.²⁶ Peckham's second definition relates to "shared values and collective memories."²⁷

Tourism

Tourism and proposed theories that address tourism also relate to pilgrimage and the Camino. It is one means of ascribing and realizing the values of the Camino and its experience. While the pilgrim will be discussed later in the chapter on medieval and modern pilgrimage, pilgrims can also be considered a variety of tourist (though many pilgrims on the Camino prefer to distance themselves from the title of tourist). A tourist is generally defined as an individual who travels purely for an experience.²⁸ MacCannell's definition, in addition to the tourist's search for experience, also defines a tourist as "mainly middle-class."²⁹ Despite modern associations of the tourist with the middle class, tourism and its association with travel is historically linked to pilgrimage, in particular medieval pilgrimage.³⁰ As Gmelch explains: "[Today tourism] represents the largest ever movement of people

across national borders, eclipsing emigration and immigration, refugee flight, pilgrimage, business and education travel.”³¹ While the tourist and pilgrim are often interrelated, it is interesting to note that Gmelch does not group the two together. This points to a distinction between a tourist, traveling purely for experience, and a pilgrim, whose travels are supposedly religiously or spiritually motivated.³²

Modern notions of tourism are grounded in religious experiences that parallel those experiences pursued by the pilgrim. As John Sears explains, in the 19th century U.S., tourism as an end unto itself was acceptable “because the aesthetic and moral motives associated with the contemplation of the sublime provided a justification for tourism [...] in a society still devoted to the work ethic.”³³ Thus the first incarnations of the modern tourist were in search of experience, justified as a supposed search for moral or spiritual clarity. These 19th century American tourists often described themselves as pilgrims and Sears has paralleled their journeys to that of the religious pilgrimage, though the United States did not in actuality host any pilgrimage shrines in the traditional sense.³⁴ Yet the experience of visiting the sites these 19th century individuals visited were “usually recorded as a significant moment in a tourist’s personal history.”³⁵

Today, the experiences modern tourists seek today vary, as do their motivations for seeking a particular experience. Regardless of the details of that exact experience, for many the experience relates to one’s “deepest, most cherished, axiomatic values.”³⁶ The modern tourist, the first tourist and the pilgrim share in this search of an experience that appeals to their most deeply held values. For this reason, the Turners have described a tourist as “half a pilgrim” and a “pilgrim [as] half a tourist.”³⁷

In addition to appealing to the tourist's own values, there are other factors that will push an individual to travel for an experience. Economics, in particular the cost of the trip and the ability of the individual to afford such a trip, is an essential determinant in one's decision to travel to a specific place.³⁸ Sears writes that, in addition to the costs associated with visiting a specific place, that place also needs "a mythology of unusual things to see", which will pique the curiosity of tourists and induce them to visit.³⁹ No doubt, for the modern tourist, a place's "mythology" will also appeal to their values and what one seeks in regards to experience. The logic in this case makes sense: in order for an individual to be willing to spend the time and the money to travel to specified destination, that individual must be drawn to that place by something: a story, a photo, etc. While pilgrimage will be discussed later on, this "mythology" parallels the "miracle collections" of the religious shrines that were the destination of, and found along, medieval pilgrimage route.⁴⁰

These mythologies of a place, in appealing to the tourist's values, also offer the promise of a spiritual experience, further strengthening the relationship between tourist and pilgrim. Despite the secular setting of sites such as Yosemite and Niagara Falls, visitors to these sites in the 19th century expected "an intense emotional and religious experience."⁴¹ For these tourists, Yosemite was a "returning to the origin of things, to the central point at which creation began."⁴² The potential for a religious or spiritual experience heightened the appeal of such sites to an individual's values, thus drawing tourists to travel, to expend the time and money to reach these places.

Beyond appealing to the individual's values, tourism also serves the purpose of providing an individual with an escape from the routines of everyday life.⁴³ The

escape that tourism provides bridges with the notion of the tourist seeking an experience that cannot be found at home.⁴⁴ As one travels, “the normal structure of life, work, and family roles, age and gender differences [...] tends to become looser or disappear.”⁴⁵ This change in reality, or “leveling of statuses”, often produces “close bonding among the participants [or fellow tourists]” which Victor and Edith Turner call *communitas*.⁴⁶ This is a phenomenon experienced by many on pilgrimage, in particular along the Camino, and is often the reason for repeating the experience. This most likely relates to the common goal shared by pilgrims, though the particular motivations for going on a pilgrim may, and often do, differ. *Communitas* and the Camino will be further explored in later chapters.

While encountering other fellow tourists is part of a traveling experience, it is possible to have too much of a good thing. Within the study of tourism, and indeed other fields including site management of cultural and natural resources, there is the notion of a place’s carrying capacity.⁴⁷ Tensie Whelan defines two varieties of carrying capacity. First is aesthetic carrying capacity, which “is reached when tourists encounter so many other tourists, or see the impact of other visitors [...] that their enjoyment of the site is marred.”⁴⁸ The second is ecological carrying capacity which, when exceeded, will “affect the wildlife and degrade the ecosystem [...]”⁴⁹ The concept of carrying capacity that Whelan describes is rooted in ecology, whose parameters can be scientifically determined. Regardless of the exact variety, a site’s carrying capacity has “psychological and social dimensions” for the tourist.⁵⁰ Sharon Gmelch addresses the impact of aesthetic and ecological carrying capacity, once either or both are exceeded, on a tourist’s experience of a place.⁵¹ As soon as an individual feels that a site’s carrying capacity has been exceeded, the tourist finds

that “their experience has deteriorated.”⁵² The tourist can react to this deteriorated experience and “vote with their feet by choosing new, less crowded destinations [...]”⁵³

The impact of tourism extends beyond affecting the tourist’s own experiences. Just as the natural environment will deteriorate if its ecological carrying capacity is exceeded, local inhabitants of these tourist sites can also suffer unintended consequences, resulting in “enervated” communities.⁵⁴ The relationship between local and tourist is an essential component of travel and there is a push towards including the local community, or “the host”, in tourism development plans.⁵⁵ Some communities have resorted to posting signs for tourists, which dictate appropriate behavior and explain local customs.⁵⁶ As will be addressed at a later point, an essential component of the pilgrimage experience along the Camino is the pilgrim’s code of conduct, enforced by the system of *albergues* and the sense of *communitas*.

Tourism’s impact also stretches beyond the local community and environment to the localized customs and traditions, which many tourists go in search of in the pursuit of a new experience. Often, in an effort to take advantage of the economic benefits of tourism, the local community will “stage’ and ‘manufacture’ culture for tourists.”⁵⁷ It is also possible that attention from tourists will, in essence, “destroy the very resources that tourists come to examine”, such as local traditions, culture, “traditional tranquility” and “physical environment”.⁵⁸ For example, if real estate prices rise in response to tourism, the local population that attracted tourists in the first place may be forced to leave in search of more affordable costs of living.⁵⁹

Commercialization of a tourist destination is a common impact of tourism that can affect the site and the experience. While the cost of living may rise and thus

force out the local community, increased tourism also opens the opportunity for locals to open their own businesses.⁶⁰ This increase in commercialization is not a modern trend. Medieval pilgrims could expect to find “fairs and markets [that] invariably crowded the great pilgrim churches [...]”⁶¹ In fact, the first instances of these markets geared toward pilgrims (and thus tourists) are noted as early as the 12th century.⁶² The 19th century tourist would also encounter trade geared to them in the form of “shops and circus entertainment” surrounding tourist attractions.⁶³ While this opportunity for increased economic wealth can benefit the local community, visitors may find that “fairs and markets” and “shops and circus entertainment” interfere with the tourist’s experience, the whole purpose that one undertakes such a trip.⁶⁴ As was discovered at Niagara Falls, it is possible that the “uncontrolled commercialization of private interests” can spoil a place and how it is experienced.⁶⁵ This underscores the importance of striking a balance between trade for locals and tourists.

Cultural Landscape

Cultural landscapes are loosely defined as areas associated with historic activity.⁶⁶ They are, as Richard Francaviglia elegantly explains, “manifestations of human activity in space”, what makes a place a place.⁶⁷ Cultural landscapes are found wherever “human activities have affected the land.”⁶⁸ These affects of human activity are “both cultural and natural resources” that are associated with the historic activity mentioned above.⁶⁹ While the idea of a cultural landscape seems simple enough, there are complexities and gray areas that arise when one attempts

to manage and/or preserve these kinds of sites. These complexities will be discussed further on in this section.

To address the intricacies of cultural landscapes, the National Park Service (NPS) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) break their respective definitions of cultural landscape into categories, demonstrating that there can be significant differences between various sites that are designated as cultural landscapes. Though each organization has its own categorizations, one will find that there is overlap between the categories which indicates, at least in part, that there are shared theories between the two organizations regarding cultural landscapes.

The NPS has determined four varieties of cultural landscape: (1) Historic Site, (2) Historic Design Landscape, (3) Historic Vernacular Landscape, and (4) Ethnographic Landscape.⁷⁰ A historic site is a site whose significance derives from “a historic event, activity, or person.”⁷¹ Historic design landscapes are landscapes that have been consciously organized or laid out by an individual with a background in design (landscape architecture, horticulture, etc.) or an “amateur gardener”.⁷² A historic vernacular landscape is the product of continued human use over time. While all cultural landscapes address the passage of time, the NPS’s definition of historic vernacular landscapes points to the ever-evolving nature of cultural landscape. This will be discussed further in this section. Ethnographic landscape is defined as heritage by an “associated people”.⁷³ Due to its relationship with a particular culture and the manner in which that culture (or cultures) make use of the landscape, it is possible that the ethnographic landscape shows no sign of human activity.⁷⁴

UNESCO's definition of cultural landscape is broader than that of the NPS, no doubt a result of each organization's purview. UNESCO breaks its definition of cultural landscape into three categories: (1) Clearly Defined Landscape, (2) Organically Evolved Landscape, and (3) Associative Cultural Landscape.⁷⁵ The clearly defined landscape is a landscape that has been deliberately designed, usually "associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles," similar to the NPS's historic design landscape.⁷⁶ An organically evolved landscape, like the historic vernacular landscape, is the product of the passage of time, the evolution of use, and is a response to the natural environment. These landscapes "reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features."⁷⁷ Similar to the ethnographic landscape, associative cultural landscapes reflect a relationship between "religious, artistic, or cultural" use and "natural elements".⁷⁸ It is possible, as for the ethnographic landscape, that these landscapes may not offer any physical manifestations of these relationships.⁷⁹ While it is clear that the NPS and UNESCO categories overlap with each other, it is important to note that the individual categories overlap with each other and that it is possible for a landscape to fit more than one category.

Though the only definition of the ethnographic or associative cultural landscape allows for meaning or value that is not necessary physically manifest in the landscape, the idea of a landscape communicating meaning may be applied to all cultural landscapes. While a certain landscape may be "imbued with spiritual values", that same landscape can be interpreted differently by various individuals based on their experience and identity.⁸⁰ Individuals with a common background may regard a landscape with similar attitudes because of their commonalities, while

different communities, cultures, or groups may regard the same landscape with different attitudes.⁸¹ For example, Camino pilgrims, as a group with common interests, value the *albergues* found along the route as a fundamental aspect of the experience and the passage of the route through a village may push an individual to meet pilgrim demand by opening a private *albergue*. The local community resists this modern addition, possibly because the village is dedicated to agriculture and historically has never had an *albergue*. Pilgrims and locals each value the Camino as a landscape that cuts through the village in differing ways. One may criticize villagers as resisting the inevitable evolution of the town, which points to another significant aspect of the cultural landscape, also addressed by the NPS and UNESCO categories: the passage of time and the dynamism of landscapes.

Cultural landscapes are a product of time. In one sense, a cultural landscape is the product of the time in which it was designed, as in the case of historic design landscape or clearly defined landscape. In another sense, cultural landscapes are the result of the passage of time, as in historic vernacular landscapes or organically evolved landscapes. Alanen and Melnick write that most cultural landscapes developed without the deliberate designs of a landscape architect or horticulturalist.⁸² Most landscapes have evolved “unintentionally and represent multiple layers of time and cultural activity.”⁸³ While the physical landscape may present the residue of physical actions, it also represents how people relate to the landscape through the days, months, or years.⁸⁴ This interaction between human activity and the natural environment contributes to the idea that cultural landscapes are products of the layering of time. Such is the dynamic nature of cultural landscapes. The resulting change may not be neatly ordered in easily

discernable gradations; unfortunately, change does not tidily layer itself like coats of paint, though it is possible to detect the evolution of a landscape “within a single human generation.”⁸⁵ Yet the “physical remains surviving the historic period” may be “an assemblage”, which may seem to scattered about the site randomly, mixed in with layers and remnants from other periods of time.⁸⁶

Without the physical manifestation of the relationship between human activity and the environment, cultural landscapes will evolve over time simply because a cultural landscape is also partly a natural landscape. Cook illustrates this point with a spectrum: the purely cultural on one end and the natural on the other.⁸⁷

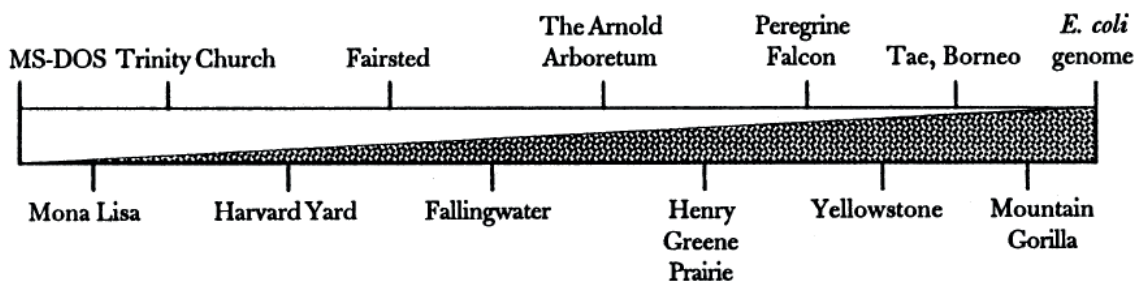


Figure 1. Ecotone Gradient. Robert E. Cook, “Is Landscape Preservation an Oxymoron?,” 44. Melnick, in borrowing a concept from ecology introduces the concept of semantic ecotone. An ecotone is the area between two biomes.⁸⁸ A semantic ecotone is the middle region on Cook’s spectrum, between nature and culture. Melnick writes that cultural landscapes exist in this semantic ecotone.⁸⁹ Every cultural landscape lies somewhere along this spectrum, each one occupying its own place or ecotone.⁹⁰ It is helpful for one to consider cultural landscapes as occupying a space where the natural and the cultural blend in order to better interpret, preserve, and/or manage such sites. Those involved in managing cultural landscapes must then work on bridging nature and culture, to better serve and understand that particular cultural

landscape.⁹¹ Each landscape will present its own subtleties and must be examined to determine the balance between nature and culture.⁹² Each landscape will challenge the establishment of guidelines for managing these cultural landscapes.⁹³ Despite the challenge, cultural landscapes as a semantic ecotone open up the potential to borrow approaches from cultural preservation and natural conservation.

Due to this link between the environment and its historic qualities, cultural landscapes can be interpreted as systems, thus furthering the understanding of the cultural landscape as inherently dynamic.⁹⁴ Cultural landscapes are “both artifact and system” and their preservation and management is “a product and a process.”⁹⁵ A cultural landscape is the way it is today because of the processes and systems that went into shaping that landscape. As will be discussed in the section on site management, a cultural landscape cannot be completely separated from that system, because it is that system. Human activity is a major element of that system. This systemic quality of cultural landscapes means that they invoke “not only past history but also current events.”⁹⁶ This invocation of past and present alludes to the layering of time addressed earlier and could be interpreted as the result of the systemic quality of the cultural landscape.⁹⁷ Just as a cultural landscape is a system it is also nested within a larger system.⁹⁸ Melnick illustrates this idea by describing cultural landscapes as a tide pool, where conditions are variable, rather than fixed, and are dependent on the surrounding conditions of the adjacent shore and wider sea.⁹⁹

The question in response to the dynamic nature of cultural landscape is how to protect and preserve this kind of cultural resource?¹⁰⁰ To freeze such a resource in time would be difficult, to say the least, and would also ignore that this ever-

evolving quality is essential to the character of the cultural landscape.¹⁰¹ Since preservation's approaches are usually rooted in art history, preservationists may at times lack the "tools" to address the intricacies of cultural landscapes, in particular those that lack "architectural distinction."¹⁰² Just as cultural landscapes provide an opportunity to draw on cultural and natural approaches to preservation and conservation, they also invite collaboration across disciplines. Environmentalists in particular may provide the tools that cultural preservationists may lack in dealing with cultural landscapes.¹⁰³ In addressing the environmental qualities of a site, cultural preservation will also further preservation of the built fabric and strengthen the essential relationship between ecology and culture that is essential to the cultural landscape. In regard to ethnographic landscapes, intelligent conservation of the ecology is essential, for that is the cultural landscape.

Melnick, with cultural landscapes as systems in mind, explains that the key is to "engage in non-linear and cyclical modes of thinking and nature, culture, and landscape."¹⁰⁴ In interpreting the cultural landscape as a system nested within larger systems, preservationists may also address the landscape within the community, how the landscape "intersect[s] with built forms and social life."¹⁰⁵ This approach opens up the opportunity to address not only how tourists may value that landscape, but how the local community values and uses that landscape, instead of focusing primarily on preserving "some elusive aesthetic qualities or presume creative intent" of that landscape.¹⁰⁶

In considering the question of how to revitalize rural areas in the United States, J. B. Jackson offers two methods that coincide with cultural landscapes: "ecological or social."¹⁰⁷ The ecological method stresses environmental protection

and, once resources have been recovered and preserved, these can become places associated with “[h]ealth and recreation”.¹⁰⁸ Social reform, explains Jackson, is aimed at strengthening the existing communities, with a focus on preserving those communities. By focusing improvements on the social fabric of a town, the physical fabric, along with its natural environment, will also be strengthened.¹⁰⁹ These improvements, Jackson writes, are “prosperity and modernization”.¹¹⁰ In addressing poverty, the improvement and subsequent social and physical preservation of that town will follow. “An impoverished environment,” writes Jackson, “is one which can no longer help the people who live in it to become full-fledged individuals and citizens.”¹¹¹ Jackson continues that an impoverished environment is one that does not react, and adapt, to change.¹¹² Thus, the preservation of a town and its social fabric also means preservation of its built and environmental fabric.

Site Management

As one thinks about preservation of cultural landscapes, one inevitably moves into the sphere of site management, especially following the designation of a site as a local or federal historic landmark. Based on the dual nature of cultural landscapes, theories related to cultural and ecological site management will be addressed. Some of the concepts already addressed with regard to cultural landscapes will resurface here with regard to conservation of such landscapes.

This discussion on site management will begin with Loomis’s definitions as they relate to public lands management.¹¹³ Loomis first defines the concept of “natural resources”, which includes “plants, fish, wildlife, and other living organisms, as well as nonliving matter such as minerals, water, and air.”¹¹⁴ Resources can be

renewable or nonrenewable, depending on the environment.¹¹⁵ While Loomis's focus is on management of natural resources, one can include cultural resources under the umbrella of a site's resources. Management of these resources involves their "organization or coordination", which requires an understanding of the various ways a specific resource is used by different individuals or groups.¹¹⁶ Integrated resource management is a method for addressing the various uses of a specific resource and including those uses in the management plan of a given site.¹¹⁷ Different management plans will privilege the various uses of different resources. Which resources and uses to protect and/or preserve involves a values judgment that managers must determine during careful evaluation of possible plans.¹¹⁸ Loomis attempts to provide a strategy for making these kinds of evaluations and decisions, which usually involve some kind of trade-off or compromise.¹¹⁹ As discussed in the section on values theory, different people will value different resources in different ways. With regard to site management, not everyone must care about a given resource for it to matter and be included in the management plan.¹²⁰ It is enough that just a few care and they will determine if the effort to manage and protect that resource is worth the effort.

Just as a systems approach to understanding a cultural landscape can be pivotal in understanding the dynamics of that landscape, so too can a systems approach be essential in making decisions related to site management and preservation. Adapted specifically from approaches that relate to preserving ecological resources, preservation efforts may take a "systems approach."¹²¹ With this attitude, preservation efforts are not focused solely on the physical fabric, but on the entire landscape: past and present uses, ecological and cultural value.¹²² This

allows for consideration of a site's social and ecological values, in addition to its heritage values, in contrast to focusing solely on heritage value.

Approaches related specifically to ecosystem management are especially applicable for cultural landscapes. Understood as a system, attitudes toward how to best preserve natural resources has experience a shift in attitude. Pickett, Parker, and Fielder describe this shift as a change in paradigm. The "classical paradigm" assumes that "any unit of nature is, in and of itself, conservable."¹²³ An environment can thus be preserved if left to assume a state of equilibrium.¹²⁴ In isolating an ecosystem from any human impact, thereby discounting human activity as having a role within a natural system, an ecosystem can be conserved in its preferred state.¹²⁵ In addition to eliminating the human factor from a system, this "equilibrium paradigm" also assumes that, without interventions from humans, an ecosystem will continue in its "unique and knowable reference state" in perpetuity.¹²⁶ In truth, both cultural and natural landscapes are constantly in flux.¹²⁷ To assume that an ecosystem can be preserved if left alone is to ignore the systems within which that small system is nested.

With an understand that systems are constantly changing, the attitude toward managing ecosystems has shifted toward a "new paradigm" or "nonequilibrium paradigm".¹²⁸ This new paradigm "[...] accepts natural systems as open [...]." Events beyond human control will impact that system; adjacent or larger systems will alter a system's equilibrium, producing disturbances that may set the original system on a different course of behavior or will temporarily affect how that system behaves. With this understanding of an open system, which cannot be isolated from its larger context, people and their activity can be included in the

conversation of resource management.¹²⁹ It means that a site does not necessarily be completely cut off from human use or that that use by humans, once begun, must continue forever. Just as the natural system functions, with an ebb and flow, so too can human use.

This systemic approach, which allows for the dynamic nature of cultural and natural landscapes, allows for the possibility of multiple use management. This is a focused approach to management, which manages combined resources with a focus on people and how they use these resources.¹³⁰ The approach stresses flexibility, in agreement with the very nature of the resources being addressed, and in providing “things of value to *people* [sic].”¹³¹ It allows for some resources to be used for a prescribed period of time while leaving other resources to renew, if possible. The idea is to make use of all available resources; “bundling” uses that “fit together ecologically.”¹³² As a result, there is a time component here in which managers must determine which uses can be bundled now and which can be bundled in the future.¹³³ Essential to this approach is managers’ awareness of public valuation of resources. In order to determine this valuation, Loomis suggests using economics to make these determinations. The previous section on values theory has already addressed the problems inherent in evaluating the values of cultural resources strictly in economic terms.

Bundling resources can also be useful in attracting visitors to sites that are isolated or are in rural areas. Isolated sites can be associated, or bundled, together to form a “tourism route” or “regional tourist itinerary.”¹³⁴ Here multiple resources from multiple sites are leverages to attract visitors and thus benefit these areas. In addition to reducing social cost, or preserving the social value of these existing

communities as a resource unto themselves, “these tourism routes in less developed areas stimulate entrepreneurial opportunity”, which was perhaps lacking beforehand.¹³⁵ Just as natural and cultural resources can benefit from a multiple resource approach, so too can host communities. This points to the importance of including the local community in developing tourism and management plans.^{136 137}

Just as one incorporates human activity within a system, the question then arises of how much to accommodate that activity within a natural landscape. With the NPS, there has been a shift over the decades from accommodating visitors toward “requiring the public to visit the park on the park’s terms.”¹³⁸ This shift applies in particular to how the natural landscape is managed, which manifests as a tension between preserving the scenery and the ecology. For example, allowing naturally occurring fires to take their course may disturb the landscapes and views captured by artists such as Ansel Adams, views that visitors value and expect to see.¹³⁹ At times, management decisions that are ecologically motivated may conflict with past visitor experiences and are met with resistance.¹⁴⁰ NPS management plans limit use and activities based on how those uses impact the ecology and whether those impacts can be easily reversed.¹⁴¹ Here the notion of a site’s carrying capacity resurfaces. The concept of carrying capacity applies to ecological, as well as experiential, considerations. In regard to site management, there are three carrying capacities: “ecological, facility, and social.”¹⁴² Any of these three can limit visitor use.¹⁴³ Whelan’s aesthetic carrying capacity is also a factor here. Loomis asks how this carrying capacity is to be determined in an objective manner, when are the various carrying capacities of a site exceeded? The author suggests that a specific criteria needs to be established to determine how many visitors are too much for a

given park.¹⁴⁴ Here lies the tension between preserving wilderness and developing a park to accommodate even more visitors. Loomis describes a method in which contingent valuation method surveying is used. Current visitors are introduced to the management alternatives under consideration and are then asked their willingness to pay to visit the park after each alternative. General members of the public are asked the same questions. Appealing to the general public appeals to “bequest values” and existence values.”¹⁴⁵ Loomis defines the values associated with wanting to protect a resource that one may not necessarily use as “preservation values.”¹⁴⁶ The responses of each population are compared to determine how to manage preservation of wilderness with accommodating more visitors.¹⁴⁷

Chapter Endnotes

- ¹ Arjo Klamer, introduction to *The Value of Culture: On the Relationship Between Economics and Arts*, ed. Arjo Klamer (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 16-17.
- ² Randall Mason, "Social Values, Heritage Values, and Strengthening Conservation," in *Reflections on Preventative Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of Monuments and Sites by the PRECOMOS UNESCO Chair*, ed. Koenraad Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande, (Leuven: Acco, 2013), 31.
- ³ Mason, "Social Values," 31.
- ⁴ Erica Avrami et al., *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute, December 1999*. (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1999), 4; Cornelius Holtorf, "Heritage Values in Contemporary Popular Culture" in *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger et al. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc.), 2010, 44. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland, introduction to *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*, ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger et al. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010), 17.
- ⁵ Holtorf, "Heritage Values in Contemporary Popular Culture," 45.
- ⁶ David Throsby, "Cultural capital", in *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*, ed. Ruth Towse (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003), 169.
- ⁷ Mason, "Social Values," 31.
- ⁸ David Throsby, "Cultural capital", 169.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Ian Russell, "Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity", in *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*, ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger et al. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc.), 2010, 34.
- ¹² Throsby, "Cultural capital", 167-8.
- ¹³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 59.
- ¹⁴ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 59.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.
- ¹⁷ Throsby, "Cultural capital", 167-8.
- ¹⁸ Holtorf, "Heritage Values", 43-4.
- ¹⁹ Throsby, "Cultural capital", 169.
- ²⁰ Holtorf, "Heritage Values", 45.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Avrami et al., *Economics and Heritage Conservation*, 10.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 19.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Messenger, 18.
- ²⁶ Robert Shannan Peckham, introduction to *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*, ed. Robert Shannan Peckham (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 1.
- ²⁷ Peckham, *Rethinking Heritage*, 1.
- ²⁸ MacCannell, 1. Graburn, 23.
- ²⁹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 1.
- ³⁰ Graburn, 23. Gmelch, 5.
- ³¹ Sharon Bohn Gmelch, "Why Tourism Matters," in *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*, ed. Sharon Bohn Gmelch (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004), 5.

-
- ³² For pilgrims' motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage, medieval or modern, see chapter 2.
- ³³ John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1989), 18.
- ³⁴ Sears, 5.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ³⁸ Gmelch, 4. Sears, 3.
- ³⁹ Sears, 3.
- ⁴⁰ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 63.
- ⁴¹ Sears, 133.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Graburn, 24. Sears, 6.
- ⁴⁴ Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Secular Ritual: A General Theory of Tourism," in *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*, ed. Sharon Bohn Gmelch (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004), 24.
- ⁴⁵ Graburn, 29.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ Tensie Whelan, "Ecotourism and Its Role in Sustainable Development" in *Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment*, ed. Tensie Whelan (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1991), 11; Gmelch, 14; John B. Loomis, *Integrated Public Land Management: Principles and Applications to National Forests, Parks, Wildlife Refuges, and BLM Lands* (New York: Columbia Press, 1993), 5; Robert Cook, "Is Landscape Preservation an Oxymoron?," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Aug 1991), 49.
- ⁴⁸ Whelan, 11.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Gmelch, 14.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ Jeremy Boissevain, "Coping with Mass Cultural Tourism: Structure Strategies" in *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*, ed. Sharon Bohn Gelch (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004), 256; Marina Novelli and Angela Benson, "Niche Tourism: A Way Forward to Sustainability?" in *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*, ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005), 249; Gmelch, 14.
- ⁵⁵ Marina Novelli and Angela Benson, 249. (Novelli and Benson and Whelan)
- ⁵⁶ Gmelch, 14.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.
- ⁵⁸ Boissevain, 255.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Gmelch, 9-10.
- ⁶¹ Sears, 9.
- ⁶² Webb, 24.
- ⁶³ Sears, 2.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.
- ⁶⁶ Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. Introduction to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 3; Richard Francaviglia, "Selling Heritage Landscapes" in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick

-
- (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 49; Charles A. Birnbaum, *Preservation Briefs 36 Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* (Washington, DC: National Park Service: 1994), 1; Cook, 49.
- ⁶⁷ Francaviglia, 49.
- ⁶⁸ Alanen and Melnick, 3.
- ⁶⁹ Birnbaum, 1.
- ⁷⁰ Alanen and Melnick, 8.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Donald L. Hardesty, “Ethnographic Landscapes: Transforming Nature into Culture” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 174.
- ⁷⁵ Alanen and Melnick, 8.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ Robert Z. Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 23.
- ⁸¹ Alanen and Melnick, 6.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, 5.
- ⁸³ Alanen and Melnick, 6; Cook, 49.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.
- ⁸⁵ Melnick, 23.
- ⁸⁶ Catherine Howett, “Integrity as a Value in Cultural Landscape Preservation” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 191. For further discussion on integrity and what exactly completeness of a site is, see Howett’s article.
- ⁸⁷ Cook, 43.
- ⁸⁸ Melnick, 24.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ Cook, 43.
- ⁹¹ Dolores Hayden, Foreword in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), viii.
- ⁹² Cook, 43.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ The relationship between managing sites and systems will be discussed more in depth in the section on site management, but it applicable to think of the cultural landscape as a system not solely in terms of managing that landscape, but to also better understand and appreciate the processes that produced that landscape and the processes that act upon, and will act upon, that same landscape.
- ⁹⁵ Alanen and Melnick, 16.
- ⁹⁶ Hardesty, 171.
- ⁹⁷ For a straightforward and easy to grasp introduction to systems theory, see Donella Meadows’s *Thinking in System; A Primer*. ed. Diana Wright, 2008.
- ⁹⁸ Alanen and Melnick, 18.

-
- ⁹⁹ Melnick, 25.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.
- ¹⁰¹ Melnick, 23.
- ¹⁰² Hayden, viii.
- ¹⁰³ Cook, 50.
- ¹⁰⁴ Melnick, 42.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hayden, vii.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cook, 15.
- ¹⁰⁷ Jackson, 359.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 360.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 362.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹¹³ Harold Loomis has written extensively on the subject of public land management. While some of the concepts he addressed will be mentioned here, his *Integrated Public Lands Management* offers theory and insights that go beyond the purview of this investigation.
- ¹¹⁴ Loomis, 5.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ¹²¹ Robert Cook, "Is Landscape Preservation an Oxymoron?," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Aug 1991), 49.
- ¹²² Cook, 51.
- ¹²³ S.T.A. Pickett, V.T. Parker, and P.L. Fiedler, "The New Paradigm in Ecology: Implications for Conservation Above the Species Level" in *Conservation Biology*, ed. P.L. Fielder and S.K. Jain (New York: Chapman and Hall, 1992), 68.
- ¹²⁴ Pickett, Parker, and Fielder 67.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.
- ¹²⁶ Pickett, Parker, Fielder, 67; Cook, 45.
- ¹²⁷ Cook, 45-6.
- ¹²⁸ Pickett, Parker, and Fiedler, 71.
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 72-3.
- ¹³⁰ Loomis, 193.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 192.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, 194.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, 195.
- ¹³⁴ Briedenhann and Wicken, 72. Bonet, 190.
- ¹³⁵ Jenny Briedenhann and Eugenia Wickens, "Tourism routes as a tool for the economic development of rural areas -- vibrant hope or impossible dream?," *Tourism Management* 25 (2004): 71-79. Accessed September 15, 2014.
<http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0261517703000633>
- ¹³⁶ Briedenhann and Wicken, 75.
- ¹³⁷ Loomis's *Integrated Public Lands Management* has extensive information on decision making related to management approach. The author offers five criteria for evaluation of public land management alternatives as well as six frameworks for integrating these five criteria into an approach. It is a comprehensive discussion related to informed and

appropriate decision making with regard to management decision. The discussion lays beyond the parameters of this thesis, but I recommend Loomis's work for those looking to learn more about developing management plans.

¹³⁸ Loomis, 403.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 404.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 407.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 424.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 425.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 427-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 428.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

4 | CASE STUDIES

The Appalachian Trail

The Appalachian Trail is a case study that offers an experience similar to the Camino. Construction of the Trail began in 1921, largely motivated by volunteers. These volunteer efforts were organized by the Appalachian Trail Conference, established in 1925 to streamline the efforts of the various Appalachian Trail clubs engaged in the undertaking up and down the Eastern seaboard.¹ As will be discussed later, the Trail continues to be maintained almost entirely through volunteer efforts, also organized by the Appalachian Trail Conservancy (formerly the Appalachian Trail Conference).² The need for a unified body to coordinate volunteer efforts is made clear upon examination of the nature of the Trail. It was the first national scenic trail, designated in 1968, and “was once the only interstate trail of its kind.”³ Today considered one of the “Triple Crown of U.S. hiking” – in addition to the Continental Divide Trail in the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Crest Trail in the Cascade Mountains and the Sierra Mountains – the Appalachian Trail is perhaps the best known of the three.⁴

The Trail is a route that follows the mountain ranges of fourteen eastern Atlantic States, extending from Maine to Georgia.⁵ Due to its length, a hiker will find a wide breadth of terrain throughout the Trail, from “extremely rough and difficult, without any work on the footway” to “a graded path limited to a maximum grade affording easier travel.”⁶ The Trail leads up and down peaks, into and across valleys, almost entirely through areas of wilderness.⁷ The varied nature of the Trail

is not surprising, considering that it is 2,000 miles long. Marked by white blazes, the physical Trail itself is actively maintained to accommodate the width of only one hiker, twelve to twenty-four inches wide, and a branch free zone of three feet.⁸ The width and other physical conditions of the trail vary depending on use, the Trail is wider at points where hikers walk along the edges of the path, wearing out and widening the most popular portions of the Trail.⁹

The majority of hikers making use of the Trail are day hikers or individuals hiking for the weekend. There is also the “thru-hiker”, the “hero” of the Trail, who travels for long stretches, hundreds of miles at a time.¹⁰ Some of these thru-hikers endeavor to hike all 2,000 miles of the Trail, a process that takes many months and even more money. The majority of these thru-hikers walk south to north, leaving Springer Mountain, Georgia in March.¹¹ A significant difference from the process of walking the Camino, some thru-hikers take the “flip-flopping” approach, beginning at one end, hiking to the middle, then traveling to the other end, and hiking back to the middle.¹² This method allows for hikers to take advantage of the best weather for each section.¹³ Others choose to complete all 2,000 miles in separate stages over time.¹⁴

Regardless of an individual’s own goals in hiking, the Trail’s length and diversity of landscape is a place where “one may spend vacation periods or the lesser time of weekends for practically lifetime” and still find new terrain to explore.¹⁵ All the hiker needs to enjoy the Trail is “[the] desire to walk and the physical ability to make the trip.”¹⁶ While crossing the entire distance is the goal of some, the Trail offers the opportunity to experience a much shorter section. Unlike a religious pilgrimage, the Trail does not have a determined end goal. One does not need to

walk 2,000 miles in order to experience the Trail, which includes not just its natural setting, but its “human community, comprised not just of hikers but also of the people they encounter along the way.”¹⁷

That is not to say that the experience of the Appalachian Trail is without religious or spiritual value. There is a significant spiritual component to the Appalachian Trail, both in an individual’s connection with the natural environment as well as the historic connection between the act of long-distance walking and religious pilgrimage.¹⁸ The isolating nature of the experience also plays into the spiritual value of the experience, yet another characteristic the Appalachian Trail and the Camino have in common.¹⁹ Thus the solitude is as significant as the individuals one encounters along the Trail.²⁰

Many of the people the hiker encounters are the volunteers and local residents who support the Trail in a myriad of ways. These are the “maintainers, and trail clubs, hostel managers, outfitters, forest rangers, ridge runners, hut crews, and country store clerks.”²¹ The hiker may or not may not interact with this aspect of the Trail, yet their presence is felt simply in the maintaining of the Trail.

Volunteers take responsibility for:

“ [...] trail route selection and design, trail construction and reconstruction, trail maintenance, trail facility construction (signs, bridges, shelters, etc.), on-the Trail education, liaison with landowners and the public, trail patrol and shelter caretaker programs, and guidebook preparation.”²²

These volunteers not only constructed the Trail in the beginning, they make it possible to walk the Trail today.

A significant point of interaction between volunteers and/or locals and hikers is at hostels. Similar to the “hostelries, monastic houses, and confraternities” that

have developed to serve pilgrims along pilgrimage routes, a system for supporting hikers has grown alongside the Trail. Most hikers stay in “open-fronted shelter, in enclosed huts with food and bunks provided, or in primitive campsites.”²³ Yet many stay in hostels in nearby towns. Some of these hostels are run by religious organizations, such as churches. Other hostels are privately owned and managed, a response to the economic opportunity generated by the Trail, though many of these owners are themselves 2,000 milers.²⁴ This flourishing of services for hikers began in 1970s, as more hikers appeared on the Trail, passing the small towns through which the Trail passed.²⁵ In the 1980s and ‘90s, existing hospitality establishments added “inexpensive hiker bunk rooms or a ‘hostel’ within the context of their regular tourist-oriented operations.”²⁶ Other accommodations for hikers include facilities that are staffed by volunteers and are free or donation based, very much like the Camino.²⁷ As such, there are a wide variety of accommodations for hikers and most are grateful for the opportunity to sleep in a bunk bed (though perhaps without a mattress) and take a hot shower.²⁸

This gratitude, whether perceived or expressed, gets to the expectations of hikers along the Trail. *Suggestions for Appalachian Trail Users* reminds potential hikers that to hike the Appalachian Trail is not an inherent right. Half of the Trail is privately owned and the other half is publicly-owned, as in a National Park, where a “hiker is the guest of the people are large.”²⁹ *Suggestions’s* section on trail etiquette reminds hikers that, although the “subject would seem a matter upon which comment should be totally unnecessary,” hikers should follow “[rules] of ordinary courtesy and consideration for others [...]”³⁰ Based on the literature, it would seem that most hikers, in particular thru-hikers, do follow this simple rule of

thumb. Many thru-hikers run into each other repeatedly, forming a community that cares for each other as well as the resources of the Trail.³¹ Disrespecting a fellow thru-hiker, only to require their assistance further down the Trail, would seem like a terrible situation. Individuals, non-hikers, along the route who willingly assist needy hikers, such as giving them rides to town³², further the spirit of the Trail. This well-intended support is referred to as “trail magic”, the “little acts of kindness that materialize at exactly the moment you need help.”³³ The Camino also has this element of “magic”, where pilgrims believe that “the Camino will provide” when one needs it most. Along the Trail, these gestures have convinced many hikers that people can be kind and helpful to one another.³⁴ Yet there are of course those that take advantage of the nature of the Trail, often causing friction between the local community and other hikers alike. “Yellow blazing”, where thru-hikers are followed along the Trail by support in a vehicle, is a clash between values and expectations associated with the Trail. Many perceive of this practice as “an abuse” of the inexpensive facilities for hikers “because the faux end-to-enders had continually available vehicle transportation and were better able to stay in commercial campgrounds and motels than genuine thru-hikers.”³⁵ Not only do yellow blazers occupy a spot that should go to a hiker without easy access to other accommodations, but also the friction between expectations causes dissatisfaction amongst those that attempt their hike without support.

A key characteristic of the Trail is that it can be traveled without any specific itinerary. It is up to the hiker to determine where to begin, the length, and the end. This reality makes dealing with issues related to carrying capacity. The issue of carrying capacity is also an important concern of hikers themselves, who have

differing preferences for how much contact with others they ideally have during their hike. Some hikers prefer to maintain their solitude, others value the “sociability and camaraderie” of the Trail.³⁶ Different values imply different expectations of the Trail, which makes it very difficult to accommodate particular tastes when there are such a variety of preferences. Some investigations into the preferences of hikers, specifically wilderness hikers in the Western U.S., prefer a minimal amount of contact with others.³⁷ Others have found that, along the Appalachian Trail, hikers with more experience also prefer less contact when compared to less experienced hikers.³⁸ Some National Parks through which the Trail passes have instituted a permit system to handle exceeding carrying capacity. Thru-hikers are exempted from applying for these permits, so it possible to find a large gathering of these long distance hikers stopped at a shelter along the southern portion of the Trail in the spring.³⁹ Due to the nature of the Trail, the potential for thru-hikers to plan their hikes in an eye toward crafting an experience with regard to contact with other hikers is an asset.

The examination of the Appalachian Trail has highlighted significant characteristics of the Camino, characteristics that define the experience along the route. Similar to the Trail, the Camino can be tackled in chunks over time. Yet since the Camino has a very particular purpose, to reach Santiago de Compostela and the relics of Santiago, pilgrims along the Camino flow generally in one direction.⁴⁰ Similar to the departure of thru-hikers leaving Georgia together in the Spring, the amount of pilgrims along the Camino increases as one gets closer to Santiago de Compostela. Yet there is no way to flip-flop the Camino. Some do take buses or taxis to jump a day’s walk which, like the yellow blazers, cause much friction pilgrims

that have completed their walk for the day. These “turigrinos”⁴¹ also receive the same kind of criticism as yellow blazers, occupying beds that should go to the pilgrim that earned it for the day. Each pilgrim determines for his- or herself the distance they will walk each day. Unlike the thru-hiker, the pilgrim has little choices with regard to how to complete the Camino. It is a sequential journey, done at the pilgrim’s own pace, though done in the order as determined by the landscape and the location of Santiago de Compostela.

Hadrian’s Wall

Hadrian’s Wall is not a religious site but rather an archaeological site with the remains of a stone barrier constructed by Hadrian in approximately A.D. 120 to separate “the Romans from the barbarians” in what is now the United Kingdom.⁴² The barrier spans 84 miles, essentially running between the North Sea and the Irish Sea, across one of the narrowest stretches of England. The Wall was designed so that there was a milecastle every Roman mile, with two turrets evenly spaced out between each of these milecastles. To the west the Wall was constructed of stone and was constructed of turf to the east. Why Romans constructed the Wall using two methods is not clear, though it does have an impact on which parts of the site to visit.⁴³ Regardless of its design, “forts, camps, roads, and extensive civilian settlements” flourished to support the Wall and the Roman military that patrolled this boundary of the Empire.⁴⁴ Once the Wall was abandoned, the materials – stone in particular – was reused to construct buildings in the surrounding area.

Today Hadrian’s Wall is protected and no one takes stones from the Wall to construct their home. Yet there is more to the site than simply a stone wall that cuts

through the landscape. As a result of its impact on the terrain – as the Wall, as the structures that were constructed in response to the Wall, and the infrastructure that supported the Wall and neighboring areas – UNESCO recognized the Wall as the Hadrian’s Wall Military Zone in 1987.⁴⁵ A visitor to the Wall will find not simply a wall, but a “constellation” of sites associated with, and including, the Wall.⁴⁶ Due to the expansiveness of the site, one without a clear-cut boundary, the Military Zone is forced to address issues related to “multiple use and multiple ownership” in its management approach.⁴⁷ This multiple use of the site includes tourism, archaeological work, and agriculture, all woven together into the Military Zone. Not surprisingly, tourism has yielded another stakeholder in the form of local businesses that support tourism. That there are so many uses and interested communities and individuals in the management of Hadrian’s Wall has produced management plans that seek to address the multiple values associated with the site. While these values are significant, of central importance here are the values related to contemporary use as tourism.⁴⁸

Central to the management plans mentioned above is methods for dealing with tourism and the effect of tourism on the Wall’s other uses and values. Visitors have made their way to Hadrian’s Wall since the 1700s.⁴⁹ Today tourists can have a varied experience through the various individual sites, “ranging from well-staffed and thoroughly managed sites with interpretive schemes, gift shops, and amenities” to a path through the fields that host the Wall.⁵⁰ Despite the variety of experiences available, tourists focus their visits on the central part of the Wall, due to the intact nature of the Wall as well as the “inherently attracting setting of spectacular open countryside.”⁵¹ A quick perusal of the Hadrian’s Wall website makes it obvious why

a visit would prefer to concentrate their visit in the areas where there is an actual wall of stone. In fact, the majority of images on the site are of the stone portions of the Wall, thus it is no wonder that visitors are attracted to those same portions of the Wall.⁵² The result is a concentration of visitors on certain portions of the Military Zone, an unequal dispersion of activity across the area.⁵³ Despite a visitor's natural preference for a specific part of the Wall, there are efforts to attract tourists to other areas, an attempt to reduce "tourism pressure."⁵⁴

Management of the Wall has employed several tactics for addressing this excess of the site's carrying capacity for, while everyone wants an image walking through the English countryside alongside an ancient Roman wall, this desire for the photo has "detrimental impacts" on the area. One approach taken is the appointment of a Project Officer who was charged with determining a route along the Wall that will preserve all aspects of the cultural landscape: ruins, farmland, and local businesses.⁵⁵ A criticism of this approach is, as alluded to by Sophie Turley, that only a certain tourist looking for a certain experience will walk significant portions of the length of the 84 mile site. Turley describes these tourists as "the most serious and interested of visitors."⁵⁶

Another approach to managing visitor impact on the site is use of the Wall's marketing campaign, including the website and pamphlets, to communicate conservation tips for visitors.⁵⁷ These tips are specifically for walkers and echo the Pilgrim's Code of Conduct. In fact, the website has a dedicated page to "Every Footstep Counts", which essentially reminds potential tourists that their individual actions have an impact on the site, whether positive or negative. "Every Footstep Counts" asks visitors to walk, not in single file, but side by side in an effort to

improve the natural landscape's carrying capacity.⁵⁸ This is a response to the wearing down of paths, usually the result of walkers moving in single file, in particular during rainy months when the soil is saturated and cannot support loads imposed by those walkers. Another interesting method for dealing with this issue is a "summer Passport Scheme", which encouraged visitors to walk the Wall during dried months when the soil can tolerate more wear and tear from walkers. These passports, available only in the summer and early fall, are carried by walkers and are stamped at specific points. Once the passport is full, the walker is awarded a badge and certificate.⁵⁹ This passport approach is very popular and the majority of walkers participate.⁶⁰ Creating a passport, a parallel to the Pilgrim's *credencial*, is interesting as a means for improved management visitors in addition to encouraging these same visitors to feel like active participants in the site's preservation. For an individual walking Hadrian's Wall, the passport costs £2 with the certificate of completion also available for purchase. To contrast, a *credencial* can be found for free from a pilgrim's fraternity, though a donation is usually encouraged. The *credencial* is stamped at each *albergue* and the Compostela awarded at the end of the pilgrimage is also free.

This investigation of Hadrian's Wall provides some insight into the experiencing and preservation of a cultural landscape similar to the Camino, though there are several key differences. While the process of traveling to Hadrian's Wall, whether via train, bus, or bike, can be likened to a kind of pilgrimage, does not carry the same religious pull that one finds along the Camino. Though there are some that do liken the journey to Hadrian's Wall to a religious pilgrimage, in particular the decennial "Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimage" undertaken by the International *Limes*

(Roman Frontier Studies) Congress, in which all participants first travel to the Wall before the conference officially begins.⁶¹ Despite this academic pilgrimage, Hadrian's Wall does not offer visitors who complete their passport an indulgence and so the Wall cannot take the opportunity to appeal to an individual's spiritual reasons for visiting and must instead appeal to one's sense of environmental and historic preservation. The main difference seems to be that preservation of the Military Zone is about preserving artifacts, the landscape, and relationships with locals (in particular farmers). While carrying capacity is clearly an issue, as evidenced by the "Every Footstep Counts" code's appeal to visitors to be mindful of where one is walking, there is focus on the visitor coming away with a fulfilling experience. Yes, there is an effort to evenly disperse visitors along the Wall, yet this effort is for the sake of the Wall's sites. Little evidence has been found with regard to the Wall's aesthetic carrying capacity. Thus the relationship here is between visitor and the Wall, or milecastle, or fort, and so on. The experience of visiting Hadrian's Wall and, if one is so inclined, of walking the 84 miles through the countryside is indeed unique. It clearly has value: historic, aesthetic, cultural, ecological, etc. For some, perhaps associated with the International *Limes* Congress, it may have a religious or spiritual value, yet that is not what is of central concern with regard to managing the site with respect to carrying capacity. Hadrian's Wall, as a case study to compare with the Camino de Santiago, highlights that while the historic fabric through the Camino's landscape is indeed essential to the experience, an essential aspect of the pilgrimage is the experience itself, an experience that cannot be found at home in which one connects with others. The cultural landscape supports that experience. It is really an interaction that goes both ways, between built fabric and the individual.

The experience of Hadrian's Wall is less dynamic, with the visitor respecting historic and archaeological values of the site in exchange for an opportunity to perhaps connect with the past. This is what makes the Camino unique, different from a site like Hadrian's Wall. This complex give and take between the landscape and the pilgrim also requires preservation measures because, in particular as related to its aesthetic carrying capacity, it is an intangible facet of its nature and could be easily lost if not managed.

Chapter Endnotes

- ¹ Judith Buckley Murray, "Appalachian Trail Users in the Southern National Forests: Their Characteristics, Attitudes, and Management Preferences" (USDA Forest Service Research Paper SE-116, July 1974), i.
- ² Susan Power Bratton, *The Spirit of the Appalachian Trail: Community, Environment, and Belief on a Long-Distance Hiking Path* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 9.
- ³ Bratton, 2.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ *Suggestions for Appalachian Trail Users, 6th ed.* (Washington, DC: The Appalachian Trail Conference, 1962), 1.
- ⁶ *Suggestions Appalachian Trail Users*, 1.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Bratton, 41.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Suggestions Appalachian Trail Users*, 3.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Bratton, 22.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ For more on the religious and spiritual nature of the Appalachian Trail, see Susan Power Bratton's *The Spirit of the Appalachian Trail*, cited above. Her examination of the spiritual nature of the Trail is enlightening and an excellent primer on the experience of the Trail.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 22.
- ²² David Startzell, "Research Needs on the Appalachian Trail -- The Volunteer's Perspective," in *Long Distance Trails: The Appalachian Trail as a Guide to Future Research and Management Needs*. ed. William R. Burch, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979), 128.
- ²³ Bratton, 26.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27-8.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ²⁹ *Suggestions Appalachian Trail Users*, 19.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.
- ³¹ Bratton, 100-1.
- ³² Due to the reality that the half of the Trail runs through public lands, such as National Parks and Wilderness Areas, hikers often find themselves several miles from areas where they can resupply, repair gear, or simply rest. Thus hikers must choose between walking the distance or hitchhiking to the nearest town. (Bratton, 31) There are points at which the Trail routes through a town, often to take advantage of that town's bridge over a deep river. (Bratton 32) The first such town to be a "genuine trail town, where the white blazes run right

down the sidewalks,” is Hot Springs, NC. Today, the route could be redirected around these towns, “but tradition and hiker attachment resist the change.” (Bratton, 32)

³³ Bratton, 63.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁶ George H. Stankey, “A Framework for Social-Behavioral Research – Applied Issues” in *Long Distance Trails: The Appalachian Trail as a Guide to Future Research and Management Needs*. ed. William R. Burch, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979), 48.

³⁷ Stankey, 48.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Bratton, 26-7.

⁴⁰ One will find pilgrims walking “against the current.” Most of these pilgrims are either returning from Santiago de Compostela, an imitation of the medieval pilgrim who had to walk back after the journey to Santiago. In my experience, only one pilgrim walking away from Santiago de Compostela said he was, impressively, on his way to Rome.

⁴¹ *Turigrino* is a pejorative word, a combination of the Spanish term for pilgrim, *peregrino*, and, tourist, *turista*. When combined, *turigrino*, is a nickname for those pilgrims that undertake the pilgrimage as a purely recreational tourism, jumping from pilgrim’s *albergue* to *albergue* via bus or taxi.

⁴² Breeze, “Archaeology, History and Significance”, 9.

⁴³ Breeze and Dobson, 184.

⁴⁴ Turley, 105.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Mason, MacLean, de la Torre, 10.

⁴⁷ There is a significant amount of literature on management approaches to Hadrian’s Wall, which has undergone several iterations of plans that involve a variety of partnerships between members at different levels, from local farmers to the Northumbria Tourist Board. As the Wall winds its way through different towns and counties, different groups have different interests on various portions of the Wall. For more information, see Mason, MacLean and de la Torre’s case study *Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage and Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian’s Wall as World Heritage*, edited by Peter G. Stone and David Brough.

⁴⁸ Mason et. al. have conducted a case study of Hadrian’s Wall with regard to the values associated with that site and how management and approaches to the site have dealt with these, sometimes conflicting, values. For more on that discussion, see their work.

⁴⁹ Turley, 109.

⁵⁰ Mason, MacLean, de la Torre, 8.

⁵¹ Turley, 109.

⁵² Hadrian’s Wall website was established in 1997 and is a part of a Wall’s marketing campaign and branding strategy. Marketing of the Wall, in the form of the Hadrian’s Wall Sustainable Marketing Strategy, as a means for educating the public regarding the Wall and conservation as well as promoting tourism (including repeat tourism). A recent campaign, “Hadrian’s Wall and the Borderlands”, uses the Wall as a “hook” to bring tourism into the vicinity with the idea that these same visitors will explore beyond the Wall, thus benefitting more than the Wall’s immediate economy. For more on the Wall’s marketing, see Jane Brantom’s article “Hadrian’s Wall Tourism Partnership”, in *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian’s Wall as World Heritage*.

⁵³ Turley, 109.

⁵⁴ Mason, MacLean, de la Torre, 35. Some have labeled this redirecting of tourism traffic as a siphoning off visitors. As Brantom points out, in encouraging visitors to see other parts of the Wall, while it would function to preserve the Military Zone’s fabric in terms of its built fabric,

local businesses have expressed concern that this conservation method would negatively impact their businesses.

⁵⁵ McGlade, 48.

⁵⁶ Turley, 115.

⁵⁷ McGlade, 54.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶¹ Wilson, 477.

5 | ALBERGUES

The following section presents drawings and photographs related to each *albergue*, in addition to a written description. As a pilgrim that spent a night in each of these *albergues*, information related to the experience of the *albergue* has been drawn directly from my own observations. Almost the majority of the plans provided here are also drawn using my own sketches and observations. It is possible that a door may have been drawn where one does not exist. Yet I am confident that the spaces captured and described in the following drawings are true to the character of each *albergue*. The following descriptions provide context for the central argument in this chapter: that smaller and simpler *albergues* do more for preserving the Camino and the experience than do the more elaborate *albergues* that imitate commercial hostels found in many other cities across the world.

The descriptions have been organized according to geography, moving from east to west. Beginning in the autonomous community of Navarre, in Roncesvalles, the descriptions follow the Camino to the west, ending in Galicia, the final autonomous community. In presenting the *albergues* geographically, the intent is provide not only a sense of how the nature of each individual *albergue* varies across the Camino, but to provide a sense of how the *albergues* relate to the region and the local natural environment. There is a relationship between the *albergues* and the environment, an interesting topic though beyond the scope of this investigation. Regardless, the descriptions provided here convey a small sense of the experience of the *albergues* presented here.

Roncesvalles

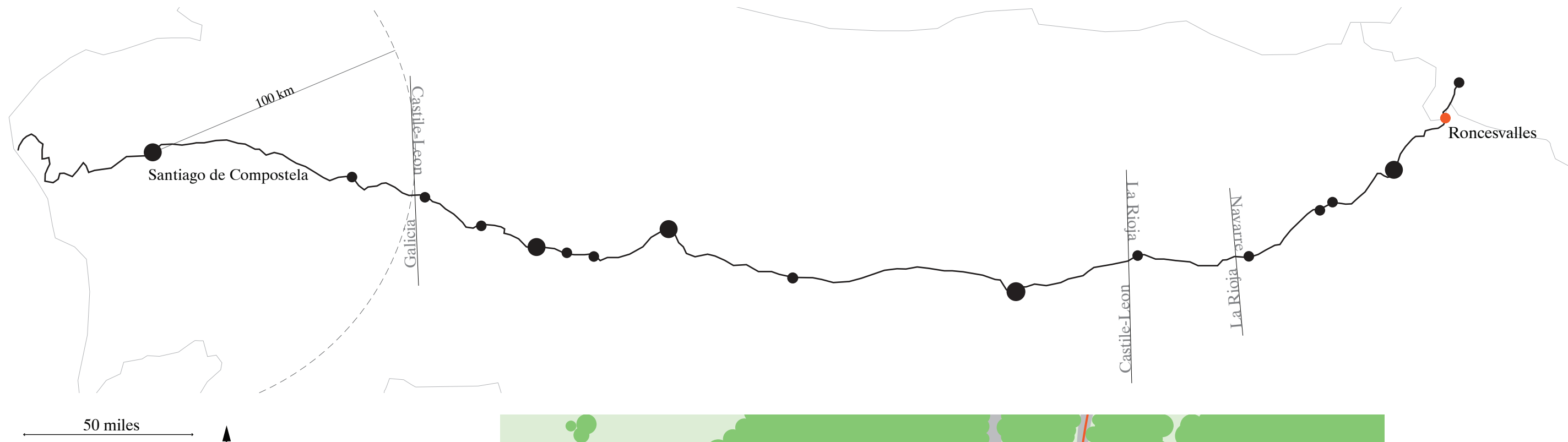
Roncesvalles is one of the largest *albergues* located along the route, despite its location in a small town. The *albergue* in Roncesvalles, in truth a hospital, is part of the Royal Collegiate Church at Roncesvalles, located on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees Mountains and is the first Camino stop of the *camino francés* in Spain. Established in 1126 by Pamplona's Bishop Sancho Larrosa in partnership with Alfonso I the Fighter, the hospital was built to serve pilgrims, the poor, and soldiers passing through the mountains.¹ As is typical for hospitals serving pilgrims and the poor, the *albergue* was staffed by members of a brotherhood responsible for administering daily care to those taking shelter.² This hospital today lays in ruins.

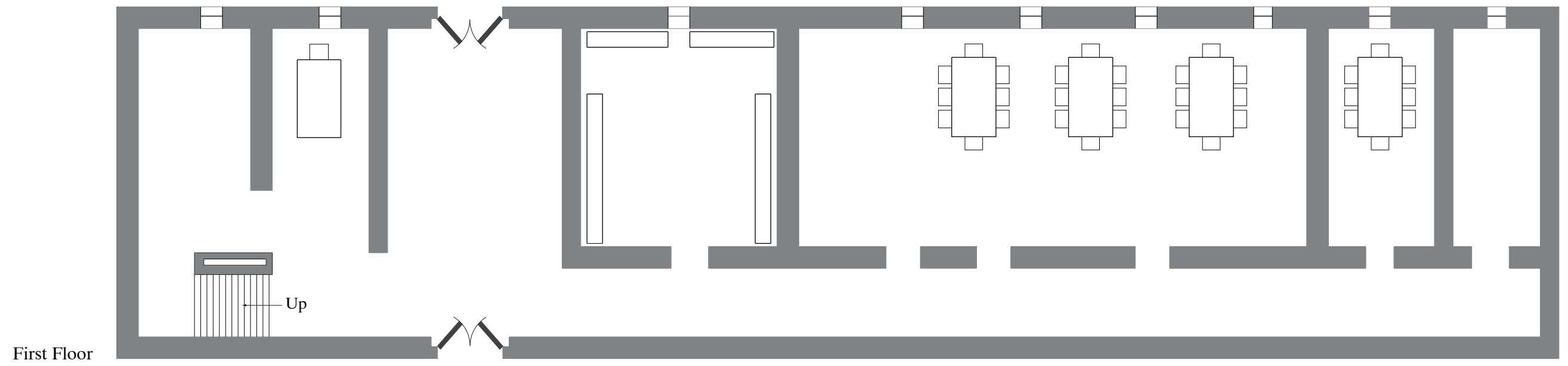
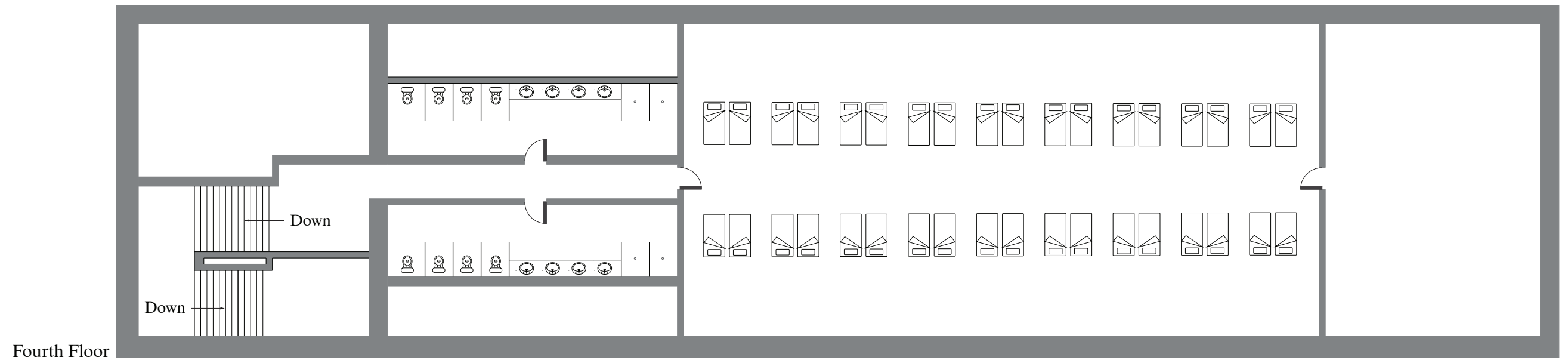
The building that houses the *albergue* today was constructed in the 18th century by José Poudez and has been adapted to serve pilgrim's needs. The *albergue* was renovated and reopened in 2011, a project undertaken by Navarre's *Plan Navarra 2012*.³ Over six million euros were invested in the project in an effort to accommodate as many pilgrims as possible as well as to restore the historically covered circulation within the building. The four-story building is probably one of the largest *albergues* the pilgrim will encounter on their journey. As the first *albergue* one encounters after completing the climb through the Pyrenees, most pilgrims spend the night at this *albergue* in Roncesvalles, to recover from the day's grueling walk. The size of the *albergue* means that almost all pilgrims can find a bed.

The first floor of the *albergue* offers a room for boot storage (in an effort to keep sleeping areas mud and odor free), vending machines with kitchen and dining tables, and a reading room. The second, third, and fourth stories are sleeping spaces.

There are men's and women's bathrooms on each floor, intended for the pilgrims of that particular floor. The second and third floors have bunk beds, with partitions between each pod of 2 bunk beds. On the fourth floor, one sleeps under the *albergue's* wooden roof beams, which, because of their steep angle, do not make bunked beds possible. Each bed, bunked or not, has a locker and a plug for charging of phones, cameras, etc.

Meals are purchased separately and are limited because the size of the restaurant on the church's campus cannot accommodate the amount of pilgrims that stay in the *albergue*. To accommodate as many as possible, the pilgrim's meal is served in two shifts. Since the meal is served in a restaurant, tables are organized accordingly though the hostess assigns tables as pilgrims arrive, filling in empty chairs. Though the meal is not served at one long table, the chances are high that one will find oneself at a table with at least one other stranger, and so there is an opportunity to exchange experiences with other pilgrims. It is important to note that, since this marks the beginning of the Camino for a significant percentage of pilgrims, one will encounter many of the pilgrims one meets here throughout the entirety of the journey. ⁴ If one starts in Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, just over the Pyrenees in France, this night in Roncesvalles is an initiation into the culture and experience of the pilgrimage.





Burgos
1/16" = 1'





<http://wisepilgrim.com/albergue/refugio-de-peregrinos-de-roncesvalles-itzandegia>



Lorca

The privately run *albergue* in Lorca has a capacity for approximately 20 individuals. The village of Lorca itself is mentioned in Chapter VI of the *Codex Calixtinus*, along which the river Salado runs, whose waters, the guide warns, “are deadly.”⁵ It is located in a valley before a change in elevation that, depending on how many kilometers have been accomplished that day, the pilgrim must determine if he or she can make the climb. Lorca is an example of a village that developed in response to the Camino and the flow of people and money that the route attracted. Cantera Burgos describes medieval Lorca as a “Main Street along the pilgrimage route, with a small, Romanesque church that boasts one pointed arch. Across from this church is a hospital.”⁶ If it is too much, Lorca is an attractive option for the tired pilgrim. A small village, with only one other *albergue* located directly across the street, this private *albergue’s hospitalero* is Jose Ramon, who grew up in the home that now serves as the *Albergue de Lorca*. If the pilgrim arrives particularly exhausted, Jose Ramon insists that she first rest, shower, and have a slice of tortilla española, before providing her credential and seven euros, the cost of a night’s stay.

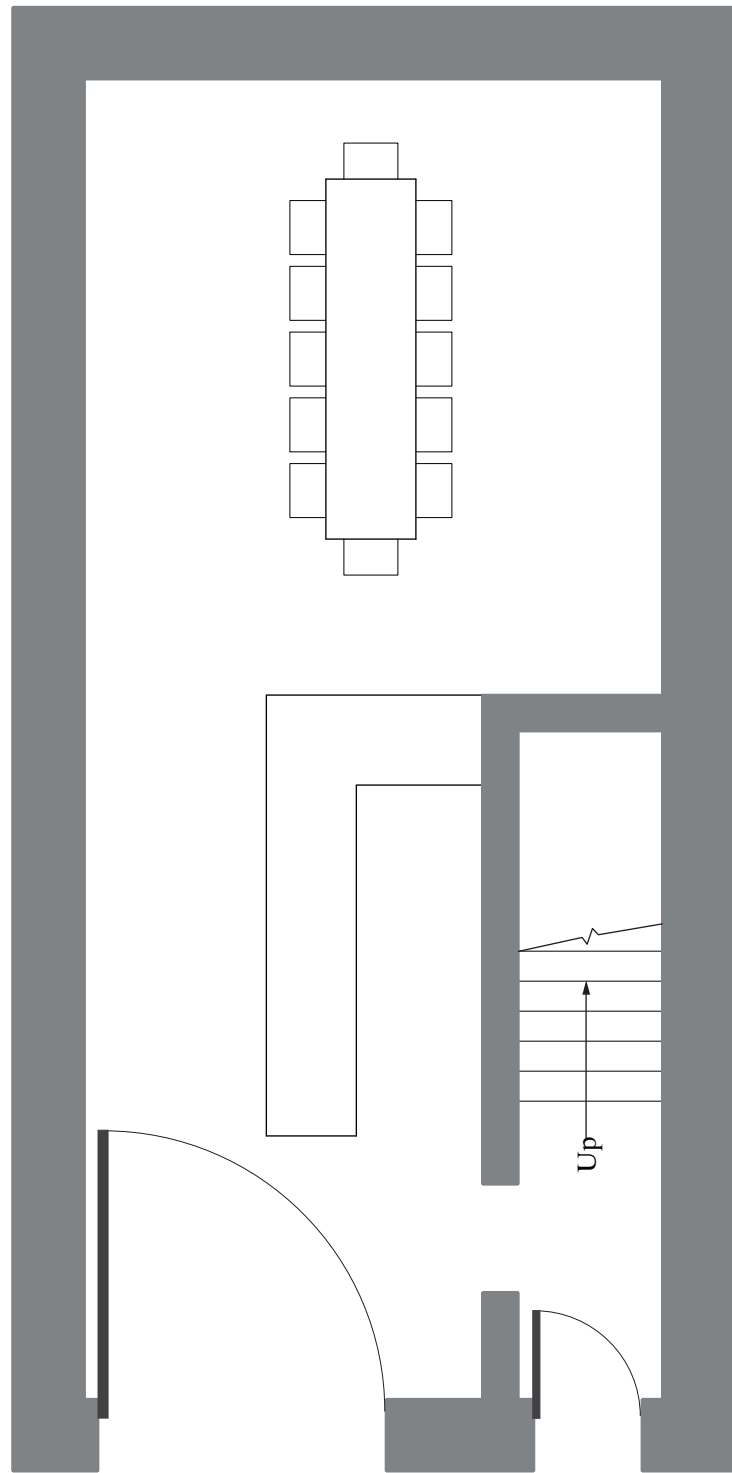
The original, residential use of the *albergue* means that rooms are smaller, where bedrooms are furnished with bunk beds and one bathroom serves all guests. The ground floor, with a common area where pilgrims can rest and read, also has a small bar and dining area. While pilgrims are welcome to use the kitchen, Jose Ramon offers a pilgrim’s meal, consisting of salad, a large plate of pasta with homemade marinara, and fruit, all prepared by the *hospitalero* himself. Those who opt for the pilgrim’s meal all sit together at the time appointed by Jose Ramon, who

assembles a long table that accommodates all diners. Wine is shared and pilgrims trade stories about how the Camino provided for that day.

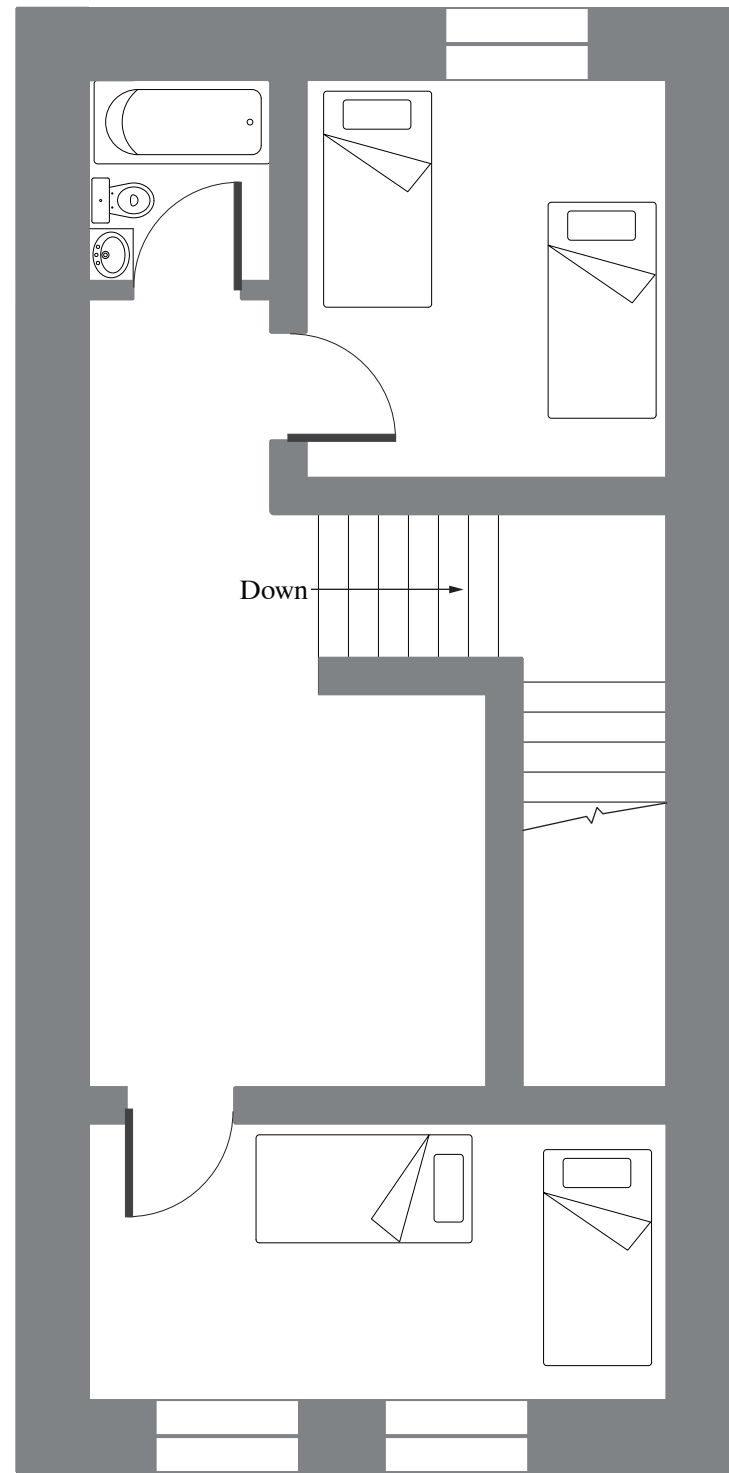


- Key**
- Albergue
 - Building
 - Road
 - Camino

First Floor



Second Floor



Lorca
1/16" = 1'





<http://www.jacobeo.net/index.php?m=etapas&ruta=2&etapa=4&cab=&pad=139&loca=25>



Google maps.



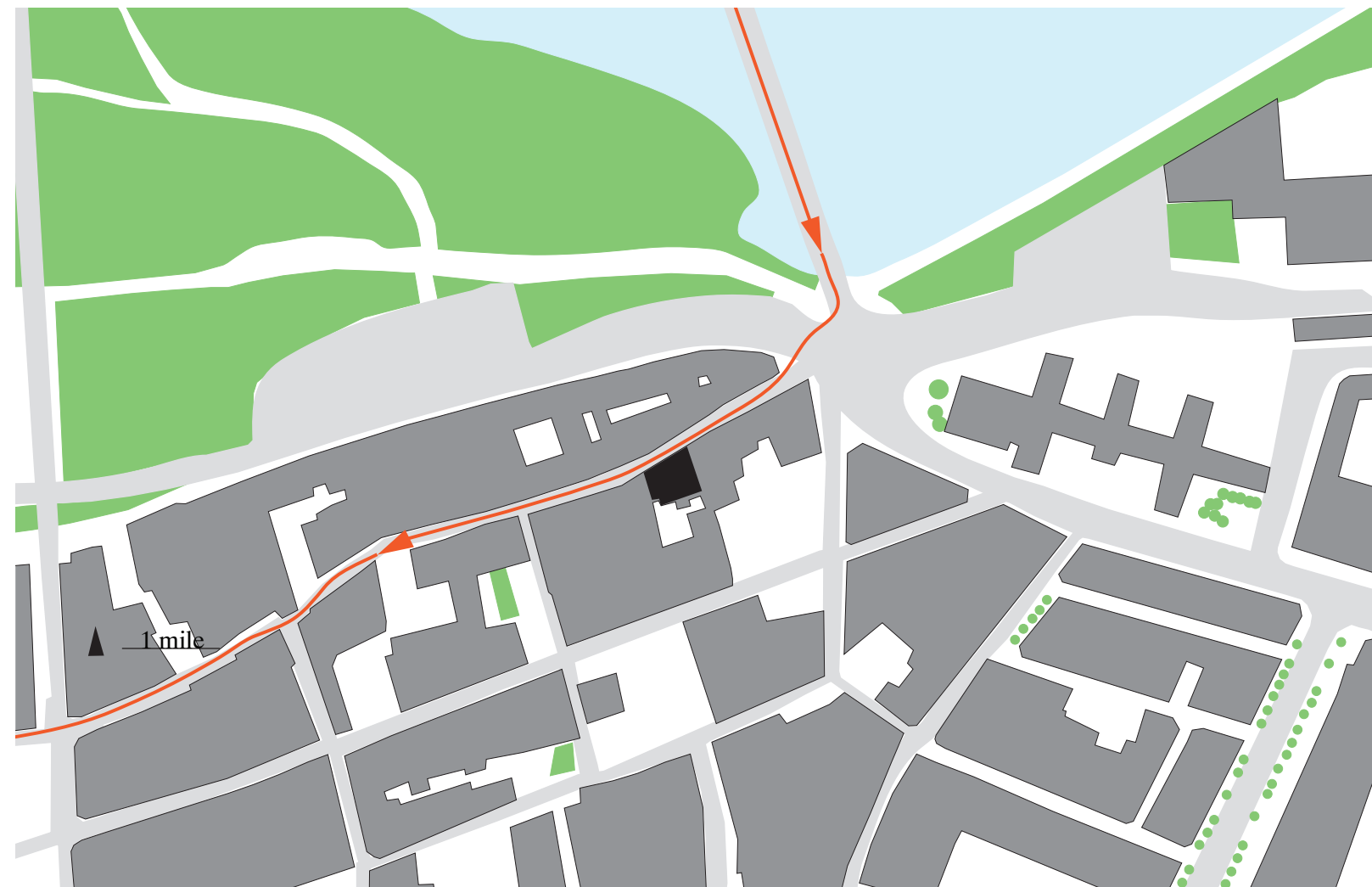
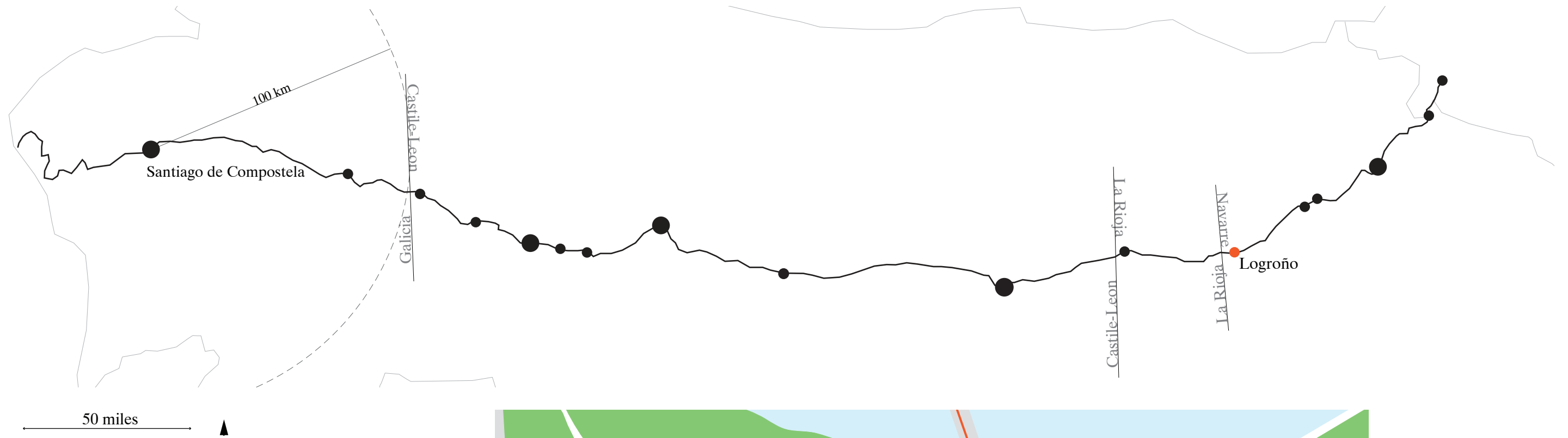
<http://www.jacobeo.net/index.php?m=etapas&ruta=2&etapa=4&cab=&pad=139&loca=25>

Logroño

The *albergue* in Logroño, the second example located in a major city, is a privately operated establishment and does not share the same goals as municipal albergues. The *Albergue Santiago Apostol* in Logroño is a newly renovated, privately run, *albergue* in Logroño. Situated alongside the Camino, the *albergue's* current design is by Sergio Rojo, a Spanish architect, who modernized the interior of this 19th century building.⁷ Previously the building had been used as an art school, a theatre, a soup kitchen, a funeral home, and a garage.⁸ The ground floor offers a shared dining room where breakfast, included in the cost, is served. A light well provides space where pilgrims can wash and hang clothes in addition to bringing in natural light. On the second floor are shared sleeping spaces, where bunk beds are perpendicular to the outer walls of the space and low partitions divide the bunks into pods of four, with a curtain that can be pulled closed to isolate the pod. The configuration is similar to that of Roncesvalles. Two unisex bathrooms are situated in the center of the second floor, dividing and serving the sleeping space. The most notable quality of this *albergue* are the wooden beams which support the roof. Without the presence of the beams, there would be little indication on the interior of the building's historic nature.

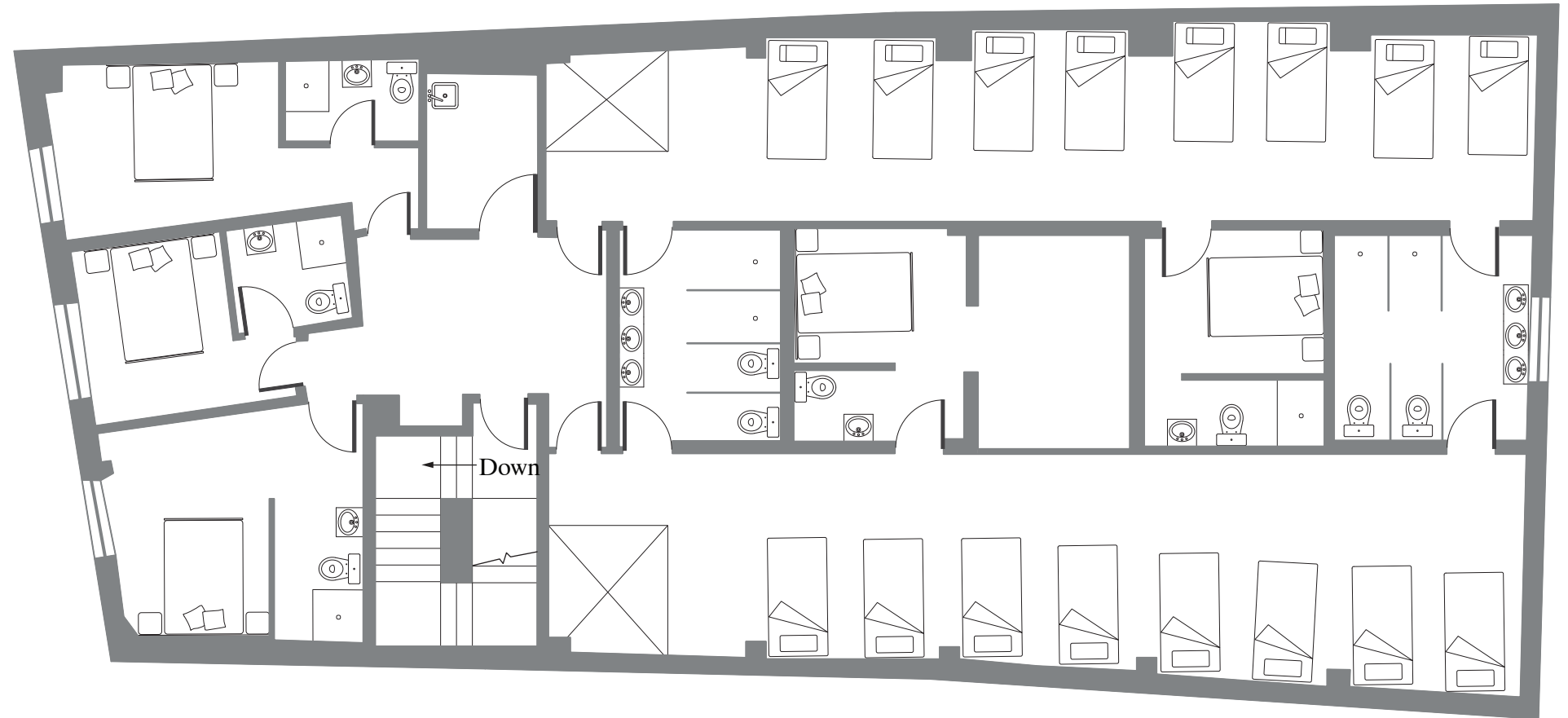
In contrast to Burgos's municipal *albergue*, this private *albergue* is of a medium size, with a capacity of approximately 80 individuals. In a significant departure from all *albergues* that are discussed here, this *albergue* also accepts guests who are not pilgrims. Its central location within the city makes it attractive for tourists staying in Logroño and, as a private enterprise, the *albergue* takes advantage of the flows of pilgrims and tourists, two entirely different groups.

Though no such friction was observed, this does create the potential for conflict between two entirely different groups with entirely different values and goals. A tourist may visit Logroño for its history but also for its significant nightlife, located a short distance from the *albergue*. The pilgrim stays in the *albergue* as a stop on the Camino and may also sample the nightlife, but the pilgrim's primary concern is to recover from the day's walk and to rest in anticipation of the following day. Despite what this *albergue* offers, whose amenities will be considered in a later section, its acceptance of tourists and pilgrimage creates potential friction with pilgrim's values.



Logroño: Site plans

Second Floor



First Floor



Logroño
1/8" = 1'

Source: Sergio Rojo, <http://diariodesign.com/2014/03/sergio-rojo-recupera-con-maestria-y-contemporaneidad-el-albergue-santiago-apostol-de-logrono/>



<http://sergiorojo.com/filter/camino/Albergue-Santiago-Apostol>



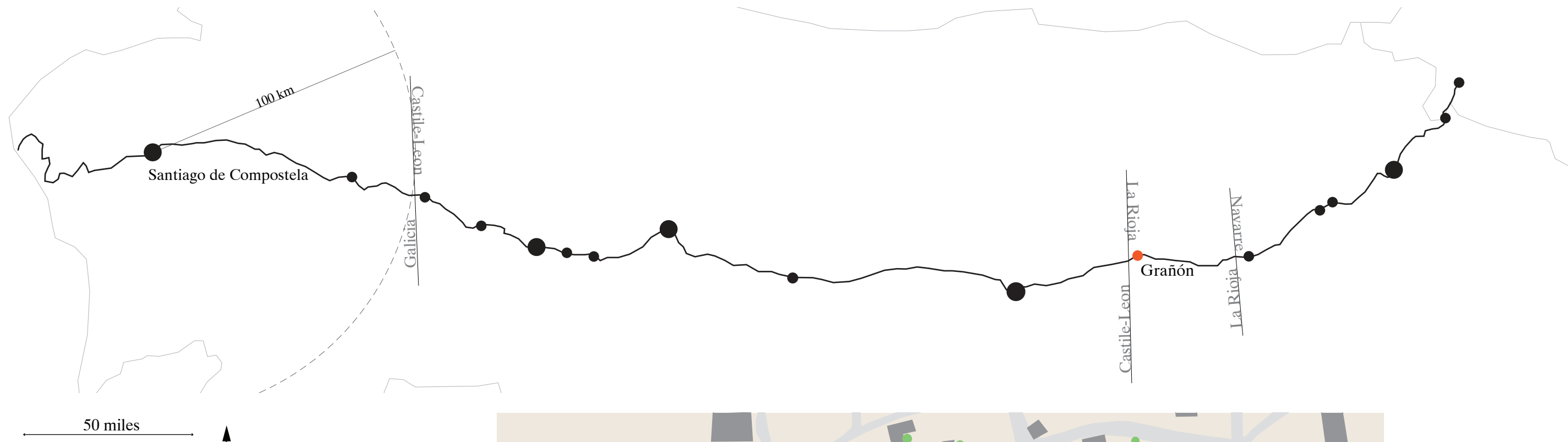
Grañón

After Lorca and beyond the city of Logroño, one finds Grañón and its parochial albergue. While there are other albergues in this town of less than 500 residents, this albergue offers an experience of a stay in a Camino hospital. Grañón was established in approximately 900 by Alfonso I upon construction of a castle during his conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.⁹ The town was first mentioned by an Italian pilgrim of the Camino in 1357 and is also mentioned in pilgrimage guides from the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁰ As the site plan illustrates, Grañón today remains a small town whose organization betrays its beginnings as a medieval village in its organization. The town hosts a bakery, and a small market offering basic staples and home cooked meals for residents and pilgrims alike. Though located in a town larger than other villages discussed here, the majority of individuals on the street are pilgrims, either stopping on their walk to rest at the small market or staying at either of the town's *albergues*. There is a private *albergue* and a parochial *albergue*, both of which are *donativo*, or donation based. The pilgrim donates what one can to spend a night in that *albergue*. This parochial *albergue* is the focus of this analysis.

Adjoining the village's medieval church *San Juan Bautista*, which dates to the 16th century, the *albergue* offers what many call an authentic Camino experience. ¹¹ Sharing a wall with the church's nave and its south apse, the ground floor of the *albergue* offers a room for sleeping. None of the sleeping areas in this *albergue* are equipped with beds. Instead, pilgrims sleep on modest mats, which pilgrims align next to each other along the walls. The second floor has yet another sleeping space as well as a half bathroom. The third floor, the main floor of the

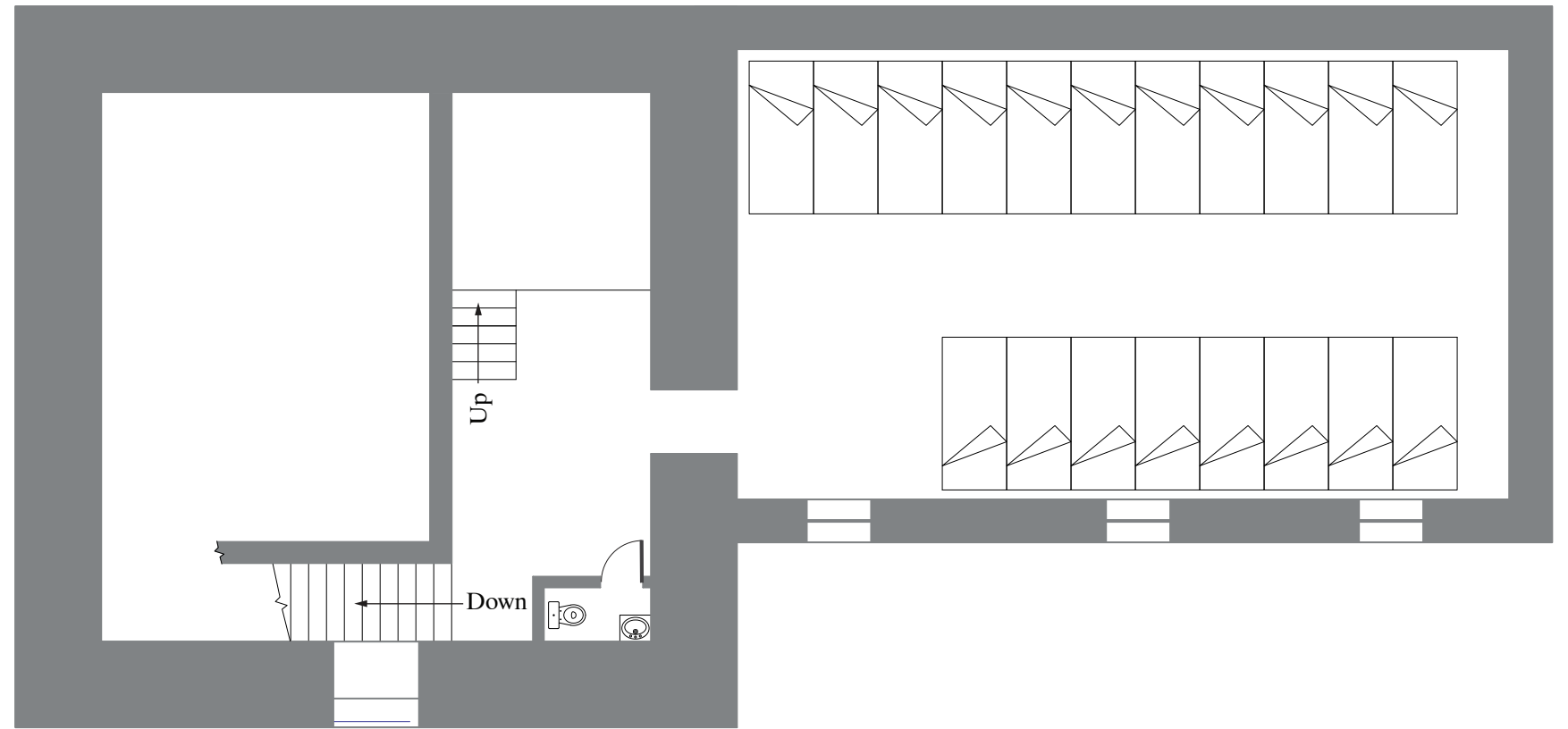
albergue, has a bathroom with shower for women and another for men. These bathrooms are small, modest, and clearly adapted to fulfill the demands of hosting pilgrims every night. As one walks down the hall, there is a small kitchen and a large dining area with a small fireplace. The kitchen, which is open and looks out onto the dining room, is fully equipped and is where pilgrims assist in preparing the communal meal, provided almost entirely by the *albergue* itself. Pilgrims are expected to peel potatoes, chop vegetables for salad, and cook chorizo. The tables in the dining room are brought together to form two long tables with additional chairs brought out from underneath the stairs. These stairs lead up to a lofted area, with yet another sleeping space. Once set up, the tables can sit forty to fifty pilgrims. Before the meal is served, the *hospitaleras* ask that each nationality of pilgrim sing a song from their own country. The meal is simple and humble yet all are content to have a warm meal and company with whom to share it. Cleaning up after the meal is a military exercise unto itself. The *hospitaleras* are adept at mechanizing the process, in which some wash in a tub at the table, others dry, others return dishes and cutlery to the proper cabinet, and others return the dining room to its original configuration. Here, strangers work together.

Despite the amount of people that this *albergue* can accommodate, it encourages interaction between pilgrims. With a meal that is prepared and shared together, the *albergue* overcomes the obstacles that come with hosting so many people. This is no doubt a result of its parochial character, further reinforced by being a *donativo*, in which pilgrims donate what they can.

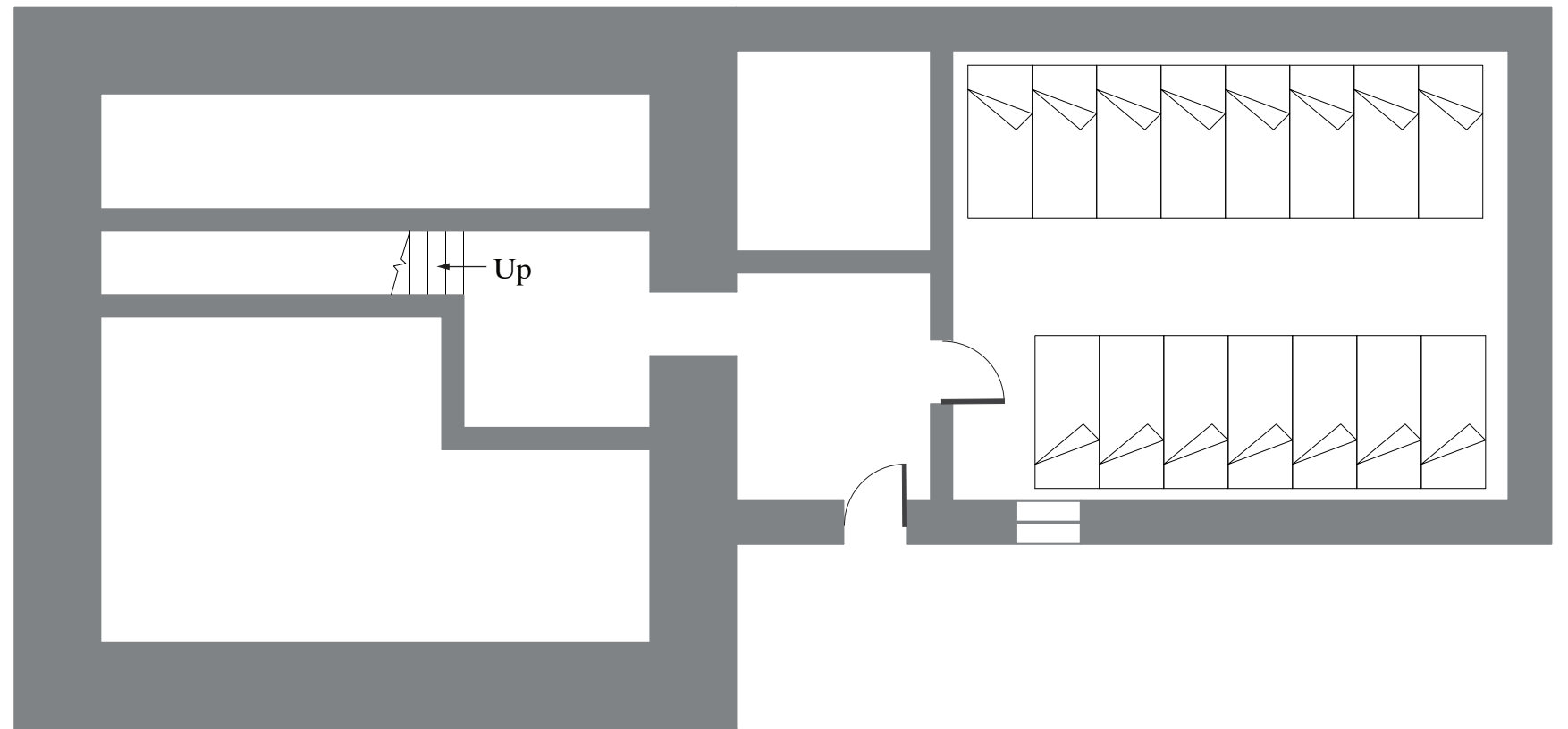


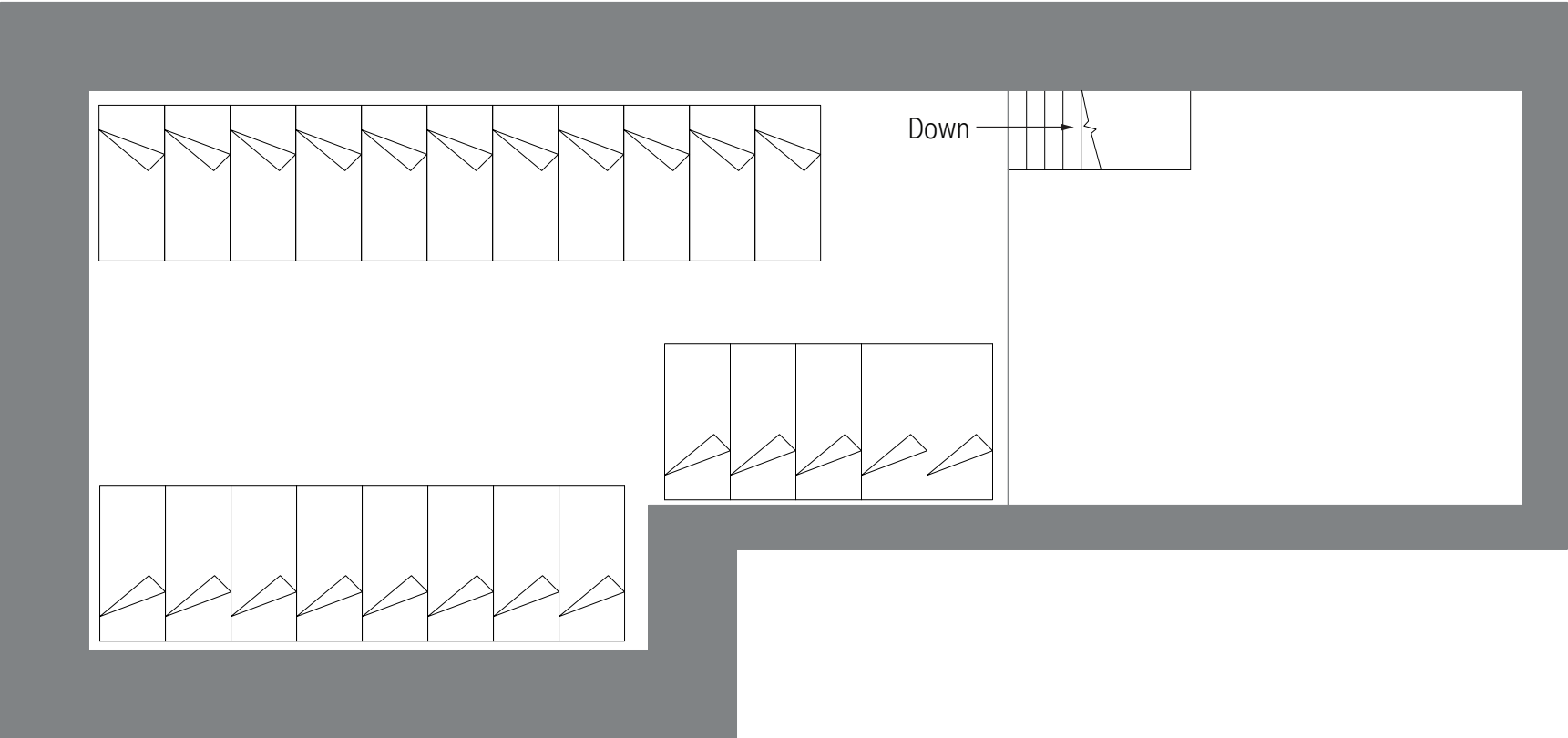
- Key**
- Albergue ■
 - Building ■
 - Road ■
 - Camino ↗

Second Floor

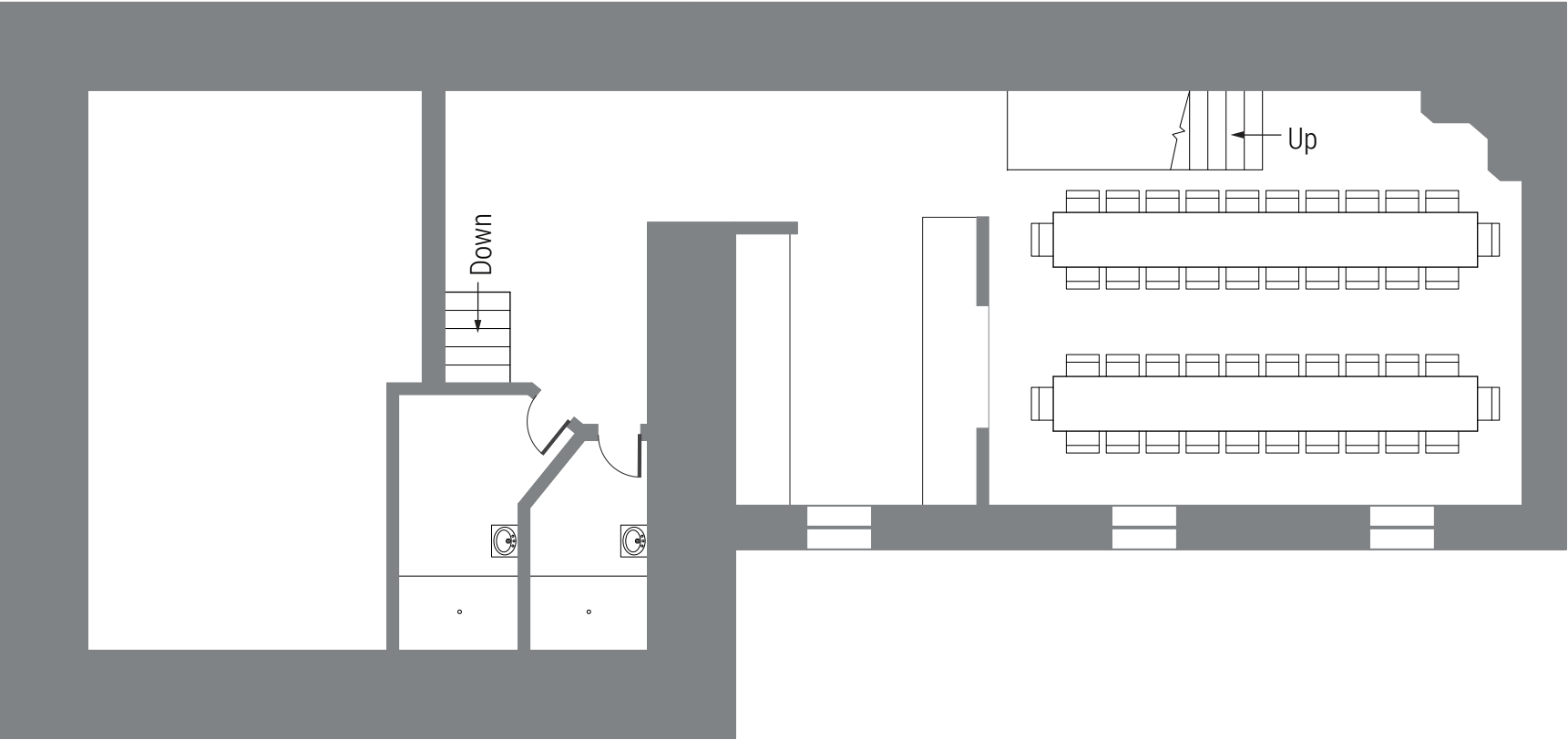


First Floor





Fourth Floor



Third Floor

Grañón
1/8" = 1'





<https://www.flickr.com/photos/chorando/2184284764/>



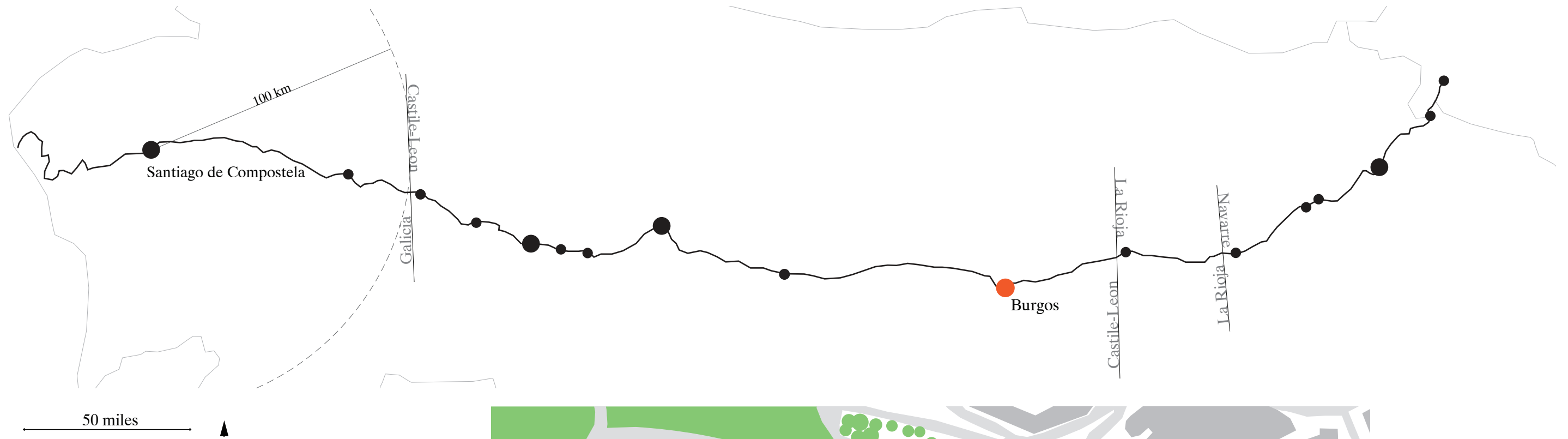
Burgos

In Burgos, the municipal *albergue* is one of many available in the city. Renovated and reopened in August 2008, the *albergue* can accommodate up to 130 pilgrims and, in the winters when there are significantly less pilgrims walking the Camino, is used for cultural activities that are open to residents of the city.¹² The *albergue's* building is the *Casa del Cubo*, or the House of the Cube – named so because of the cubes that ornament the cornice – built in the second half of the 16th century.¹³ In addition to outfitting the building's interior as an *albergue*, the project included restoration of the *Casa del Cubo's* facade. An addition built behind the Casa del Cubo expanded the building's capacity for hosting pilgrims.¹⁴ The project benefitted from Spain's *1.5% Cultura* program, of which 75 percent of funding came from Spain's Ministry of Development, totaling 2,713,007.45 uros.¹⁵ The remaining 25 percent came from the city of Burgos.¹⁶

The *albergue's* updated design is similar to that of Roncesvalles. Sited on a street through which the Camino passes, and located in the city's historic center, the *albergue* is a stone's throw from Burgos's cathedral and the ruined Napoleonic era fort leftover from the 1812 century Siege of Burgos.¹⁷ Inside, on the *albergue's* ground floor, is boot storage, a kitchen, bike storage, and an area for dining and resting. The stories above are sleeping spaces with accompanying showers and bathrooms. As in Roncesvalles, the beds are bunked with partitions separating each row of bunks, which consist of two sets of bunk beds. Each bed has an assigned locker and a wall outlet on the bunk's partition, which allows for pilgrims to charge phones and cameras. Showers and water closets are all oriented along the same northern wall and are partitioned separately, allowing pilgrims a few moments of

privacy. Sinks are located at the end of each row of bunks. This organization of bathrooms, broken up into smaller, unisex spaces disperses the intensity of use across a larger space, reducing log jams and wait times. A roof deck, exposed to the Mediterranean sun, is outfitted with numerous drying racks to accommodate the drying laundry of 130 pilgrims.

With such a large capacity for accommodating pilgrims and located at a major waypoint along the pilgrimage, this municipal *albergue* has similar aims as the municipal *albergue* in Hospital da Condesa and the rest of the network of municipal *albergues* within the 100-kilometer threshold to Santiago de Compostela. After the renovation project in Burgos's *albergue* was completed, a *hospitalero* reflected that the *albergue* is “about supporting not just an experience of the Camino, but an experience of the richness of the city”, with the hope that pilgrim will have a positive experience and one day return as a tourist to Burgos.¹⁸ This accounts for the amount of amenities offered, despite being funded by the city. These amenities and their impact will be discussed shortly.



- Key**
- Albergue*
 - Building
 - Road
 - Camino

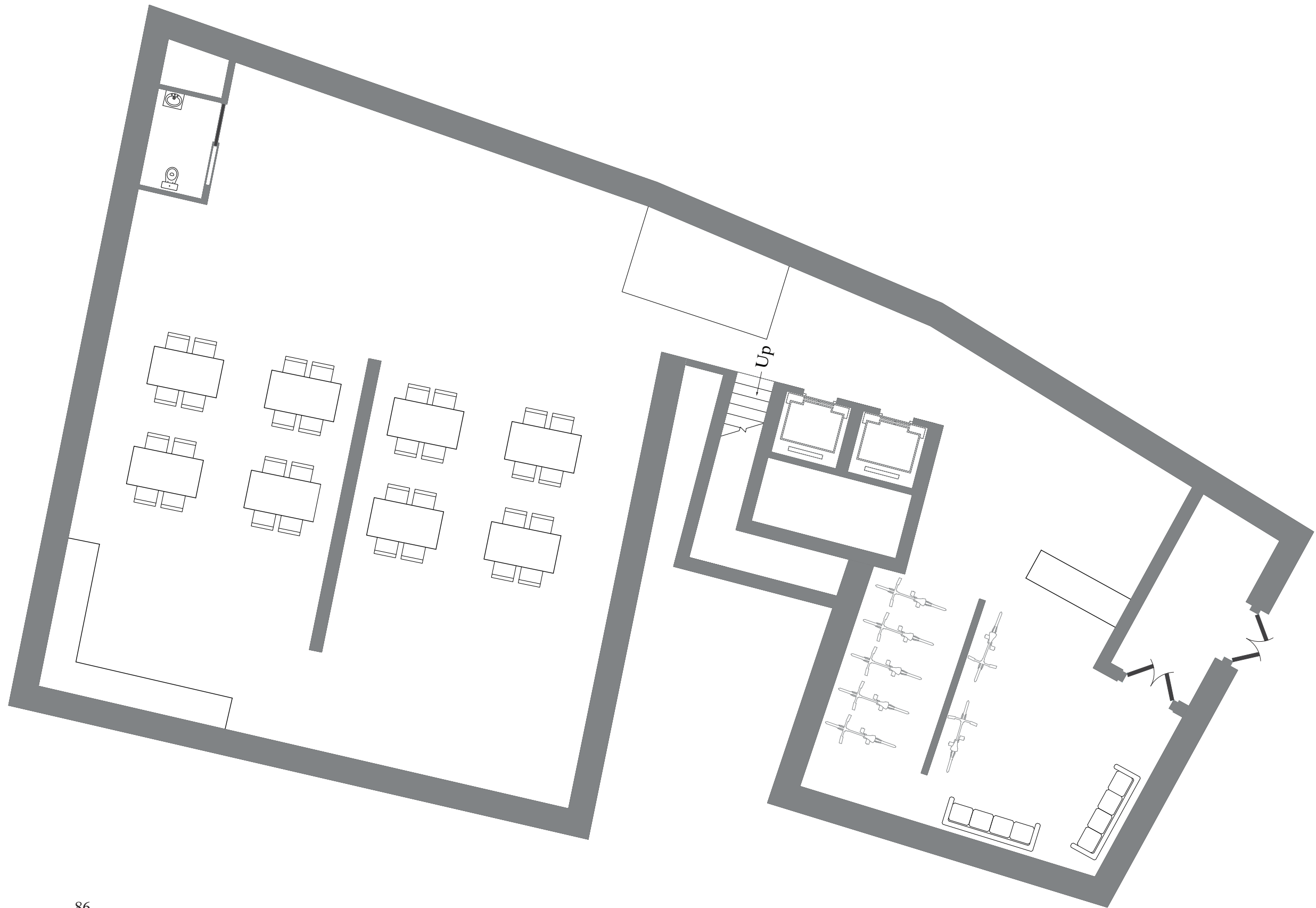
First Floor



Burgos
1/8" = 1'

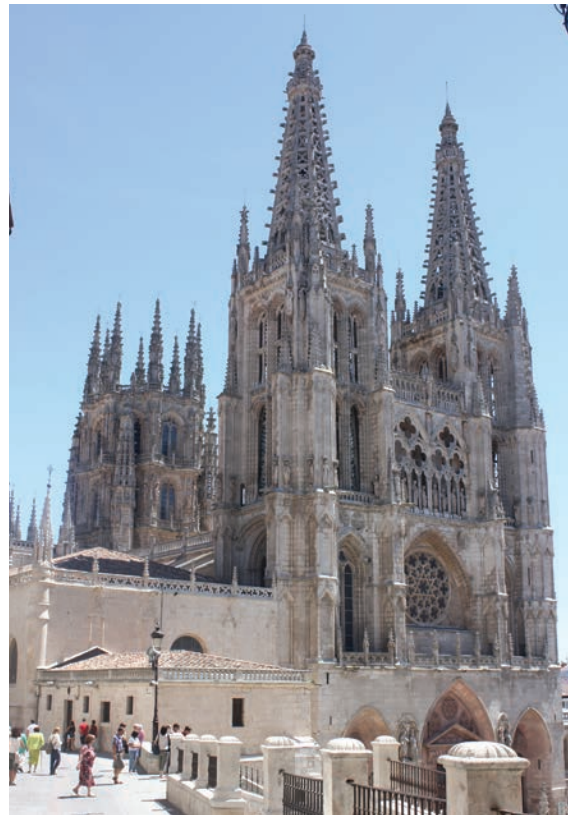


Second Floor



Burgos
1/8" = 1'





Burgos: Various photos

San Nicolas del Real Camino

Located in Palencia, beyond Carrión de los Condes, is San Nicolas del Real Camino. In 1874, the town had 36 houses.¹⁹ With a current population of 43, San Nicolas del Real Camino is another village typical of the Camino, small and with a humble church, past which the Camino winds.²⁰ One of the only *albergues* in the village is the privately run *Albergueria Laganares*. With a capacity of approximately 20, the *albergue* is an adapted house, with the second floor divided into four rooms furnished with bunk beds, so that each room can accommodate four to eight pilgrims each. There is a shared bathroom on the second floor with a small area where pilgrims can browse the *albergue's* bookshelf. The first floor has a bar and dining area where a pilgrim's meal is served, if a pilgrim is so inclined. The meal is served at a determined hour in the dining room, with each party of pilgrims eating at their own table. Though there is no doubt that pilgrims previously unacquainted with each other may choose to share a table, or perhaps those who arrive on their own may be placed at a table with others, the meal is not communal. The *albergue* also has a lush backyard, where pilgrims wash, hang clothing, and rest. It is surprising to find such greenery hiding behind a house after a day's walk through the Camino's *meseta* portion. One becomes accustomed to seeing the muted tones of wheat fields and the bright yellows of sunflowers. Though the garden no doubt takes a considerable amount of work to maintain, it is an oasis.

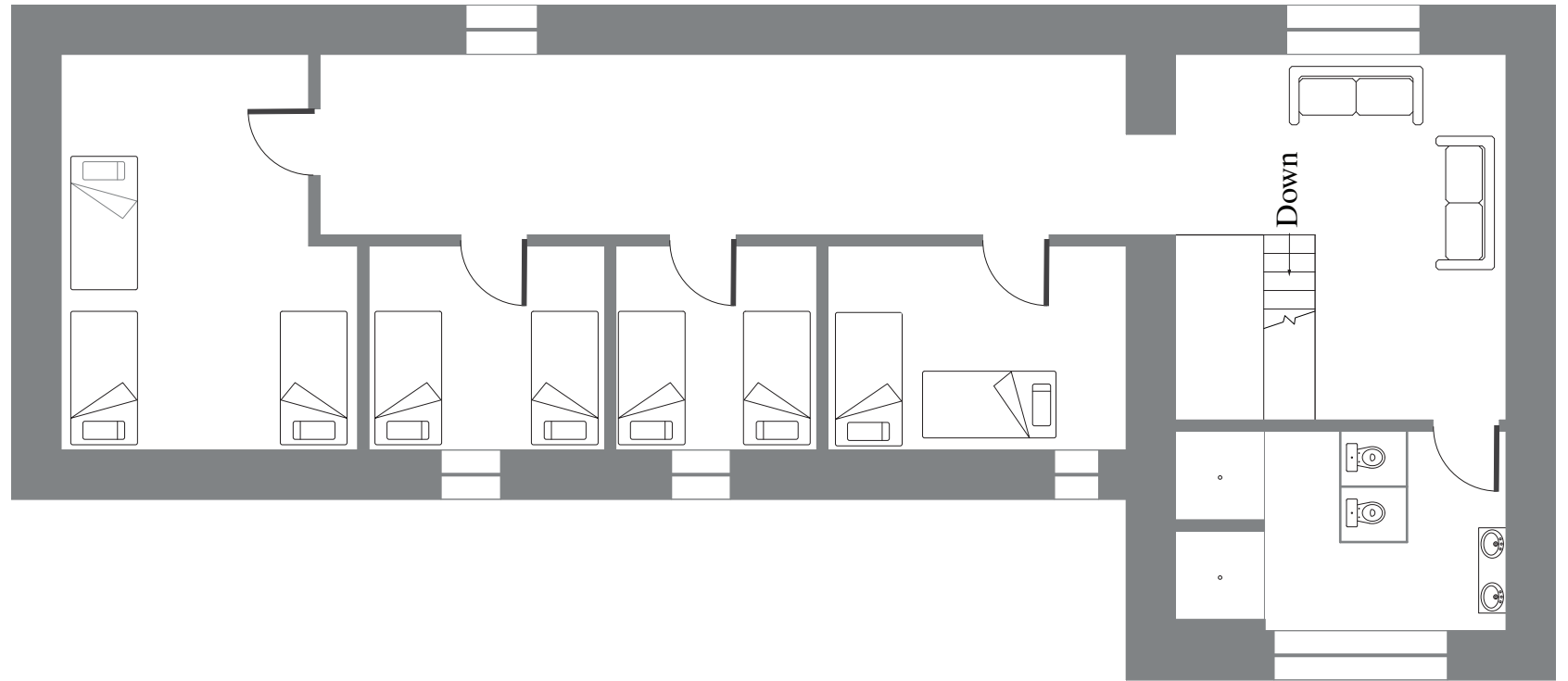
The architecture of this *albergue* in particular is interesting as an opportunity to experience local methods for building and design. This house is made of mud mixed with local aggregates, which is clear by simple observation of the exterior walls. The walls are thick with few window perforations. Walk into the

house and one experiences how the construction maintains a comfortable indoor climate without the help of air conditioning. The windows that do exist are small and placed on opposite facades to encourage cross-ventilation: open all windows and a generous current of air cools the interior spaces. In addition to the pleasant experience offered by this *albergue*, the opportunity to examine and experience local methods of construction inside and outside is greatly appreciated and illustrates how the Camino's landscape evolves as the pilgrim moves west.

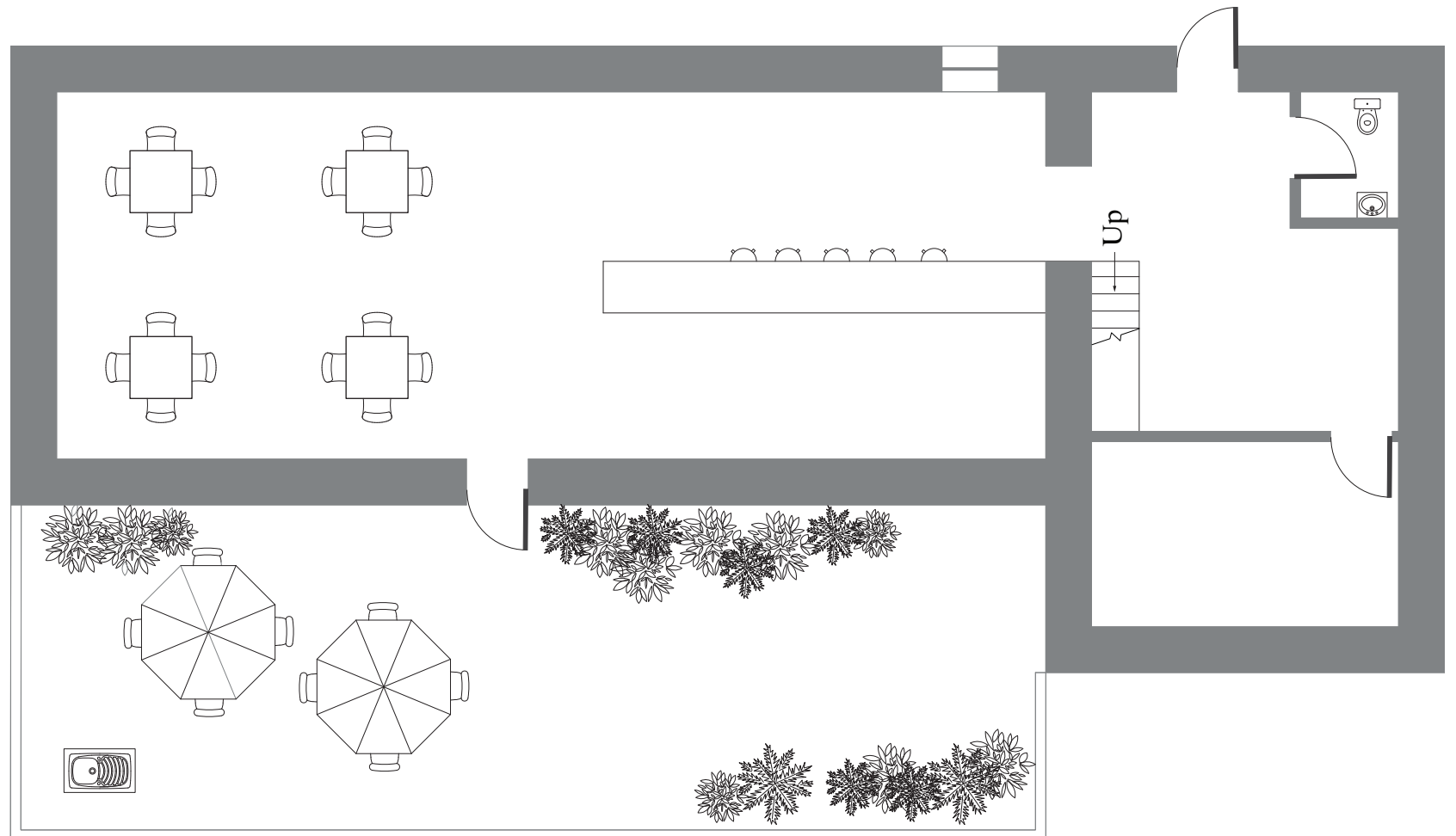


San Nicolas del Real Camino: Site plans

Second Floor



First Floor





San Nicolas del Real Camino: Various photos

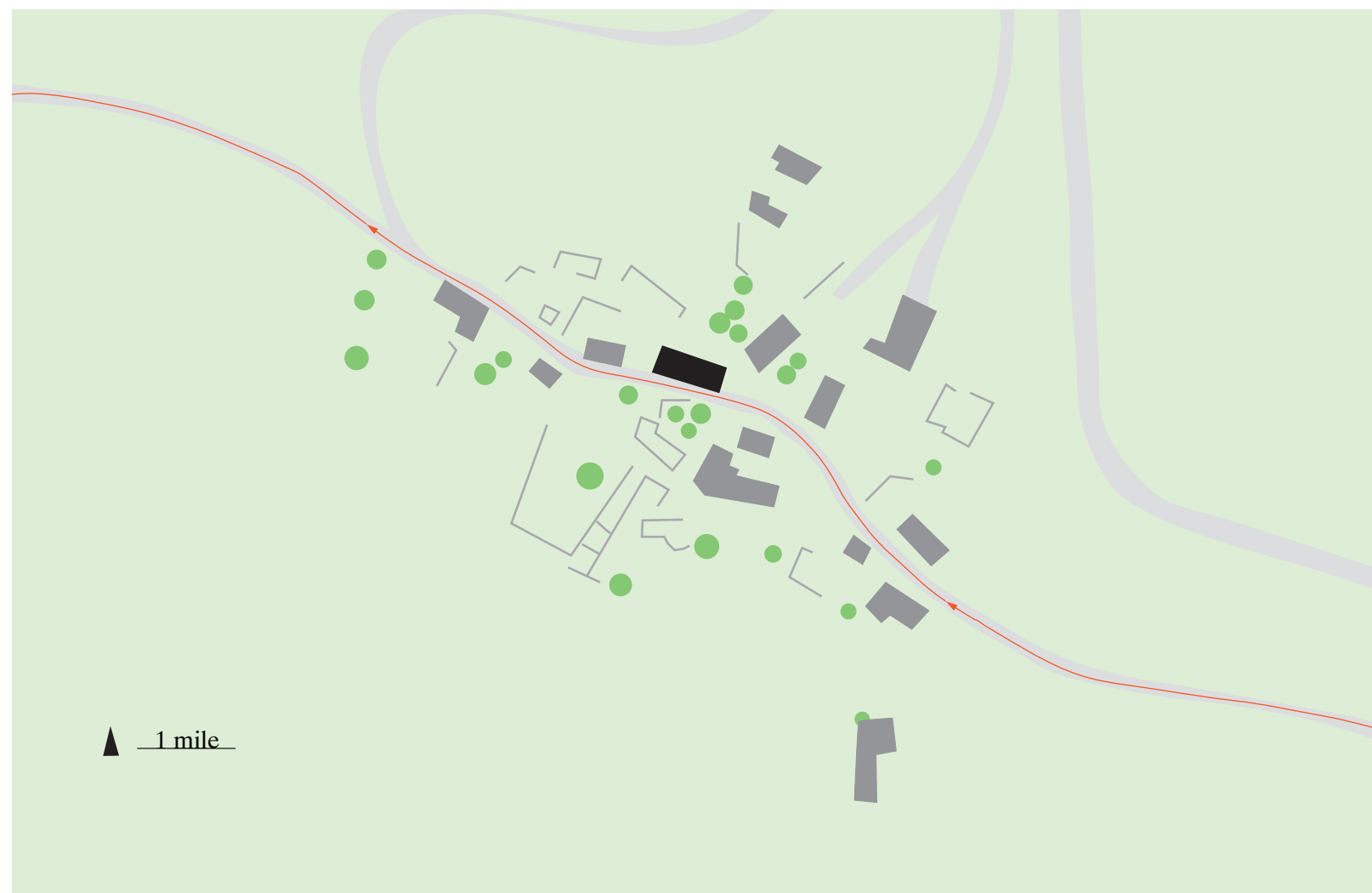
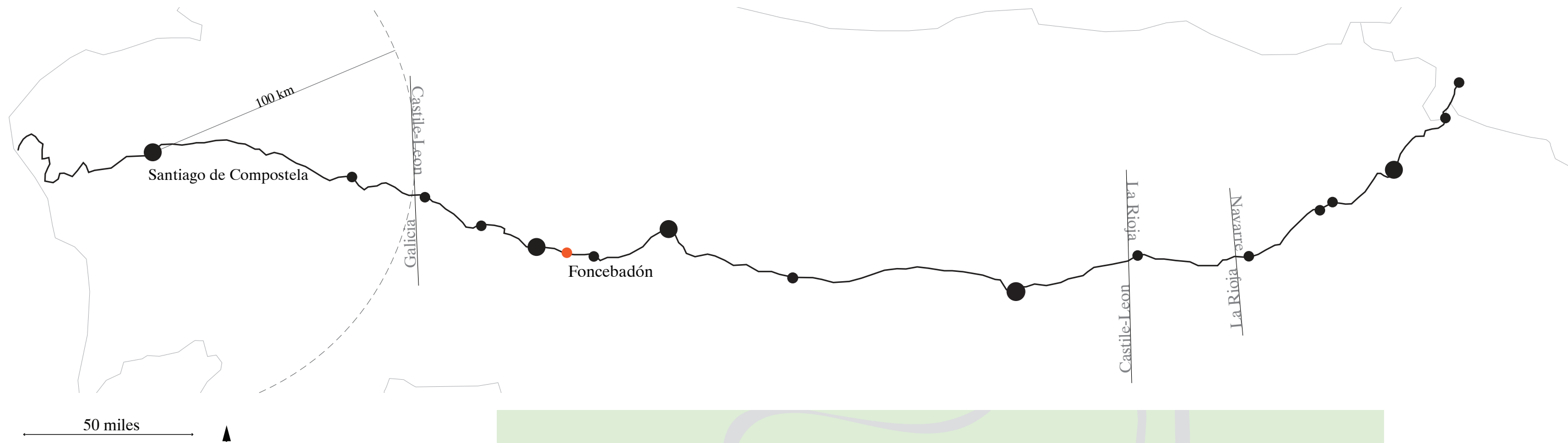
Foncebadón

Foncebadón is an interesting example of a village that has experienced a resurgence in response to the increasing popularity of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Located in the province of León, Foncebadón is the last town before the Camino passes by the *Cruz de Ferro*, the iron cross at whose base pilgrims leave a stone they have been carrying with them. The hermit Guacelmo established a hospital here for the poor, sick, and pilgrims, marking the point at which the Camino traverses the Pyrenees for a second time before arriving in Santiago.²¹

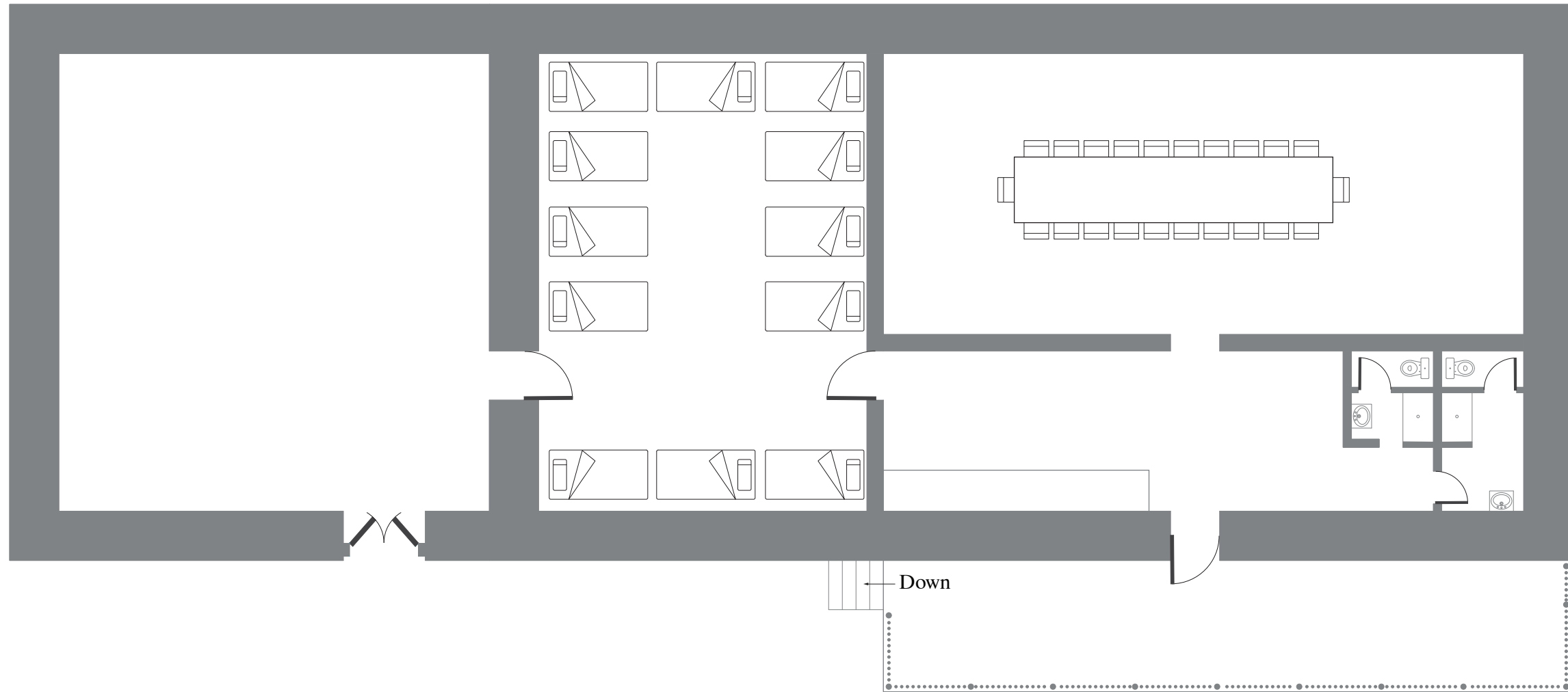
During the golden age of the Camino in the Middle Ages, Foncebadón was a village with a monastery and a main street. In the 1990s, the town appeared as though it were on the brink of extinction with a population of two: a mother and her son.²² There is a story that this mother fought for the church bells to remain in the essentially disappeared town's church.²³ Today, the town is still very much in ruins. The majority of building in the town are just that, ruins. But with the resurgence in the Camino, Foncebadón is experiencing its own small renaissance. There are several *albergues* in Foncebadón today, there to provide shelter to pilgrims after the 1,800 feet change in elevation that precedes the village.

Domus Dei Albergue is a small parochial *albergue* adjoining Foncebadón's church. As in Grañón, this *albergue* is *donativo*, where the pilgrim donates whatever they to compensate for a night's hospitality. As the drawings illustrate, this *albergue* has a shared sleeping space with bunk beds, a dining room, small kitchen, and bathrooms. Dinner is prepared together, with some pilgrims taking responsibility for either purchasing a few items to contribute to the meal, others helping with preparation, and the rest wash up after the meal.

The village itself owes its existence to the Camino. Despite the 25 people that reside in Foncebadón, the village's population changes every day as pilgrims ebb and flow through.²⁴ In addition to the experience offered by the *albergue* itself, this site in particular, a village composed of decomposing stone structures, provides a setting for pilgrims to tangibly feel the passage of time, the Camino's heritage value.



- Key**
- Albergue
 - Building
 - Road
 - Camino





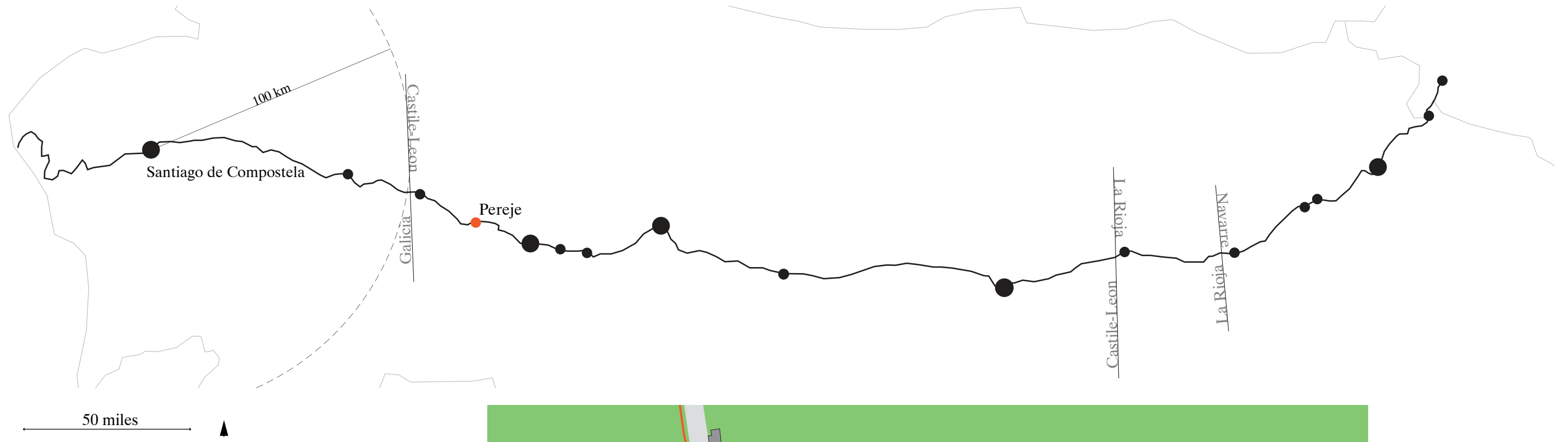
Pereje

With a population of 35, Pereje is just beyond Villafranca del Bierzo in León. Recorded in medieval documents as “Perex”, Pereje is located at kilometer 415 on the highway that runs through the valley in which the village is nested.²⁵ The valley, with a river along which the highway runs parallel, has a pleasant climate and fertile soil, with chestnut, oak, and walnut trees growing throughout.²⁶ The earliest mention of this village is in 1118, in which Lady Urraca donated the village to the hospital of O Cebrero.²⁷ As a property of O Cebrero, Pereje was to serve as overflow for pilgrims looking for shelter when O Cebrero could not accommodate so many individuals.²⁸ Its location in the safety of a valley also made Pereje attractive as a shelter from winter storms, not only for pilgrims but for the elder monks and the ill, for whom the hospital at Cebrero was responsible.²⁹

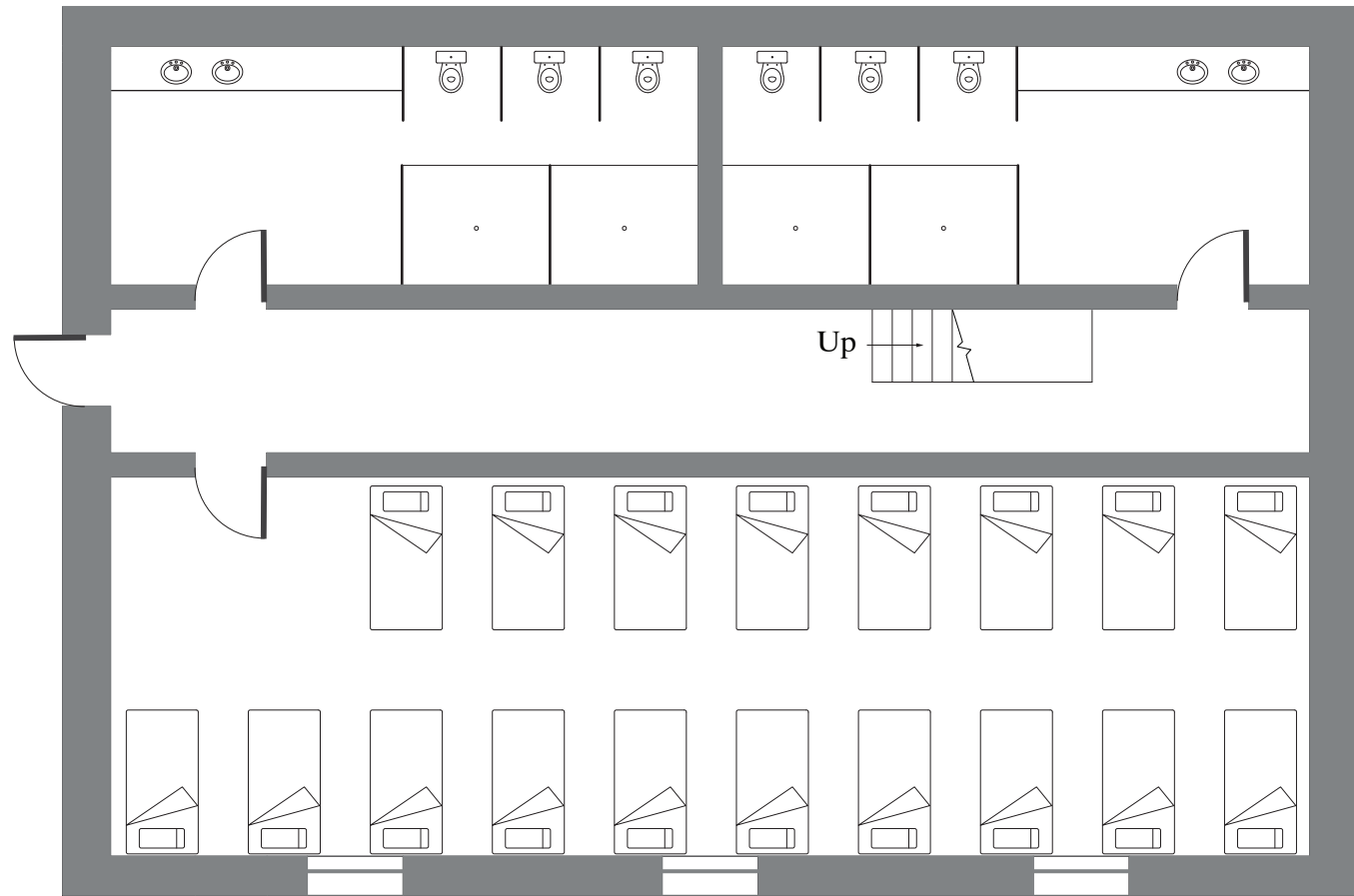
Today, Pereje’s municipal *albergue*, the only albergue in the village, is situated in an adapted house. The house exhibits the typical construction of the region: masonry walls, slate roofing, and a south-facing porch. Renovated in 1999 by Jesús Anaya Díaz’s design, this *albergue* is another example of a modernized *albergue* with a clear design intent.³⁰ The ground floor of this modest *albergue* has a small area for pilgrims to rest. The basement offers a sleeping space, where beds are not bunked, and bathrooms for women and men. The second floor, a converted attic, has a small kitchen, dining area, and more mattresses for pilgrim overflow. Perhaps the most notable feature of this *albergue* is its generous backyard. This is where there are sinks for washing clothes and clotheslines. There are two sunken areas, which can be likened to outdoor living rooms, though not enclosed, with a fire pit at the center of each area. No doubt these are popular spots for pilgrims in the spring

and fall, when temperatures drop at night. There is also a fountain with cool water, ideal for soaking one's swollen feet.

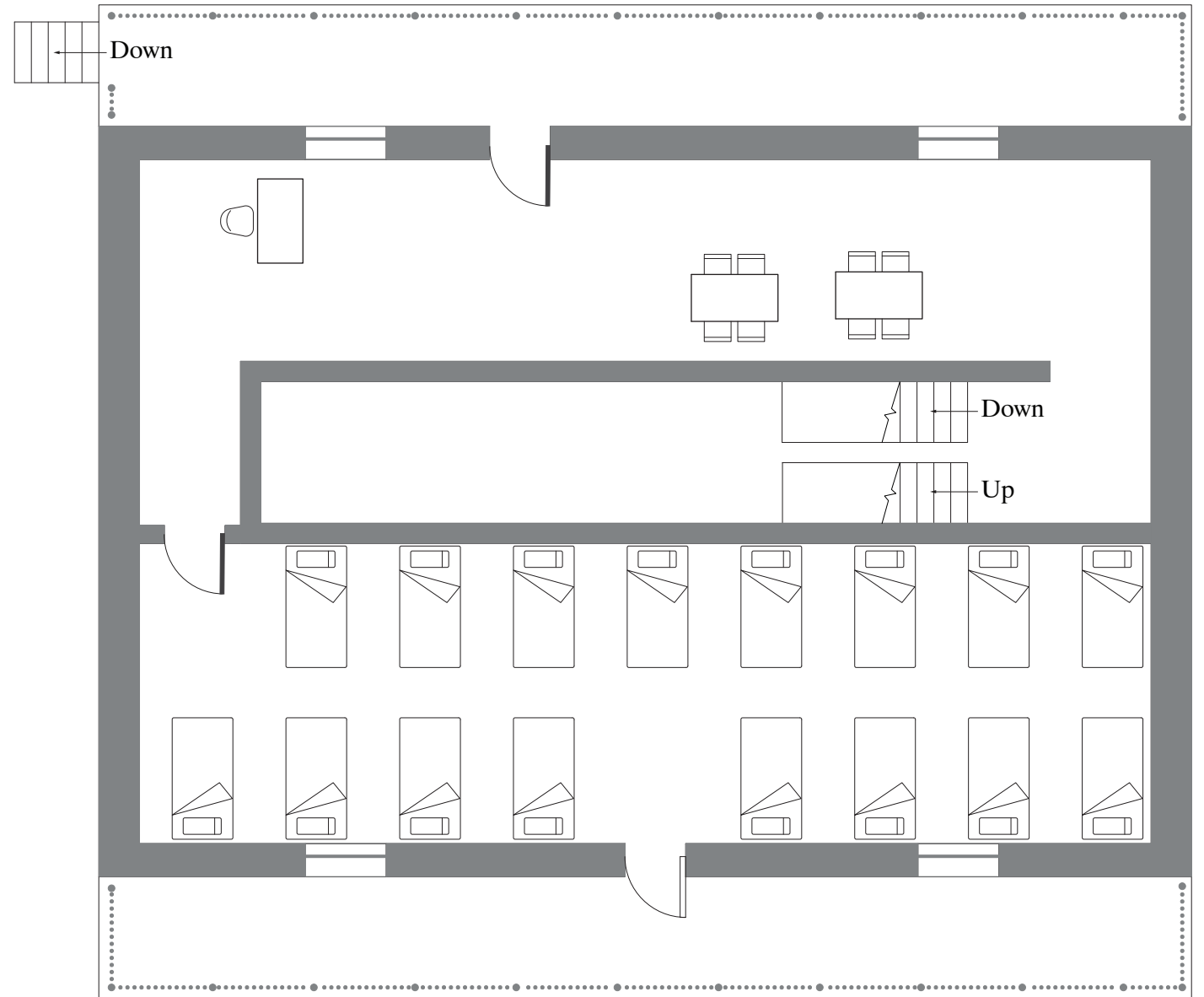
As in Hospital da Condessa, there is little else in Pereje. There is a small bar that offers a pilgrim's meal but there is not much else to call the pilgrim away from the *albergue*. A ten minute walk backtracking along the Camino takes one to the end of the village, with the *albergue* waiting at the other end.



- Key**
- Albergue
 - Building
 - Road
 - Camino



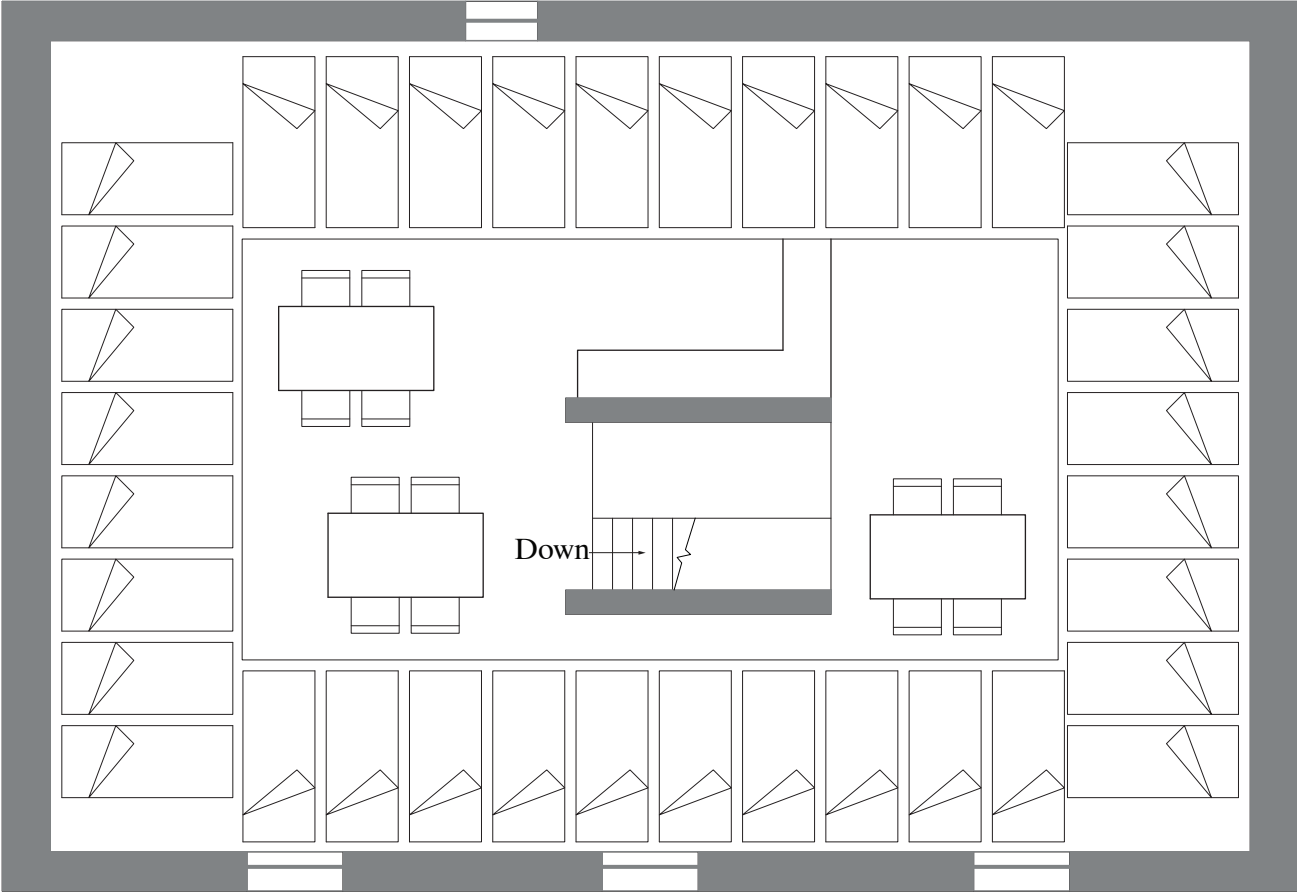
Basement



First Floor

Pereje
1/8" = 1'





Second Floor

Pereje
1/8" = 1'





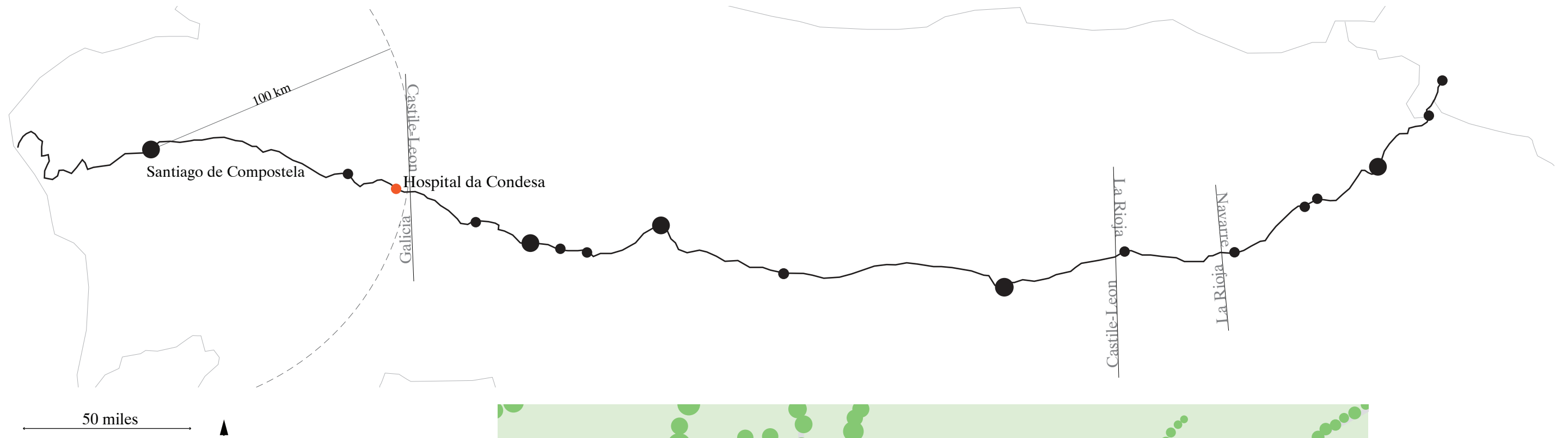
<http://urbanruta.com/articulos/arquitectura-de-albergues-del-camino-de-santiago-albergue-pereje>

<http://pereje.org/>

Hospital da Condessa

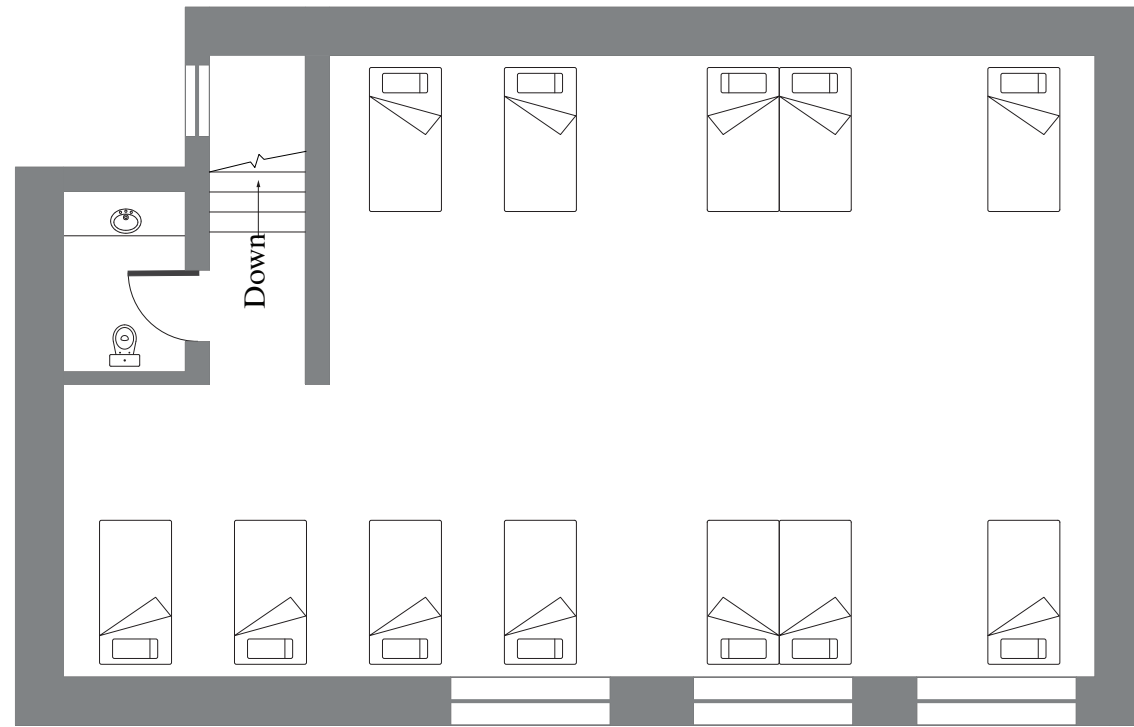
The only *albergue* in Hospital da Condessa, is an adapted house that overlooks the descent from O Cebreiro. A porch, where pilgrims also wash laundry and along which are clotheslines, is where most pilgrims rest after the day's walk. The ground floor offers an up-to-date kitchen with dining room, though at the time I stayed in this *albergue*, the kitchen had no cooking equipment of any kind, making the kitchen essentially useless. A small bathroom for women and another for men are available on the ground floor, along with a space for storing boots. The second floor has a half bathroom and sleeping space with bunk beds. These bunk beds, along with the disposable sheets provided by the *hospitalera*, equip many municipal *albergues* in Galicia. The same can be said for the bathrooms, which have clearly been designed for heavy, even abusive, use, as evidenced by the choice in fixtures and other materials (heavy plastic bathroom partitions, metal sinks).

This is an example of a small, municipal *albergue* in Galicia. It is also an example of the *albergues* within Galicia's system of municipal *albergues*. As I will discuss later, this network is an opportunity for instituting recommendations that will preserve the Camino experience and resist the degradation of the Camino's last 100-kilometers.

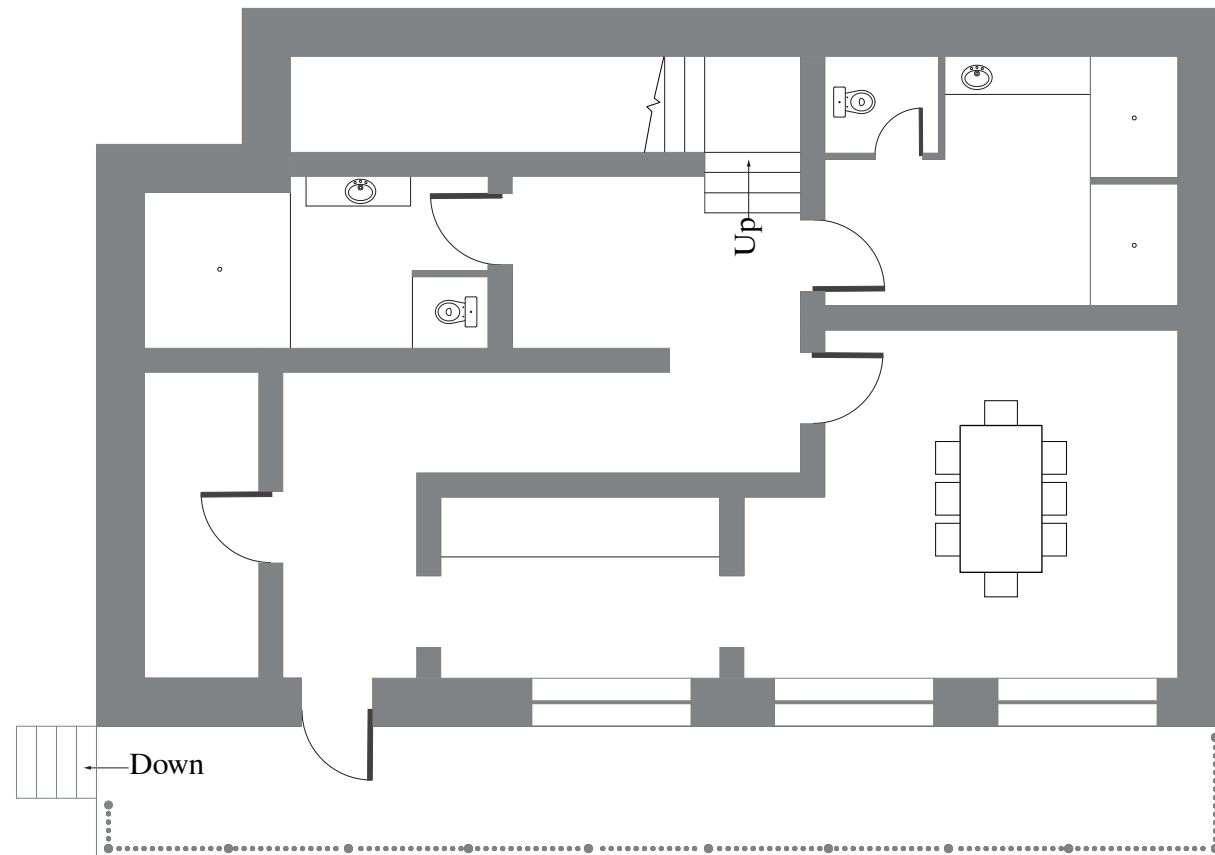


- Key**
- Albergue
 - Building
 - Road
 - Camino

Second Floor



First Floor





<http://wisepilgrim.com/albergue/albergue-de-hospital-da-condesa>



Hospital da Condesa: Various photos

Chapter Endnotes

- ¹ Jose Ignacio Díaz, “Javier Navarro: 15 años como hospitalero de Roncesvalles,” *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (0) September 1987: 11.
- ² Díaz, “Javier Navarro,” 11.
- ³ “Sanz inaugura el albergue de peregrinos de Roncesvalles,” *20 minutos*, February 25, 2011 <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/971496/0/>
- ⁴ In 2013, a Holy Year, 12.31% of pilgrims left from St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port (26,569 individuals) and many most likely stayed in Roncesvalles. 3.83% of pilgrims who reached Santiago de Compostela in the same year began their journey in Roncesvalles. For more statistics related to the 2013 Holy Year, see Santiago de Compostela’s Pilgrimage Office, <http://www.peregrinosantiago.es/esp/wp-content/uploads/informes/peregrinaciones2013.pdf>.
- ⁵ William Melczer, trans., *The Pilgrim’s Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, (New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1993), 88.
- ⁶ More on this hospital to follow.
- F. Cantera Burgos, “*Las juderías españolas y el camino de Santiago*” in *XII Semana de estudios medievales 1974*, (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1976), 90.
- ⁷ Arantza Alvarez, “Sergio Rojo recupera con maestría y contemporaneidad el Albergue Santiago Apostol de Logrono” in *diarioDesign*, March 17, 2014, <http://diariodesign.com/2014/03/sergio-rojo-recupera-con-maestria-y-contemporaneidad-el-albergue-santiago-apostol-de-logrono/>
- ⁸ Alvarez, “Sergio Rojo recupera con maestría y contemporaneidad el Albergue Santiago Apostol de Logrono.”
- ⁹ Jean Passini, “Grañon, un pueblo hecho camino” *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (26) July 1992: 14.
- ¹⁰ Passini, “Granon, un pueblo hecho camino,” 14.
- ¹¹ Cantera Burgos, “*Las juderías españolas y el camino de Santiago*,” 97.
- ¹² “Abierto el nuevo albergue de peregrinos de Burgos con 3,6 millones de inversión”, *Soitu.es*, August 8, 2008. http://www.soitu.es/soitu/2008/08/08/info/1218223647_278129.html
- ¹³ “Abierto el nuevo albergue de peregrinos de Burgos.”
- ¹⁴ “Rehabilitación de las Casas del Cubo y de los Lerma para Albergue de Peregrinos,” Spain’s Development Ministry. <http://patrimoniohistorico.fomento.es/detalleproyecto.aspx?e=00136>
- ¹⁵ “Rehabilitación de las Casas del Cubo.”
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Stuart Reid, *Wellington’s Army in the Peninsula 1809-14*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, Ltd., 2004), 94.
- ¹⁸ “Albergue del Cubo: historia y generosidad, todo en uno,” *El Correo de Burgos*, January 5, 2010. http://www.elcorreodeburgos.com/noticias/burgos/albergue-cubo-historia-generosidad-todo-uno_4053.html
- ¹⁹ Ricardo Becerro de Bengoa, *El libro de Palencia* (Palencia, 1874), 204. <https://books.google.com/books?id=8NBDAAAAYAAJ>
- ²⁰ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, San Nicolas del Real Camino total population, http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do?accion=busquedaAvanzada&entidad_amb=no&codProv=34&codMuni=109&codEC=0&codES=2&codNUC=0&L=0
- ²¹ Antolin de Cela Perez, “Foncebadón: Un hito del Camino y un proyecto con historia,” *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 0 (September 1987): 24.

²² Julio Lamazares, “Las campanas de Foncebadón” *El País*, March 26, 1993,

http://elpais.com/diario/1993/03/26/opinion/733100401_850215.html

²³ Lamazares, “Las campanas de Foncebadón.”

²⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Foncebadón total population,

http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do?accion=busquedaAvanzada&entidad_amb=no&codProv=34&codMuni=109&codEC=0&codES=2&codNUC=0&L=0

²⁵ Elias Valiña Sampedro, *El Camino de Santiago; Estudio historico-juridico*, (Spain: C.S.I.C., 1971), 103.

²⁶ Valiña Sampedro, *El Camino de Santiago*, 103.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ “Arquitectura de albergues del Camino de Santiago. Albergue de peregrinos en Pereje, Trabadelos, León,” *Urbanruta*, <http://urbanruta.com/articulos/arquitectura-de-albergues-del-camino-de-santiago-albergue-pereje>.

6 | *ALBERGUES* AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

In understanding the Camino as a cultural landscape, it becomes easier to understand how seemingly disconnected elements can affect each other. The pilgrim's walk, from town to town, is informed by the experience the pilgrim has in each *albergue*. The collective experience of the *albergue* informs the solitary walk, and vice versa. Thus the *albergues* along the route can be leveraged, through their design, in an effort to preserve the unique experience and values of the Camino. These are the same experiences and values that draw long- and short-distance pilgrims and will be discussed through the rest of this chapter.

The Camino is a cultural landscape that easily fits into two of three categories as defined by UNESCO. In keeping with the definition of an Organically Evolved Landscape, the Camino as it is known today is a product of use, past and present.¹ It exists in its present state due not only by pilgrim use, but to the natural environment through which it passes, as well as the local population that also uses the trails, paths, and roads littered with the Camino's yellow arrows. With use and the effect of natural forces, the Camino, as implied by the term Organically Evolved Landscape, is dynamic. It is this altering quality that makes this analysis of *albergues* not a study of preserving built fabric but preserving the essence of the Camino and what makes it world heritage.

The Camino also fits neatly into UNESCO's definition of an associative cultural landscape. The relationship between "religious, artistic, or cultural" use and "natural elements" at its center, the pilgrimage is a straightforward example of this variety of cultural landscape.² Just as the Camino de Santiago evolves over time,

leaving its mark on the natural and built environment, there is an inseparable link between cultural capital – the religious, artistic, and cultural – and values related to nature. However each pilgrim values the Camino, there are certain experiences that cannot be found along any other landscape, specifically because the Camino is a unique cultural landscape. While managing of the Camino cannot address every element of the expansive route, there are certain elements of the landscape that can be designed and managed to preserve the qualities of the Camino that lend it its value.

Integral to this cultural landscape and, I believe, one of those elements that can be managed to preserve the Camino and its experience, regardless of how exactly it is defined, are the *albergues* along the route. These places that accommodate pilgrims for a night are a central aspect of the Camino's landscape and thus how it is experienced. The pilgrimage can be imagined as a landscape that occupies a thin, linear space, which balloons out, not at every village and city through which the pilgrim passes, but at every point where the pilgrim stops for the night. The pattern that each pilgrim draws, a line with larger points where they rest in an *albergue*, varies between each individual. Place all these landscapes on top of each other, and one is left with the entire Camino and all the *albergues* along its route that have developed in response to the presence of the pilgrim. Thus the *albergue* is as much a part of the Camino's cultural landscape as it is responsible for supporting that landscape, the pilgrim, and the values upheld by those pilgrims.

With this in mind, nine *albergues* along the Spanish portion of the *Camino Francés* have been selected for analysis regarding their design, amenities, and experiences offered by that *albergue* (such as communal meals). The primary

sources for this analysis are site plans, floor plans, and photographs. Personal experience will also provide a point of departure in consideration of how these *albergues* support or undermine the Camino as a cultural landscape and as an experience.

The specific site in which an *albergue* – private, municipal, or parochial – is situated makes for a significant distinction in experience of the *albergue*. In other words: the *albergue's* place in the landscape is as significant as the *albergue* itself. The size of the village or city that hosts the *albergue* has an impact on the design of the *albergue* and the experience that *albergue* supports. After examining the various *albergues* situated in small villages, a characteristic of the majority of those considered here, one finds that the scale of the *albergue* also makes a significant impact on the pilgrim's experience. The distinction is so evident that it will be clear that there is a similarity between *albergues* located in large cities, regardless of what region, and the *albergues* within 100-kilometers of Santiago de Compostela.

Historical Background

Part of the reason for framing the *albergues* as the most significant element of the route – also composed of the paths, churches, bars, stores – is that the *albergue* is an integral component of the pilgrimage and is where the 100-kilometer shift is most keenly felt. *Albergues* have historical value in addition to their social value for pilgrims. While the majority are recently established, the pilgrim's *albergue* has always been an essential network of support for pilgrims.

In fact, the evolution of *albergues* is as much a part of the Camino experience as the miracles and religious devotion that provided the original fuel for

undertaking such a journey. Beginning before the Camino's golden age in the 11th century, such "institutions of hospitality" grew up in response to the presence of pilgrims moving towards Santiago de Compostela.³ These "institutions of hospitality" were known as hospitals, as well as *albergues*. The term hospital comes from the Latin *hospitalitas* and was used to "designate the house that serves to gather the poor and pilgrims for a short time."⁴

As today, *albergues* were established by a variety of groups. Religiously motivated hospitality orders, which grew up in response to pilgrims' needs, opened their own houses and mansions, which could be found along the pilgrimage route.⁵ Monasteries, on the other hand, adapted guest quarters, already a part of the monastery's complex, or used a nearby house, to provide accommodations for pilgrims.⁶ City governments established their own hospitals for these "transitory paupers."⁷

The earliest recorded examples of these hospitals, serving pilgrims as well as the poor, were located in some of the cities to be examined here: Roncesvalles, Burgos, and Santiago, amongst others.⁸ These hospitals were always connected to the local religious institution, which provided some variety of financial and staffing support. Beginning in the 11th and 12th centuries, "monarchs, religious orders, and prelates [...] promoted and maintained hospitals founded to reinforce and glorify the heritage of the compostelan pilgrimage."⁹

Monasteries themselves also had a hand in establishing hospitals and it is very likely that, without the efforts of these monasteries, the existence of many of these hospitals would be impossible.¹⁰ Tasked with charitable works, monasteries were able to open and administer these hospitals under the patronage of monarchs

and other authorities. Usually, monasteries benefitted from privileges and exemptions granted by those in power, in addition to their own contributions to the functioning of the hospital.¹¹

The monastery staffed its hospital with volunteers, who were called *hospitaleros* or *hospitaleras*. The *hospitalero* was responsible for ensuring that the hospital was fulfilling its obligation of caring for pilgrims and the poor properly.¹² The daily functioning of the hospital was the *hospitalero's* task. Despite its association with a monastery or church, the role of *hospitalero* was an office reserved for the laity. Tasks included “feeding the poor, maintaining fires, making beds, cleaning, sweeping, washing rooms, and mending linens.”¹³ These *hospitaleros* were also responsible for ensuring that beds were prepared to receive pilgrims and the poor with clean linen, and that beds for women set up separately from men.¹⁴ Santiago Dominguez Sánchez suggests that there is also an indication that beds could accommodate two people.¹⁵ There was, in all likelihood, a caretaker, in addition to the *hospitalero*, who was responsible for maintaining the hospital's buildings, though little information is available regarding responsibilities related to building maintenance.¹⁶ The *hospitalero* was responsible for the individuals that took shelter in the hospital. This responsibility for the pilgrim is still the *hospitalero/a's* most significant concern today.

In addition to Domínguez Sánchez's background on *hospitalero/as* in the Middle Ages, the author also suggests a possible floor plan for San Froilán hospital in San Isidro, in the autonomous community of León. ¹⁷

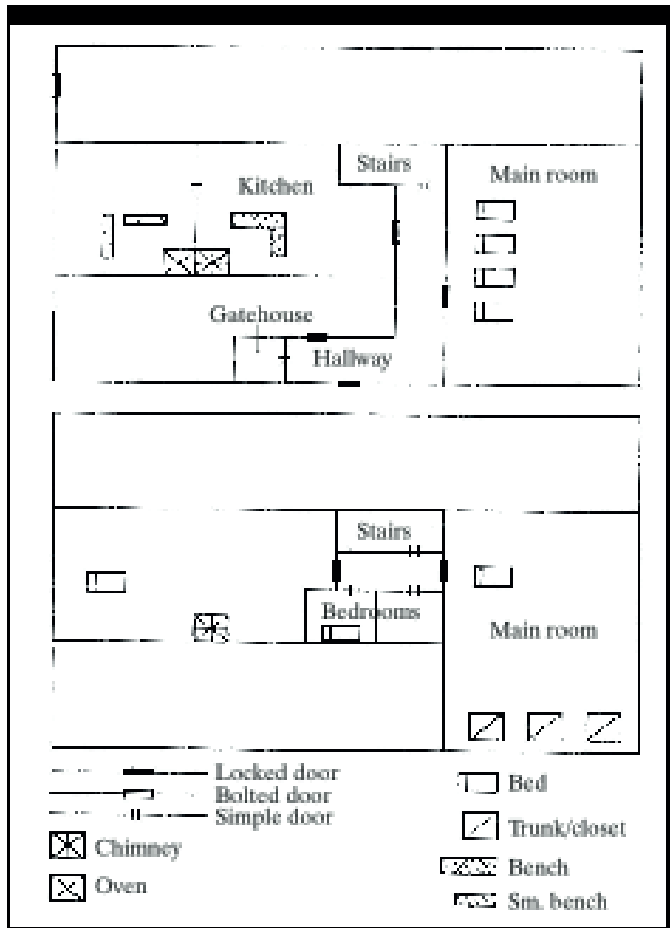


Figure 2. Possible plan of San Froilán Hospital, Domínguez Sánchez, 81.

His floor plans are a suggestion because there is little available data that describes specific examples of how these hospitals were spatially organized. Its basic layout is similar to the layout of *albergues* found along today's Camino, sharing similar characteristics and approaches to accommodating large groups of people for a night. A two-story building, San Froilán's second floor is dedicated almost entirely to shared sleeping spaces. The first floor, in addition to another shared room for

sleeping, has a kitchen and pens for animals. Though it lacks modern conveniences, it functions as the historic model for what today's *albergues* should offer at a minimum. San Froilán's plans, though of a medieval hospital, demonstrate that historically the pilgrim has required little: a place to eat and a place to sleep.

The internal organization of the *albergue* is important because it can either encourage interaction between pilgrims or isolate pilgrims. Based on the experience of each of the nine *albergues* examined here, the *albergues* that are appropriately organized are the most successful in preserving the Camino experience. These *albergues* provide space for pilgrims to share a meal, reinforce the collective yet individual experience through shared sleeping spaces, and strengthen the pilgrim's community by reinforcing trust amongst pilgrims. The pilgrimage is an intensely personal and often solitary journey, even if one walks with company. The *albergues* are where the pilgrims' community collects for the night. Thus the *albergues* stand as an opportunity to preserve the collective experience valued by pilgrims, encouraging many to repeat their pilgrimage in pursuit of experiencing that shared community.

The historic hospital is today most closely related to those referred to here as parochial *albergues*. These are *albergues* hosted by religious institutions and staffed by volunteers. Mentioned above, in the section describing each *albergue*, two of the parochial *albergues* examined here are donation based, or *donativo*, which harkens back to the hospital's history as a charitable institution. Pilgrims make a donation, at their own discretion, in exchange for a night's hospitality. The *albergues* described here as private *albergues*, often in adapted houses, are most similar to those that were run by religious hospitality orders. Run not by a religious

brotherhood but by an entrepreneur, these *albergues* are most similar to the hostels one will find as a tourist. Municipal *albergues*, as described here, are those funded by the host city and are usually partially funded by the autonomous community. Municipal *albergues* and their role in preserving the Camino will be addressed in a separate section later on.

Municipal *Albergues*

A significant departure from how *albergues* were historically run relates to tourism legislation. Today, *albergues* must conform to tourism legislation. For example, Galicia's legislation defines *albergues* as "those establishments that pertain to the group of hostels that offer shelter in shared rooms, although they may offer double or single rooms [...]." ¹⁸ This same law describes, in detail, what is expected of five star hotels, down to the placement of area rugs. ¹⁹ This is no doubt a method for maintaining a positive image of Galicia. The concern has shifted from charitable work to a positive representation of one's region. Hotel rooms are a guest's personal space and Galicia intends to make the best impression possible by offering high quality accommodations. This interest in maintaining the autonomous community's reputation is also reflected in the network of Galicia's municipal *albergues* of the Camino, though legislation related to *albergues* is nowhere near as prescriptive as it is for five star hotels. There are minimum requirements for *albergues* in Galicia, such as a kitchen with the potential for use by pilgrims. The majority of these requirements relate to what would be described as building code in the United States. ²⁰ Just as one finds variety along the entire route, the municipal *albergues* of Galicia also display a degree of variety in terms of design, yet they all

conform to the same brand, or identity, of the Camino in Galicia. This approach has an impact on the experience.

Of the nine examined here is located, Hospital da Condesa is an example of an *albergue* within Galicia's system. Located within 100-kilometers of Santiago de Compostela, this municipal is one iteration of the Galician *albergue*. Located just beyond the descent from O Cebreiro and one of the early stops along the Camino in Galicia, Hospital da Condesa offers a surprisingly small municipal *albergue*. In fact, it is the only *albergue* in the village. With a capacity of approximately 20 pilgrims, which is no doubt quickly filled each night during the Camino's peak time, the pilgrims often outnumber permanent residents in Hospital da Condesa. Writing in 1951, Elias Valiña Sampedro, a priest in O Cebreiro and a Camino scholar, recorded 16 people living in the village. Funding for renovation of the *albergue* came not from these 16 people, but from Galicia's government, who invested 100,000 euros in the *albergue* itself and another 400,000 euros in restoring and improving the route leading up to and through the village.²¹

The *albergue* itself is an adapted house that overlooks the descent from O Cebreiro. A porch, where pilgrims also wash laundry and along which are clotheslines, is where most pilgrims rest after the day's walk. The ground floor offers an up-to-date kitchen with dining room, though at the time I stayed in this *albergue*, the kitchen had no cooking equipment of any kind, making the kitchen essentially useless. A small bathroom for women and another for men are available on the ground floor, along with a space for storing boots. The second floor has a half bathroom and sleeping space with bunk beds. These bunk beds, along with the disposable sheets provided by the *hospitalera*, equip many municipal *albergues* in

Galicia. The same can be said for the bathrooms, which have clearly been designed for heavy, even abusive, use, as evidenced by the choice in fixtures and other materials (heavy plastic bathroom partitions, metal sinks).

Amenities

Albergues are expected to provide more than just sleeping quarters for today's pilgrims. As detailed in *Peregrino*, *albergues* should provide a place for pilgrims to wash and to "spend a night with dignity and simple austerity."²² In other words, modern *albergues* should be similarly equipped to San Froilán's hospital of the Middle Ages: with beds (bunked or not), benches, tables, bathrooms, showers, and sinks for washing clothes.²³ Above all, with the help of the *hospitalero/a*, the *albergue* should be kept clean.²⁴ These are the basic expectations of the pilgrim's *albergue*.

Yet the expectations of *albergues* that support today's modern pilgrimage have developed beyond the expectations of the Middle Ages. The need for a place to sleep and a place to eat, as a basic necessity for such an arduous journey, endures. Another, modern, expectation that should be demanded of the *albergue* – and is an expectation met by some – is that it provide opportunities to reinforce the Camino's experience and associated historic and social values of long-distance pilgrims. These social values are associated with the unique cultural ecosystem²⁵ that is unique to the Camino. This cultural ecosystem is part of the intangible qualities that draw pilgrims to walk to Santiago de Compostela, in addition to the spiritual and cultural values. The community that flourishes as the pilgrim moves along the Camino is

ephemeral yet is associated with pilgrimages, as described by Victor and Edith Turner.²⁶

The system of *albergues* along the route is a significant element that either supports, or undermines, this cultural ecosystem. 1993 was a Holy Year and in his article “*Nuevos Refugios*” (“New *albergues*”), Jose Ignacio Díaz reflects on the construction of accommodations geared toward the surge of pilgrims for that year. The author describes how the interior restoration of an *albergue* “has been designed to be functional and modern in that no detail has been overlooked [...]”²⁷ While the author acknowledges that with a Holy Year comes an increase in demand, Díaz criticizes new *albergues* that offer an excess of resources for pilgrims, which he describes as “a new danger along the Camino, where pilgrims develop certain expectations of *albergues* that the rest cannot satisfy.”

Here I offer an examination of the nine *albergues* and how specific elements, or amenities, impact the pilgrimage’s cultural ecosystem. Díaz alludes to these elements as “resources.” I believe that these elements do more than create unreasonable expectations. *Albergues* can be designed to reinforce the Camino’s cultural ecosystem by creating opportunities for pilgrims to share experiences. The following examination will inform recommendations regarding how *albergues* can be approached, in particular municipal *albergues*, to preserve the Caminos value and minimize the shift in experience once past the 100-kilometer mark.

A Place to Sleep

Privacy is a significant amenity to offer pilgrims, bordering on the luxurious. This reality is simply a fact of the experience. Privacy, in the form of an individual

room, is hard to find in a pilgrim's *albergue*. Of the nine *albergues* examined here, three partition the large sleeping spaces into small units: Burgos, Logroño, and Roncesvalles. The rest, it should be made clear, accommodate pilgrims in large, shared sleeping spaces. The three that partition the sleeping spaces are an interesting group, consisting of a municipal, a parochial and a private *albergue*. These also represent the three largest *albergues*, with the capacity to accommodate the most pilgrims out of the nine examined here. As such, it is no surprise that the design response would be to section off the space in order to provide an added degree of comfort.

In a departure from the other parochial *albergues*, Roncesvalles divides the sleeping spaces into pods of two bunk beds, four beds total. Grañón and Foncebadón, the other two parochial *albergues*, accommodate all pilgrims in large, shared sleeping spaces. In Foncebadón, bunk beds are allocated where there is space available. In Grañón, these sleeping spaces are found on all four stories of the *albergue*, wherever there is room to spare. In fact, the pilgrim's privacy in Grañón is limited to the dimensions of a sleeping mat, since mats are laid out so that they touch the adjacent mat. Photos of the *albergue* in Roncesvalles before work was completed in 2011 indicate that pilgrims were accommodated in one large space, where bunk beds were arranged for maximum efficiency and without partitions.



Figure 3 Anika Goldhahn, <https://theyellowarrow.wordpress.com/2013/07/06/day-2-roncesvalles-to-zubiri/>

In Burgos, the space is partitioned into rows, with a locker separating the bunk beds in each row. Despite separating the overall space, the larger sleeping spaces in Burgos are much smaller than the spaces in Roncesvalles. A significant distinction between these two *albergues*, in addition to the entity that operates each, is their location. Roncesvalles is a small village, essentially a religious campus belonging to the church. As discussed previously, its location as the first *albergue* encountered after the journey through the Pyrenees Mountains makes it a preferred stop for pilgrims. Burgos, on the other hand, is located in the center of a dense urban setting.

Similar to Burgos, the private *albergue* in Logroño is located in the dense, urban, and historic district of a city. Here the partitioned spaces are oriented similarly to those in Roncesvalles, with pods of two bunk beds that can accommodate four individuals. In addition to these partitions, which run perpendicular to the walls, are curtains, which allow for complete privacy within the pod of beds. These partitions do not meet the ceiling. In fact by sitting up on the top bunk, one can look over the partition into the other neighboring pods. The privacy here is purely visual.

That the privacy is solely visual can be said for all three *albergues* examined here. Though the partitions meet the ceiling in Roncesvalles and Burgos, there are no curtains that visually separate the pods from circulation. As one walks by, there is a clear line of sight to the beds. While executed in different manners, all three *albergues* provide a visual separation of the sleeping spaces for some privacy while sleeping, though this privacy is not complete. Noise is always a significant factor with which to contend when sharing a room with many people. While there is some potential for negatively impacting the collective nature of the experience, this is somewhat mitigated by hearing one's sleeping neighbor in the adjacent pod. The visual partitioning of the space does undermine the social quality of sharing a sleeping space by creating opportunities for theft. The potential for theft points to distrust amongst pilgrims, undermining the cultural ecosystem. This distrust is further reinforced with lockers and electrical outlets, which will be discussed later.

To contrast with the three examined above, San Nicolas del Real Camino and Lorca also offer smaller sleeping quarters for pilgrims. Both of these *albergues* are privately operated, adaptively reused houses. While both accommodate pilgrims in small rooms, neither are considered with the three *albergues* above in regard to

partitioning a large sleeping space because these *albergues* did not begin with large sleeping spaces. Lorca's interior spaces are most likely as they were when the *hospitalero* was a child growing up in the house. San Nicolas del Real Camino is similar, though alterations, such as the renovation of the bathroom to accommodate several individuals at once, are obvious. Yet the use of smaller rooms in Lorca and San Nicolas del Real Camino, with doors, is different in effect than the partitions in the three *albergues* at the focus of this section. It should be noted that these doors do not lock and the pilgrim does not receive a room key upon arrival.

Instead of supporting the communal nature of the Camino, the partitions further encourage pilgrims to conceive of themselves as individuals, and not as a player within the experience and as a participant within the landscape of the pilgrimage. In Burgos, Logroño, and Roncesvalles, the pilgrim arrives and is provided the equivalent of a berth on a train. That there are other *albergues*, in particular Foncebadón and Grañón which offer the sparsest sleeping accommodations, that sleep pilgrims in one large space, indicates that it is acceptable and part of the experience of this route. The simplest and most humble *albergues* are the most successful in reinforcing the values and experience of the Camino.

A Place to Eat

The communal meal experience in an *albergue* is an experience offered only by pilgrim's *albergues* and reinforces the cultural and social values of the Camino. This shared dinner, in which all pilgrims sit to dine together, around the same table, is not a given at each *albergue*. It should be said that not every pilgrim staying in

that *albergue* for that night must participate. But the majority of pilgrims do participate because to comfortably dine and converse with strangers, where it is easy to connect because of the shared journey, is a rare experience. Though it is easy to find along the route, it is not offered everywhere.

The two *albergues* that offer a meal in which pilgrims cook and wash, in addition to eating together, are Grañón and Foncebadón. As the floor plans for each *albergue* reflect, there is a kitchen that is easily accessible. In Grañón, depending on where one has been assigned to sleep, some pilgrims must pass the kitchen in order to reach their sleeping mats. In Foncebadón, the only access to the sleeping space is through the kitchen. Clearly kitchens in both *albergues* are centrally located, adjacent to the spaces used by pilgrims to either rest or, when it is time, to share dinner. In addition to being parochial, both *albergues* are *donativo*, where a night's stay is paid with a donation and dinner is included. Despite the sparse character of both of these *albergues*, and the lack of amenities offered by others (partitioned spaces, electrical outlets, lockers, modernized facilities), many pilgrims opt to spend a night in these two *albergues* because they are uniquely of the Camino. As mentioned, pilgrims highly value the collective, yet individual, experience of the Camino. Grañón and Foncebadón, in their design – which harkens back to San Isidro's plan, above – reinforce the pilgrims' experience and community in collectively preparing and sharing a meal.

The third parochial *albergue* examined here, in Roncesvalles, also offers a communal meal, though because of the amount of pilgrims accommodated it is difficult for over one hundred people to eat at the same time, let alone prepare a meal together. A pilgrim's meal is offered, but pilgrims must purchase a ticket in

advance due to space limitations. There are two dinner hours available, which takes place in a restaurant. Although the long table around which all eat is absent, there is opportunity to share a meal and have an exchange with pilgrims who were, until that moment, strangers.

Lorca, the only private *albergue* that offers a communal meal is similar to those in Foncebadón and Grañón, except it is not communally prepared nor is it included in the cost of a bed. The meal is prepared by the owner/*hospitalero*, who determines when dinner is served, and yet it takes on a similar character as those dinners in Grañón and Foncebadón. In Lorca, all are arranged around one long table and most of those staying in the *albergue* are present. In contrast to Roncesvalles, the size of the *albergue* allows for this gathering. Yet since dinner is not collectively prepared and then cleaned up, the dinner does lack a certain social value that is felt in the two *albergues* previously mentioned. It lacks the experience of collaborating with other pilgrims to accomplish a task.

Despite the specific detail of each *albergue's* meal, the fact that these experiences are offered reinforce the unique qualities of the Camino. Due to the nature of the route, in which pilgrims rediscover each other many times, shared dinners reinforce the community itself. It provides an opportunity for new connections between pilgrims to form, thus connecting the pilgrim to the experience. It is also important to note that none of these *albergues* are within 100-kilometers of Santiago de Compostela. An opportunity to reverse the shift in experience is to provide communal meals. Yet, as a recommendation for management and or preservation approaches to the Camino, shared meals can only be suggested.

Lockers

In addition to the partitioned sleeping spaces, these three same *albergues* also offer lockers for storing backpacks and/or small valuables. Just as they offer similar sleeping arrangements, the *albergues* in Roncesvalles and Burgos both offer a locker adjacent to the pilgrim's assigned bed. The locker comes with a lock and key, available to the pilgrim free of charge. In the private *albergue* in Logroño, there are small, mail box sized lockers, where pilgrims can secure phones, cameras, passports, and so on.

The lockers are a convenience and no doubt provide a degree of peace of mind. This is especially felt in the *albergues* located in large cities: Burgos and Logroño. In the particular case of Logroño, this added measure of security seems to be a greater necessity since this *albergue* welcomes tourists who are not on the pilgrimage. Yet, as an examination of how the various *albergues* contribute to or detract from the experience of the Camino, the presence of lockers undermines this collective experience.

In particular, this undermining of the communal trust applies to Roncesvalles. As an early stop on the Camino, approximately 800 kilometers from Santiago de Compostela, this parochial *albergue* is isolated. The majority of individuals one meets in Roncesvalles are fellow pilgrims. Thus the need for lockers undermines the trust that should instead begin to grow amongst this community that will be traveling together for 800 kilometers. That is not to suggest that pilgrims should not be vigilant. There will always be someone ready to take advantage of a situation. But as trust grows, the community will look out for itself.

To further illustrate this idea of trust between pilgrims is the practice of leaving one's backpack as a placeholder while waiting in line for an *albergue* to open. If it is acceptable to leave one's pack unattended, then the availability of lockers inside an *albergue* suggests that perhaps one's fellow pilgrims are not to be trusted. This demonstrates that within the community there are respected codes of behavior.

Electrical Outlets

Easy access to electrical outlets, though physically small and not often considered, is another amenity indicative of an *albergue's* contribution to the Camino. In this case, the amenity is not directly related to the experience of the Camino, but, like the partitioning of sleeping space, it does point to an *albergue* that as Jose Ignacio Díaz expressed, offers more than necessary, and is thus a detriment to the experience.²⁸ It is no surprise then that the *albergues* that provide an outlet by each bed are the recently renovated *albergues*, Roncesvalles and Burgos. These are the *albergues* that seek not only to make an impression on the pilgrim in the hopes of enticing a later visit from the pilgrim as a tourist, but are the ones that have been adapted to modern travel and the need to charge a device every night. Roncesvalles and Burgos have both been designed not only with 21st century sensibilities of privacy, but also with 21st century needs for constant connection and communication. Thus, in addition to a mattress that is somewhat screened from view and a storage locker, each pilgrim is granted a plug. As a result, these *albergues* begin to take on the appearance, not of a pilgrim's *albergue* but of a tourist's hostel. While there is nothing wrong with the tourist's hostel, the pilgrimage experience implies a degree of simplicity and modesty. Just as the

pilgrim carries the basics in a backpack, the *albergue* can offer the basics and thus reinforce the experience of the pilgrimage.

It is worth noting that in Hospital da Condesa, a municipal *albergue* that, as in Burgos, seeks to positively represent its village and region, does not offer a plug for every pilgrim. The *albergue's* design does not indicate any effort to provide easy access to power. One can often find a pilgrim sitting by a phone as it charges. The distinct attitude toward providing ample opportunities for charging devices points to an overall attitude in design of the *albergue*. On one side of the spectrum are the *albergues* that have been constructed to accommodate pilgrims in a simple and modest manner, as Díaz suggests they ought to be, yet do so in a wholesale manner, with little consideration regarding the impact of the *albergue* on the cultural landscape.²⁹ On the other side, is the overly designed *albergue*, meant to impress and as well as shelter pilgrims. These too impact the cultural landscape by further reinforcing the break in the Camino's cultural landscape.

Gardens

The availability of a private garden for pilgrims to rest is another amenity that goes beyond the pilgrim's needs. Of the nine *albergues* examined here, only two offer private gardens. Surprisingly one, San Nicolas del Real Camino, is private and the other, Pereje, is a municipal *albergue*. The character of each is quite different, though in this examination of the *albergues* as a significant element in the landscape, the gardens function similarly.

As described previously, the garden in San Nicolas del Real Camino is an unexpected spot of greenery in an otherwise yellow and brown portion of the

Camino. At this section, the route is colored by wheat fields and mud construction, of which this private *albergue* is also constructed. This garden, as demonstrated by its lush grass, is well maintained and is intended as a space for guests to enjoy. This is also where a sink is available for washing clothes in addition to space for hanging wet laundry. With its large umbrellas and potted flowers, the garden seems more of a getaway than a stop along a pilgrimage.

Yet, despite the feeling that one has escaped the neutral tones of the route for an evening, because of the village's size (population: 43, in 2014³⁰) and the reality that only pilgrims stay in this private *albergue*, this *albergue* does its share in preserving the pilgrim's experience along the Camino. Despite the luxury of such an outdoor space, there is little else to do in the village and the summer climate makes the garden more attractive than the street. In addition to the garden's attractiveness, it is a space similar to the experience of a communal meal: lawn chairs and tables must be shared and so conversation and experiences are also shared.

In Pereje, one finds larger outdoor space, a kind of backyard for the house that hosts the *albergue*. This town is no longer in the *meseta* and, as previously described, is located in a verdant valley. Yet the generous garden behind the *albergue* is unusual. With a fountain for cooling one's feet and two outdoor fire pits with generous seating surrounding, there are spaces for pilgrims to interact. The outdoor spaces created for this *albergue* communicate a genuine understanding of and concern for pilgrims. While the fire pits were not used while I stayed at this *albergue*, cinders indicated that these spaces were indeed used by guests. I understood that these pits were used in the spring and fall, when the evenings are

cooler, no doubt an opportunity for pilgrims walking the Camino in the off-season, to come together as at a communal meal.

Renovation and Construction

As the above analysis intends to demonstrate, the *albergues* along the Camino play a significant role in the experience of the Camino and how it is valued. The Associations of Friends of the Camino de Santiago offer strategies for strengthening the existing network of *albergues*. Development of *albergues* should be aimed at “restoring historic hospitals, many of which are currently in ruins [...], renovating existing *albergues* that are historically connected to the Camino, and establishing areas that are in need of an *albergue*.”³¹ The suggested maximum distance between *albergues* is 20 to 25 kilometers, equal to a full day’s walk.³² Before any work can be done to existing *albergues*, according to Galicia’s tourism legislation, alterations or expansions to hospitality establishments must first be approved by the corresponding center of tourism.³³ There are grants available for financing these projects within Galicia from the autonomous community’s tourism administration, “as a mean for stimulating and promoting tourism” within the region.³⁴ For example, Mansilla’s local government received a grant of 5,600 euros in order to improve accessibility to their *albergue*’s patio and bathrooms.³⁵

The Spanish government’s *1.5% Cultura* program has also benefitted the route. With its designation as a cultural itinerary, the Camino can benefit from the program’s goal of funding public projects. Burgos’s municipal *albergue* received 50% of its renovation budget from the *1.5% Cultura* program and the other 50% from Castille and León, the autonomous community.

In anticipation of 1993's Holy Year, Galicia's government expanded the network of *albergues* in a manner that represented "a radical change in accommodations for pilgrims in Galicia."³⁶ Some of these new *albergues* have been praised for their design, others have been criticized for demonstrating a lack in relationship to the built context.³⁷ Established by the region's government, the *albergues* constructed in response to a Holy Year are "a kind of island, without any relationship to their environment, managed by the Galician super-bureaucracy."³⁸

This disconnect between the *albergue* and the surrounding context – of Camino and of the physical environment – could be a result of Galicia's undirected attitude to the *albergue*. In Galicia's policy related to tourism, the pilgrim's *albergue* merits two sentences. The first sentence explains that the pilgrim's *albergues* is legally categorized as a tourist's *albergue* or hostel. The second sentence clarifies that this legislation, in regulating the Camino's *albergues*, will be mindful that these *albergues* are not meant to capture huge profits.³⁹ The law does not prescribe a particular approach to these *albergues* nor does it make any mention of the historic and social value of these *albergues*. They are viewed purely as businesses related to tourism. That the *albergue* is viewed in relation to the tourism industry is reflected in Galicia's uniform, almost franchise-like, approach to their *albergue* network.

Chapter Endnotes

¹ Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, Introduction to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 8.

² Alanen and Melnick. Introduction to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, 8.

³ “Los Hospitales,” *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 30 (May 1993): 16.

⁴ Maria Luisa Palacio Sanchez-Izquierdo, “Hospitales de peregrinos en Carrion de los Condes” in *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 126.

⁵ Horacio Santiago-Otero, introduction to *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 13.

⁶ Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, “San Isidro y hospitalidad: El hospital de San Froilán en los siglos XV y XVI” in *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 74.

⁷ Santiago-Otero, introduction, 13.

⁸ Augusto Quintana Prieto, in *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, offers a short analysis of the amount of *albergues* in Astorga as a means for “measuring the warmth of a town’s welcome to pilgrims” in the Middle Ages. (107) Only Burgos, writes Quintana Prieto, exceeds the amount of *albergues* in number, 25 to 22. (108) Though the author does concede that these 22 *albergues* probably did not exist simultaneously, Quintana Prieto still offers the following data: For every 60 inhabitants in Astorga, there was an *albergue* or hospital. (109) Over a third of Astorga’s population of 2,624 was dependent on hospitals and the economic flows they produced. (110) In Burgos, to contrast, only 5.4% of the population was dependent on hospitals.

“Su hospitalidad,” *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 8 (May 1989): 17.

⁹ “Su hospitalidad,” 17.

¹⁰ Maria Luisa Palacio Sanchez-Izquierdo, “Hospitales de peregrinos en Carrión de los Condes” in *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), 129.

Domínguez Sánchez, “San Isidro y hospitalidad,” 76.

¹¹ Domínguez Sánchez, “San Isidro y hospitalidad,” 74.

¹² Today, the volunteers who staff *albergues* are also called *hospitalero/a*. In order to qualify as a *hospitalero/a*, one must first have walked the Camino as a pilgrim and then complete the required training. The work is strictly voluntary and one is compensated with room and board. Responsibilities are the same as those of the *hospitalero/a* of the Middle Ages. For more information, see the American Pilgrims on the Camino website:

http://www.americanpilgrims.com/camino/hospitaleros.html#Hospitalero_APOC_training

¹³ Domínguez Sánchez, “San Isidro y hospitalidad,” 79.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁸ Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social y Turismo, Decree 267/1999, “Decreto 267/1999, de 30 de septiembre, por el que se establece la ordenación de los establecimientos hoteleros,” Sept. 30, 1999,

http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/1999/19991018/AnuncioFE26_es.html.

¹⁹ Decree 267/1999.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

-
- ²¹ “Cultura habilita 80 nuevas plazas en albergues del Camino Francés en Lusia y Hospital da Condesa,” *La Voz de Galicia*, April 4, 2010.
http://www.lavozdegalicia.es/lugo/2010/04/04/0003_8394743.htm
- ²² “Albergues y refugios en el Camino de Santiago; Ponencia presentada por las Asociaciones de Palencia, Lugo, Zaragoza y Burgos” in *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 2 (March 1998), 3.
- ²³ “Albergues y refugios en el Camino de Santiago,” 3.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ David Throsby, “Cultural capital”, in *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*, ed. Ruth Towse (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003), 167.
- ²⁶ For more information, see my discussion on tourism and *communitas*.
- ²⁷ Jose Ignacio Díaz, “Nuevos refugios,” *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (30) May 1993: 6.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, San Nicolas del Real Camino total population,
http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do?accion=busquedaAvanzada&entidad_amb=no&codProv=34&codMuni=109&codEC=0&codES=2&codNUC=0&L=0
- ³¹ “Albergues y refugios en el Camino de Santiago,” 3.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ Decree 267/1999.
- ³⁴ Presidencia de la Xunta de Galicia, Law 14/2008, “Ley 14/2008, de 27 de octubre, del turismo de Galicia,” Oct. 27, 2011,
http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2011/20111111/AnuncioC3B0-041111-8318_es.html.
- ³⁵ “Tres albergues del Camino recibirán un subvención de 17.300 euros”, *Diario de León*, July 7, 2003, http://www.diariodeleon.es/noticias/castillayleon/tres-albergues-camino-recibiran-subvencion-17-300-euros_91949.html.
- ³⁶ Jose Ignacio Díaz, “Nuevos refugios,” *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (30) May 1993: 6.
- ³⁷ Díaz, “Nuevos refugios,” 6.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ “Disposición adicional quinta. Albergues de peregrinos de los caminos de Santiago,” Ley 7/2011, de 27 de octubre, del Turismo de Galicia. <http://legislacion.derecho.com/ley-7-2011-del-turismo-de-galicia-3888480#A74>

7 | LESSONS LEARNED & RECOMMENDATIONS

The above analysis illustrates that, despite their differences, there are major characteristics in common across the nine *albergues* along the Camino. They share certain qualities because they are all a part of the Camino's cultural landscape, shaped by pilgrims, past and present. The constantly evolving pilgrimage route is composed of the *albergues*, the villages and cities the pilgrim walks through, the solitary paths through forests and fields, and the community of pilgrims that persistently flows to the west, to Santiago de Compostela.

As a stopping point along this landscape – where pilgrims commingle for the evening before continuing on at dawn – *albergues* offer an ideal opportunity for reinforcing the unique experience of the Camino, cherished by pilgrims. In addition to its historic value, wherein pilgrims feel connected to its medieval past, the Camino has social value that springs from a simultaneously individual and communal experience. I have personally observed how pilgrims connect with each other in sharing similar experiences that each had thought to be unique. There is a powerful lesson in learning that one's experiences and pains are in fact shared by others. The discovery of a shared, human experience happens in the *albergue*. Thus the *albergue* becomes an essential element in protecting the Camino. The experience and the values are what attract many pilgrims to undertake their first pilgrimage, some of whom repeat the pilgrimage many times throughout their lives. All in an effort to repeat such an experience that cannot be found elsewhere.

With the understanding that *albergues* can be designed to either preserve or destroy the Camino's experience, the disjuncture in experience within the 100-

kilometer radius of Santiago de Compostela can be alleviated by rethinking the *albergues*, especially in Galicia. As demonstrated above, an essential component is to promote the renovation or construction of *albergues* on a small scale. Instead of devoting efforts to providing as many beds as possible, concentrated in only a few sites, constructing *albergues* that are small in scale and reinforce the values of the Camino should be prioritized. This is especially important during Holy Years, when the number of pilgrims surges, especially at the 100-kilometer minimum.¹ With such an extreme jump in pilgrim together all at once on the Camino, degradation of the experience is inevitable. Aesthetic carrying capacity is exceeded. Yet this recommendation with regard to size, and the following recommendations, can help alleviate friction between long- and short-distance pilgrims.

Upon analysis of the chosen *albergues*, there is a similarity between the hostels found within 100-kilometer and the larger *albergues*. This reinforces that size is a significant factor in the *albergue's* success. In fact, a smaller *albergue* located within the 100-kilometer threshold is better suited to preserving the Camino's cultural ecosystem than are the larger *albergues*. The hostels located in large cities, or those hostels that are at a point where the majority of pilgrims stop for the night, such as Roncesvalles, must deal with the same issues found within 100 km: large numbers of people that make it challenging for exchange and conversation to occur. This points to the carrying capacity of the *albergue*. An *albergue* can be so big before cultural capital is lost and it resembles a tourist's hostel instead of a pilgrim's *albergue*. The intimacy of the shared space disappears.

Based on the above examination, the nine *albergues* suggest that an *albergue's* maximum carrying capacity, when all beds are occupied, is approximately

50 pilgrims. This estimate derives from the *albergues'* capacities, with a special focus on Foncebadón and Grañón. Grañón, at 50, is much larger than Foncebadón, which has approximately 25 beds. Though Grañón is on the larger side for an *albergue*, its size is mitigated by the pilgrim's dinner, previously discussed. Thus, if an *albergue* will offer an amount of beds nearing 50 or more, it is recommended that a communal meal be offered to overcome issues that arise with an excess of carrying capacity.

Offering a meal is one method for reinforcing the Camino experience, though it certainly cannot be made mandatory. What can be recommended is that cities and *albergues* within the 100-kilometer radius to Santiago de Compostela take a deliberate accommodation that supports the pilgrim's valuation of the Camino. If interested in conserving the cultural capital of the Camino, the municipality should consider developing smaller *albergues* that can accommodate smaller groups of pilgrims. Municipalities should be concerned with the Camino's cultural capital. It is what brings pilgrims back for repeat journeys. Taking a decided interest in preserving the Camino's experience could be the difference between adaptively reusing existing homes and building large hostels on the edges of the town. In addition to providing a smaller setting for an *albergue*, an adaptively reused home – as seen in Lorca and San Nicolas del Real Camino – the pilgrim has an opportunity to experience local, even historic, architecture. In addition to reinforcing social value, adaptive reuse has the potential to reinforce historic value.

In addition to the benefits of a small size to those pilgrims who will occupy the *albergue*, a smaller *albergue* will also limit exactly who makes use of that establishment. As demonstrated in Logroño, sharing an *albergue* with tourists

creates conflict between tourist and pilgrim. Tourists and pilgrims follow different rules for interacting with each other and in wrapping up the day. The goals and values of a tourist are not that of a pilgrim. While a tourist may be keen to experience, for example, Logroño's nightlife, the pilgrim is concerned with resting and preparing for the following day. Conflict in values between the two groups can result in pilgrim getting in the way of the tourist and vice versa. This potential for conflict is yet another reason to maintain *albergues* that are small and reserved specifically for the pilgrim.

A small *albergue* with 100-kilometers of Santiago de Compostela would also mitigate the overwhelming impact of short-distance pilgrims, who have not and will not adapt to the Camino and its community's unspoken rules. There is no way to alter this reality. With only three days of walking until the pilgrim reaches Santiago, the short-distance pilgrim does not have enough time to adapt to the cultural ecosystem. In a small *albergues*, the long-distance pilgrim may have more leeway in acting as a kind of example for the short-distance pilgrim. This would also greatly benefit the long-distance pilgrim, who is otherwise overtaken by the surge in short-distance pilgrims. A small *albergue* will lessen the impact of the increase in short-distance pilgrims with which long-distance pilgrims must cope once she/he is 100-kilometers from the end.

In addition to the amount of of pilgrims an *albergue* can accommodate, the most significant recommendation for *albergue* design is, above all, to keep it simple. This applies to every aspect of the *albergue*, but is especially apt for the floor plan. The simpler the *albergue's* layout, the more effective for preservation of the Camino's experience. Within a smaller *albergue*, pilgrims do not need to be

separated into smaller rooms. There is no need for a room for storing boots, a room for preparing meals, or a room for reading. In accommodating pilgrims in mixed-use spaces, there are more opportunities for spontaneous interactions. Despite the significant difference in size, a comparison between the floor plans for Roncesvalles and those of Foncebadón illustrate that the pilgrim does not need, or expect, spaces that are specifically programmed.

This simple approach to the floor plan is especially relevant with regard to sleeping spaces. Pilgrims do not need to be accommodated in small rooms. In sharing a sleeping space with fifteen to twenty other pilgrims, perhaps less, as would be encountered in a small *albergue*, the pilgrim is reminded that the pilgrimage is a shared journey as much as it is an individual one. Each person in the dormitory shares a similar goal, regardless of individual nationality, religion, or gender. In sharing an intimate space, where one sleeps, the pilgrim's community and the Camino's cultural capital is further reinforced by the respect and consideration required when sharing sleeping quarters. In simple terms, do not partition sleeping spaces.

Another method for keeping the *albergue* simple is to avoid offering each pilgrim a locker. The presence of the locker, to protect one's backpack in the evening, gets in the way of reinforcing the communal experience of the Camino. Lockers imply that it is unwise to trust one's fellow pilgrim. It also implies that it is not necessary for pilgrims to look out for each other, even though each pilgrim would instantly understand the heartbreak of having one's pack stolen. One must always be mindful of the situation and of one's possession, whether one is a pilgrim, a tourist, or commuting to work. Thus the presence of lockers in the *albergue* is not

necessary. In a small *albergue*, lockers also become unnecessary because it will be easier to recognize who is a true pilgrim and who is looking for opportunities for theft. The issue of trust is an important one as it also relates to the point above regarding sharing sleeping quarters. Sharing a bunk with a stranger and a room with even more strangers implies a degree of trust. If lockers are necessary, the *albergue* thus suggests that these stranger pilgrims should not be trusted, even to share sleeping quarters.

Access to electrical outlets for charging devices should also be kept simple. It is helpful to offer an opportunity for charging, but a plug by each bed is excessive. While most pilgrims carry a phone during their journey, in making a few electrical outlets available that must be shared reminds pilgrims that the journey is not about staying connected, but about focusing on the journey. Similar to sharing sleeping quarters, the shared outlets further reiterate the shared experience. Every pilgrim wants to keep friends and family updated as to their whereabouts, and in having to share a limited resource – in this case plugs – are yet again forced to trust each to use this resource in moderation.

As demonstrated, the *albergues* throughout the Camino are an integral element of the cultural landscape. Despite a wide variety of design across the nine *albergues* at the focus of this analysis, each *albergue* offers its own lessons in shaping and preserving the experience of the Camino. *Urbanruta* succinctly frames the relationship between the *albergue* the pilgrim: “The *albergue* is does not seek ostentation. It is local architecture that is adapted to each context and is characterized by a humility that honors the philosophy of the Camino of Santiago,

where the most important thing is the pilgrim. The pilgrim is the essence of the Camino, and not the other way around.”²

¡Buen camino!

Chapter Endnotes

¹ In 2010, the most recent Holy Year, over 237,000 pilgrims walked into Santiago de Compostela. In 2013, this number fell to just over 188,000 pilgrims. Statistics available from the Pilgrim's Office of Santiago de Compostela, <http://peregrinossantiago.es/esp/servicios-al-peregrino/informes-estadistico>.

² "Arquitectura de albergues del Camino de Santiago. Albergue de peregrinos en Pereje, Trabadelos, León," *Urbanruta*, <http://urbanruta.com/articulos/arquitectura-de-albergues-del-camino-de-santiago-albergue-pereje>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “Abierto el nuevo albergue de peregrinos de Burgos con 3,6 millones de inversión.” *Soitu.es*. August 8, 2008.
http://www.soitu.es/soitu/2008/08/08/info/1218223647_278129.html
- Alanen, Arnold R. and Robert Z. Melnick. Introduction to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 1-21.
- “Albergue del Cubo: historia y generosidad, todo en uno.” *El Correo de Burgos*. January 5, 2010. http://www.elcorreodeburgos.com/noticias/burgos/albergue-cubo-historia-generosidad-todo-uno_4053.html
- “Albergues y refugios en el Camino de Santiago; Ponencia presentada por las Asociaciones de Palencia, Lugo, Zaragoza y Burgos” in *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 2 (March 1998).
- Alvarez, Arantza. “Sergio Rojo recupera con maestría y contemporaneidad el Albergue Santiago Apostol de Logrono.” *diarioDesign*. March 17, 2014.
<http://diariodesign.com/2014/03/sergio-rojo-recupera-con-maestria-y-contemporaneidad-el-albergue-santiago-apostol-de-logrono/>
- Arizpe, Lourdes. “The Ritual Promise: Why People Value Social Ritual.” In *Beyond Price, Value in Culture, Economics and the Arts*. eds. Michael Hutter and David Throsby. (New York: Cambridge Press, 2008): 141-158
- “Arquitectura de albergues del Camino de Santiago. Albergue de peregrinos en Pereje, Trabadelos, León.” *Urbanruta*.
<http://urbanruta.com/articulos/arquitectura-de-albergues-del-camino-de-santiago-albergue-pereje>.
- Avrami, Erica, Randall Mason, and Marta De la Torre. *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute, December 1998*. (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1999).
- Becerro de Bengoa, Ricardo. *El libro de Palencia* (Palencia, 1874). 204.
<https://books.google.com/books?id=8NBDAAAAYAAJ>
- Birnbaum, Charles A. *Preservation Briefs 36 Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*. (Washington, DC, National Park Service: 1994).
- Boissevain, Jeremy. “Coping with Mass Cultural Tourism: Structure Strategies.” In *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*. ed. Sharon Bohn Gelch. (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004): 253-266.
- Bonet, Lluís. “Cultural Tourism.” In *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*. ed. Ruth Towse. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003).
- Brantom, Jane. “Hadrian’s Wall Tourism Partnership.” In *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian’s Wall as World Heritage*. eds. Peter G. Stone and David Brough. (New York: Springer, 2014): 33-45.

- Bratton, Susan Power. *The Spirit of the Appalachian Trail: Community, Environment, and Belief on a Long-Distance Hiking Path*. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2012).
- Breeze, David J. "The Archaeology, History and Significance of Hadrian's Wall." In *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage*. ed. Peter G. Stone and David Brough. (New York: Springer, 2014): 9-13.
- _____ and Brian Dobson. "Hadrian's Wall: Some Problems." *Britannia*, Vol. 3 (1972): 182-208.
- Briedenhann, Jenny and Eugenia Wickens. "Tourism Routes as a Tool for the Economic Development of Rural Areas – Vibrant Hope or Impossible Dream?" *Tourism Management* 25 (2004): 71-79.
<http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0261517703000633>
- Cantera Burgos, F. "*Las juderías españolas y el camino de Santiago*." In *XII Semana de estudios medievales 1974*. (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1976): 76-119.
- Cela Perez, Antolin de. "Foncebadón; Un hito del Camino y un proyecto con historia." *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 0 (September 1987): 24.
- Cheek, Jr., Neil H. "Some Social and Behavioral Aspects of Long Trails - Theoretical Issues." In *Long Distance Trails; The Appalachian Trail as a Guide to Future Research and Management Needs*. ed. William R. Burch, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979): 40-42.
- Clark, Kate. "Values in Cultural Resource Management." In *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010).
- Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social y Turismo, Decree 267/1999, "Decreto 267/1999, de 30 de septiembre, por el que se establece la ordenación de los establecimientos hoteleros." September 30, 1999.
http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/1999/19991018/AnuncioFE26_es.html.
- Cook, Robert. "Is Landscape Preservation an Oxymoron?" *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Aug 1991): 195-199.
- "Cultura habilita 80 nuevas plazas en albergues del Camino Frances en Lusio y Hospital da Condesa." *La Voz de Galicia*. April 4, 2010.
http://www.lavozdeg Galicia.es/lugo/2010/04/04/0003_8394743.htm
- Domínguez Sánchez, Santiago. "San Isidro y hospitalidad: El hospital de San Froilán en los siglos XV y XVI." In *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero. (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992).
- Díaz, José Ignacio. "Javier Navarro; 15 años como hospitalero de Roncesvalles." *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (0) September 1987: 11.
- _____. "Nuevos refugios." *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (30) May 1993: 6.

- “Disposición adicional quinta. Albergues de peregrinos de los caminos de Santiago.”
Ley 7/2011, de 27 de octubre, del Turismo de Galicia.
<http://legislacion.derecho.com/ley-7-2011-del-turismo-de-galicia-3888480#A74>
- Feinberg, Ellen O. *Following the Milky Way: A Pilgrimage Across Spain*. (Ames: Iowa State Press, 1989).
- Francaviglia, Richard. “Selling Heritage Landscapes.” In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 44-69.
- Gmelch, Sharon Bohn. “Why Tourism Matters.” In *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*. ed. Sharon Bohn Gmelch (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004): 3-21.
- Graburn, Nelson H. H. “Secular Ritual: A General Theory of Tourism.” In *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*. ed. Sharon Bohn Gmelch. (Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 2004): 23-34.
- Hall, Derek. “Transport Tourism; Travelling through heritage and contemporary recreation.” In *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005): 89-98.
- Hardesty, Donald L. “Ethnographic Landscapes; Transforming Nature into Culture.” In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 169-185.
- Hayden, Dolores. Foreword in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): vii-ix.
- Holtorf, Cornelius. “Heritage Values in Contemporary Popular Culture.” In *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010).
- “Los Hospitales.” *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 30 (May 1993).
- “Su hospitalidad.” *Peregrino; Boletín del Camino de Santiago* 8 (May 1989).
- Howett, Catherine. “Integrity as a Value in Cultural Landscape Preservation.” In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 186-207.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Foncebadón total population,
http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do?accion=busquedaAvanzada&entidad_amb=no&codProv=34&codMuni=109&codEC=0&codES=2&codNUC=0&L=0
- _____. San Nicolas del Real Camino total population,
http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do?accion=busquedaAvanzada&entidad_amb=no&codProv=34&codMuni=109&codEC=0&codES=2&codNUC=0&L=0
- Jackson, J.B. “To Pity the Plumage and Forget the Dying Bird.” In *Landscape in Sight*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

- King, Anthony W. "Considerations of Scale and Hierarchy." In *Ecological Integrity and the Management of Ecosystems*. eds. Stephen Woodley, James Kay, and George Francis. (Waterloo: St. Lucie Press, 1993): 19-45.
- Klamer, Arjo. "The Value of Culture." In *The Value of Culture: On the Relationship between Economics and Arts*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).
- Lamazares, Julio. "Las campanas de Foncebadon." *El País*, March 26, 1993, http://elpais.com/diario/1993/03/26/opinion/733100401_850215.html.
- Ley 14/2008, de 27 de octubre, del turismo de Galicia*. Presidencia de la Xunta de Galicia Oct. 27, 2011, http://www.xunta.es/dog/Publicados/2011/20111111/AnuncioC3B0-041111-8318_es.html.
- Loomis, John B. *Integrated Public Land Management: Principles and Applications to National Forests, Parks, Wildlife Refuges, and BLM Lands*. (New York: Columbia Press, 1993).
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Mason, Randall, Margaret G.H. MacLean, and Marta de la Torre. "Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site." In *Heritage Values in Site Management: Four Case Studies*. (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2003).
- _____. "Social Values, Heritage Values, and Strengthening Conservation." In *Reflections on Preventative Conservation, Maintenance and Monitoring of Monuments and Sites by the PRECOMOS UNESCO Chair*. eds. Koenraad Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande. (Leuven: Acco, 2013): 30-35
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).
- McGlade, David. "Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail and the World Heritage Site. A Case Study in Heritage Access Management." In *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage*. ed. Peter G. Stone and David Brough. (New York: Springer, 2014): 47-61.
- Melczer, William, trans. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*. (New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1993).
- Melnick, Robert Z. "Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation." In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. eds. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 22-44.
- Messenger, Phyllis Mauch, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. Introduction to *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*, ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger et al. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010): 18.

- Morgan, David W., Nancy I.M. Morgan, Brenda Barrett, and Suzanne Copping. "From National to Local: Intangible Values and the Decentralization of Heritage Management in the United States." In *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010).
- Murray, Judith Buckley. *Appalachian Trail Users in the Southern National Forests: Their Characteristics, Attitudes, and Management Preferences*. USDA Forest Service Research Paper SE-116. July 1974.
- Novelli, Marina and Angela Benson "Niche Tourism: A Way Forward to Sustainability?" In *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005): 248-250.
- Olmstead, Frederick Law. "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove." In *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*. ed. Lary M. Dilsaver (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994): 12-27.
- Passini, Jean. "Grañon, un pueblo hecho camino." *Peregrino: Boletín del Camino de Santiago* (26) July 1992: 14.
- Peckham, Robert Shannan, ed. Introduction to *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).
- "La Peregrinación a Santiago en agosto 2014." Accessed September 2, 2014. <http://peregrinossantiago.es/eng/pilgrims-office/statistics/>.
- Pickett, S.T.A., Parker, V.T., and Fiedler, P.L. "The New Paradigm in Ecology: Implications for Conservation Above the Species Level." In *Conservation Biology*. eds. Fiedler, P.L. and Jain, S.K. (New York: Chapman and Hall, 1992): 66-88.
- Regier, Henry A. "The Notion of Natural and Cultural Integrity." In *Ecological Integrity and the Management of Ecosystems*. eds. Stephen Woodley, James Kay, and George Francis. (Waterloo: St. Lucie Press, 1993): 3-18.
- "Rehabilitación de las Casas del Cubo y de los Lerma para Albergue de Peregrinos," Spain's Development Ministry. <http://patrimoniohistorico.fomento.es/detalleproyecto.aspx?e=00136>
- Reid, Stuart. *Wellington's Army in the Peninsula 1809-14*. (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, Ltd., 2004): 94.
- Russell, Ian. "Heritages, Identities, and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity." In *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010).
- Sanchez-Izquierdo, Maria Luisa Palacio. "Hospitales de peregrinos en Carrión de los Condes." In *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*. ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero. (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992): 126.

- Santiago-Otero, Horacio. Introduction to *El Camino de Santiago, La hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*. ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero. (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992): 13.
- “Sanz inaugura al albergue de peregrinos de Roncesvalles.” *20 minutos*. February 25, 2011. <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/971496/0/>
- “En Sarria.” *jacobeo.net*. <http://www.jacobeo.net/index.php?modulo=83&pad=133>.
- Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press: 1989).
- Shephard, Graham and Sarah Evan. “Adventure Tourism; Hard Decisions, Soft Options and Home for Tea: Adventure on the Hoof” in *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005), 201-209.
- Silberman, Neil Asher. “Technology, Heritage Values, and Interpretation.” In *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger, George S. Smith, and Hilary A. Soderland. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2010).
- Stankey, George H. “A Framework for Social-Behavioral Research - Applied Issues.” In *Long Distance Trails: The Appalachian Trail as a Guide to Future Research and Management Needs*. ed. William R. Burch, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979): 43-53.
- Startzell, David. “Research Needs on the Appalachian Trail – The Volunteer’s Perspective.” In *Long Distance Trails: The Appalachian Trail as a Guide to Future Research and Management Needs*. ed. William R. Burch, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979): 128-129.
- Steedman, Robert and Wolfgang Haider. “Applying Notions of Ecological Integrity.” In *Ecological Integrity and the Management of Ecosystems*. eds. Stephen Woodley, James Kay, and George Francis. (Waterloo: St. Lucie Press, 1993): 47-60.
- Stone, Peter G. “Managing Hadrian’s Wall in the Twenty-First Century.” In *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian’s Wall as World Heritage*. eds. Peter G. Stone and David Brough. (New York: Springer, 2014): 1-7.
- Suggestions for Appalachian Trail User*. The Appalachian Trail Conference. Publication No. 15. Sixth edition. Washington, DC, 1962.
- Throsby, David. “Cultural Capital.” In *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*. ed. Ruth Towse. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003).
- “Tres albergues del Camino recibirán un subvención de 17.300 euros.” *Diario de León*. July 7, 2003. http://www.diariodeleon.es/noticias/castillayleon/tres-albergues-camino-recibiran-subsuencion-17-300-euros_91949.html.
- Tresserras, Jordi. “El Camino de Santiago: la gestión sostenible un itinerario cultural transnacional.” http://www.fundacioabertis.org/rcs_jor/pdf_tresserras.pdf.

- Turley, Sophie. "Hadrian Wall: Managing the visitor experience at the Roman frontier." In *Visitor Management: Case studies from World Heritage Sites*. ed. Myra Shackley. (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998): 100-120.
- Turner, Victor and Edith Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. (New York: Columbia Press, 1978).
- Valiña Sampedro, Elias. *El Camino de Santiago: Estudio histórico-jurídico*, (Spain: C.S.I.C., 1971): 103.
- Walker, Meredith and Peter Marquis-Kyle. *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Good Practice for Heritages Places*. Burwood: Australia ICOMOS, 2004.
- Weeden, Clare. "Ethical Tourism; Is its Future in Niche Tourism?" In *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends and Cases*. ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005): 201-209.
- Webb, Diana. *Medieval European Pilgrimage*. (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
- Whelan, Tensie. "Ecotourism and Its Role in Sustainable Development." In *Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment*. ed. Tensie Whelan (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1991): 3-22.
- Wilson, Peter. Review of *Hadrian's Wall 1999-2009: A summer of Excavation and Research Prepared for the Thirteenth Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall*, 8-14 August 2009. *Britannia*, Vol. 42 (2011): 477-478.

APPENDIX



	Roncesvalles	Lorca	Logrono	Granon	Burgos	San Nicolas del Real Camino	Foncebadon	Pereje	Hospital da Condessa
Parochial/Municipal/Private?	Parochial	Private	Private	Parochial	Municipal	Private	Parochial	Municipal	Municipal
Autonomous community	Navarre	La Rioja	La Rioja	La Rioja	Castile-Leon	Castile-Leon	Leon	Leon	Galicia
Town/City Population	22	126	150,528	285	371,248	43	25	35	32
Dedicated area for washing cloths?	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Dedicated area for laundry lines?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are lockers available for free?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Is there a kitchen?	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is the kitchen stocked with equipment?	No	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	No
Are communal meals organized?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Does everyone sleep in one space?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are sleeping spaces partitioned?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Is there somewhere for pilgrims to relax?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Where?	Central courtyard, ground	Out in front of albergue, dining area	Dining area	Dining area, garden outside	Dining area	Backyard and front	Porch and dining room	Backyard, outdoor living room	Porch, dining room, kitchen
Is it newly renovated?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No?	Yes
Is it a new building?	No	No	No, an old theatre	No	No, Casa de los Cubos	No, a house	No	No	No, renovated school
Is this an adaptive reuse building?	No, always a hostel?	Yes, formerly a house	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No. Has it always been a hostel/church	Yes, was a house	Yes
Is it donativo?	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
How much is a bed?	10 euro	7 euro	10 euro	donativo	5 euro	7 euro	donativo	5 euro	6 euro
Is it in Galicia?	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Number of beds	180 (approx)	12	80 (approx)	50 (approx)	150	20 (approx)	20 (approx)	60	22
Boot storage?	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Plug access	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

Summary of *albergue* data

INDEX

#

1.5% Cultura: 2, 81, 130

A

Alexander III, Pope: 10

Appalachian Trail, The: 44-50

B

Boniface VIII, Pope: 9

Burgos: 5, 65, 70, 81-86, 112, 120-123,
126-128, 130

C

Calixtus II, Pope: 8, 10

Carryin capacity: 4, 24-25, 37, 48-49,
52, 54-55, 136-136

Codex Calixtinus: 8-10, 13, 65

Compostela: 2-3

Cultural capital: 2-3, 18-20, 110, 135-
136, 138

Cultural landscape: 2, 6, 26-35, 52-54,
109-111, 128, 139

E

Electrical outlet: 122, 124, 127-128,
139

F

Foncebadón: 5, 92-96, 120, 123-125,
136, 138

G

Gardens, *albergues*: 128-130

Grañón: 5, 75, 92, 120, 123-125, 136,

H

Hadrian's Wall: 50-55

Heritage value: 3-4, 6, 17-21, 34, 93

Holy Year: 5, 9-10, 119, 131, 135

Hospital: 5, 12, 60, 65, 75, 92, 97-98,
112-115, 118, 130

Hospital da Condesa: 5, 82, 98, 103-
106, 117, 128

Hospitalero/a: 65, 76, 82, 103, 113-114,
117-118, 123, 125

J

James, Saint (see also Santiago): 7

L

Logroño: 5, 70-71, 75, 77-80, 120, 122,-
123, 126, 136-137

Lorca: 5, 65, 67-69, 75, 122-123, 125,
136

M

Meals, Pilgrims': 13, 62,66, 76-77, 88,
93, 99, 111, 116, 124-126, 130-
131, 137, 139

Municipal *albergue*: 4-5, 70, 72-74, 81-
82, 97, 103, 111, 116-117, 119-
120, 128, 130

P

Pereje: 5, 13, 97-102, 128-129

Pilgrim's Office, Galicia: 3

Roncesvalles: 5, 60-64, 70, 81, 112,
120-127, 135, 138

S

San Froilán's hospital: 114-115, 118

San Nicolas del Real Camino: 5, 87,
89-91, 122-123, 128, 136

Santiago: 8-10, 50.

Santiago de Compostela: 7-13, 49

Sarria: 1, 3

Sleeping spaces: 61-61, 71, 76-77, 82,
93, 98, 104, 115-116, 118-125,
127, 139-140
Social value: 3-4, 6, 18, 20, 36, 111,
118, 123, 125, 131, 134, 136

V

Valiña Sampedro, Elias: 117