

EAAE Transactions on Architectural Education no. 66

# CONSERVATION— CONSUMPTION

**PRESERVING THE TANGIBLE  
AND INTANGIBLE VALUES**

**Donatella Fiorani**

**Giovanna Franco**

**Loughlin Kealy**

**Stefano Francesco Musso**

**Miguel Angel Calvo-Salve**

**Editors**



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**E d i t o r s**



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CESUGA University College – A Coruña

This book presents the papers written by 33 participants following the 6th Workshop on Conservation, organised by the Conservation Network of the European Association for Architectural Education in A Coruña, Galicia, Spain in 2017. All papers have been peer-reviewed. The Workshop was attended by 51 participants from the following countries: Czech Republic, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom

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# Introduction











## CONSERVATION/CONSUMPTION. EAAE NETWORK ON CONSERVATION, WORKSHOP 6

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The 6th Workshop of the EAAE Conservation Network was held in A Coruna from 27-30 September 2017, hosted by CESUGA University College. It was organised under the heading, Conservation/Consumption and set out to address two themes, Consumption of Heritage and the Immaterial Inheritance.

As in previous workshops of the Network, it comprised academic presentations on the themes, intensive small group discussions and study visits to selected sites associated with El Camino de Santiago/The Way of St. James, an ancient European cultural network derived from the tradition of pilgrimage, transformed today into a highly popular series of routes that fuse the idea of the pilgrim and that of the tourist.

This Workshop marked 10 years of the EAAE Conservation Network, bringing together academics and practitioners to discuss issues that have become critical in the management of cultural inheritance. In so doing, the Workshops have provided opportunities to examine how the Network itself has addressed the roles that reflective practice and academic scholarship have played in developing conservation as an area of cultural practice over that time. It is hoped that the Workshop experience and this publication can enhance the contribution of these twin pillars of architecture to the future of the architectural inheritance.

The call for Abstracts set out the themes of the Workshop as follows:

- Consumption of Heritage. One of the major issues of a sustainable preservation of our heritage is the consumption and use of what constitutes the historical context and the intention of revitalisation of those sites and places to prevent their decay. The questions related to conservation action are: is it possible to die from success when preserving heritage? Does the success and promotion of Heritage have a price? What are the threats? How should the question of the consumption of heritage be addressed? How does the market exert influence when preserving heritage? How is heritage represented in marketing and promotion? How best to educate in promoting the use and sustainable consumption of heritage?
- The Immaterial Inheritance. The Intangible Cultural Heritage is defined by UNESCO as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage”<sup>1</sup>.

In a preservation action, both the tangible and intangible elements clearly contribute to the spirit of a place. Adaptation of local communities to new conditions oriented to conserve and preserve the existent heritage affects significantly the immaterial inheritance. The questions related to conservation actions are: how does theory and practice in conservation safeguard the immaterial inheritance? How does it recognise and represent

the intangible? How are the tangible and intangible heritage inter-related? How does the idea of authenticity change with the evolution of society? How best to preserve intangible values when promoting heritage? Which are the threats that could give rise to disappearance and deterioration of the immaterial inheritance?

To inform the discussions, the Workshop conducted site visits of two kinds: the first required participants to walk and experience directly, short sections of the French Way of El Camino<sup>2</sup>; the second, a study visit to Santiago de Compostela, followed a familiar format.

### Three samples of the Camino

During the morning of the second day of the workshop, participants of the different themes were set the task of walking different sections, to ensure that each of the discussion groups had participants that had walked different parts of El Camino. The three sections of El Camino were selected for different reasons, the specific character of the path in that section, character of the locations that the section crosses, diversity of landscape, and of course, the logistics of dropping and picking up participants.

#### *Section 1: O Leboreiro – Melide (5,4 km)*

The section included various small rural villages such as Leboreiro and Furelos, and ended in the town of Melide, one of the jewels of the civil architecture of the French Way of El Camino. The participants began their journey at El Coto, a small enclave with a private Hostel Casa de los Somoza, formerly a rural country house. After walking 500 m. participants arrived at Leboreiro, cited as *Campus Lemurarius* in the *Calixtine Codex*, the name alluding to the abundance of hares in the area. Along the stretch of El Camino that cross Leboreiro, some of the buildings have been changed and adapted to contemporary living using non-traditional materials, while others have disappeared or are in ruins. At the entrance of the village an unadorned wayside cross stands out for its simplicity resting on a circular column. The church of Santa María de Leboreiro dating from the 14th century, has a rectangular nave and a semi-circular apse. A grated pit at the entrance, which prevented animals from entering the sacred spaces, no longer exists. Located at the north side of the church near the end of the helmet of Leboreiro, lies the abandoned pilgrims' hospital. Founded by the Ulloa family, the old pilgrims' hospital has an irregular ground plan and is characterised by the patterned ceramic tiles of the roofs and the ashlar work of its facade, which conserves the coat-of-arms of the founders. In front of the pilgrim's hospital there is a wickerwork granary, *cabaceiro*, or *horreo da cesteria*, whose origin is relatively recent, replicating the traditional ones of the area.

About 1 km from Leboreiro, this route crosses a large industrial zone and goes parallel to the main highway before entering again into the woods to reach the medieval bridge of Furelos, restored around 1980 consisting of four semi-circular arches and triangular breakwaters over the river bearing the same name. The parish church of San Juan of Furelos conserves very few of its original elements, notably the semi-circular arch that leads into the apse and the porch with its semi-circular arch on the south facade over a granite staircase. The interior has a noteworthy neo-classical altarpiece from the late 18th or early 19th century. Furelos hosts several bars and taverns facing the path used by the pilgrims but no hostel can be found due to the proximity to the town of Melide.

El Camino enters Melide from the south-east, through the neighborhood of San Pedro in the town's outskirts, where new constructions and housing developments stand along the path. The Romanesque church of San Pedro was moved to the grounds of San Roque in the north of Melide. The only remaining part of the original church of San Pedro, today known as San Roque, is the porch with a series of semicircular arches.

### *Section 2: San Xiao do Camiño – Leboreiro (5,7 km)*

This section, in the province of Lugo, runs along the road in a continuous uphill and downhill route through agricultural landscapes and farms while crossing small rural enclaves like San Xiao do Camiño, Ponte Campaña, Casanova, to end in El Coto near Leboreiro, the beginning of our Section 1.

San Xiao do Camiño or San Julián del Camino is a rural village with relatively few changes although many constructions are abandoned with some parts in ruins. The rural constructions showcase consistent slate roofs and raised granaries *horreos* and in some cases an annexed outbuilding with an oven. The extended roof covers the different outbuildings of the house and the walls are made by a harmonious combination of ashlar and rubblework construction of slate slabs, although in several cases recent modifications have altered its original appearance. The church of San Xiao, reformed in the 18th century, conserves its semi-circular Romanesque apse joined to the rectangular nave. Its most characteristic element is an exterior window defined by a semi-circular arch integrated into the ashlar work of the apse.

Along the path of this section it is possible to appreciate traditional rural constructions comprised by a group of auxiliary buildings around a courtyard with a square threshing floor paved in large granite slabs, elongated raised granaries *horreos* with wooden walls, frequently roofed with ceramic curved tiles and crowned by a cross at one end. Some of these cluster of constructions are still in use as farms, while others have been transformed into pilgrim's hostels or are abandoned.

### *Section 3: Vendas de Narón – A Eirexe (4,2 km)*

This section is a stretch of the Portomarín-Palas de Rei stage of the French Way of El Camino. Most of the stretch runs along a road crossing important stopping points for pilgrims on their journey like the little Chapel of Magdalene in Vendas de Narón or Ligonde where there was an important pilgrim's hospital and a pilgrim's cemetery. Only the outer wall that delimited it remains nowadays, with a cross that crowns it.

The rural enclave of Vendas de Narón, cited in the *Calixtine Codex* as "Sala da Raina" or "Sala Regine", hosts the Chapel of the Magdalene, that stands with its simple rectangular floor plan among centenarian oak trees. It has been an important stop for pilgrims on their journey to Compostela.

Before arriving to Ligonde, we cross the rural enclave of Lameiros a group of rural structures consisting of a house and annexed buildings, such as a chapel, barns, hayloft, and the traditional raised granary *horreo*, whose bases are made by pilasters of granite, with ceramic curved tiles on its roof and wooden walls. On the way to Ligonde we can also see an ornate wayside cross dating from the 17th century with an ornament of skull and crossbones at its base indicating the pilgrim's cemetery of Ligonde.

Another elegant wayside cross on the way indicates the Church of Santiago in the enclave of A Eirexe, which may have had a hospital attached, but is no longer in existence.



The church, which has been recently restored, has a rectangular ground plan and a square apse, which retains its Romanesque origin with the great archway leading into the apse.

### Site visit to Santiago de Compostela

After the participants completed their respective sections of El Camino, the entire group went to Santiago de Compostela for the afternoon, and to participate in a guided tour to the Santiago Cathedral and its restorations work by leading experts including the main façade and El Portico de la Gloria (Portal of Glory). El Portico de la Gloria is a Romanesque masterpiece by the Master Mateo in the main gate of the cathedral that welcomed pilgrims since 1188. The restoration work faced major problems such as moisture incursion. Colors on the sculptures were also been recovered based on those areas of color used by Master Mateo best preserved on the portal.

The remainder of the workshop was conducted in CESUGA University College, the Workshop hosting Institution in the city of A Coruña, the participants were divided into groups based on their abstracts and the two workshop themes were covered in four discussion groups, two for each theme. The final reports of these discussions are presented at the end of this publication.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> UNESCO, 2003. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. [online] Paris: Unesco. Available at: <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>> [Accessed 23 April 2019].

<sup>2</sup> The French Way of El Camino de Santiago is the Jac-

obeian itinerary with the most historical tradition and the one most recognised internationally. The network of Routes to Santiago de Compostela inscribed by UNESCO on the World Heritage List in 1993 include three other historical routes in northern Spain: The Primitive Way, The Northern Way or Coastal, and The Interior Way.



## COMPOSTELA AND THE WAY OF ST. JAMES: A VIEW OF THE WORLD, 1300-1600

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During the Middle Ages the Way of St. James was the sacred space (Herbers 2012) where pilgrims, searching devoutly for their personal regeneration (Fontaine 1995: 308-310, 314-315) – in the context of the Gregorian Reform – temporarily accepted the rejection of the world of senses (Sot 1985; Núñez Rodríguez 1993). They thus came into contact with the divine, in an ambience separate from daily life, full of sacred remains, which by virtue of their capacity for intermediation put them in direct communication with the Creator<sup>1</sup>. The Jacobean relic par excellence, the whole body of the apostle St. James, constitutes with its magnetic power the main spiritual resource of western pilgrimage (Puy Muñoz 1987; De Menaca 1987: 251-424; Herbers 1992). This was a spontaneous and devotional pilgrimage, deeply emotive and symbolic, through which a spiritual, personal and collective change was worked in the bosom of medieval Christian society. Covered with a ritual symbolic product of the world view of the time, pilgrimage meant a unique anthropological opening to the absolute (Díaz y Díaz 1997), whose cosmological building rested on a firm belief in the mediating power of sacred bodies that marked out the route, and especially in the body of the apostle himself, *advocate peregrinorum* (the advocate of pilgrims) (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 123), kept in a cathedral in turn full of relics – even from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem<sup>2</sup> – whose Romanesque design is a reflection of the City of God (Castiñeiras 2015). Medieval belief in the impossibility that miracles could take place from a distance led to a pilgrimage at whose goal miracles of quality and transcendence occurred (Díaz y Díaz 1988: 27). This inspired the direct meeting of the believer with holy bodies in the places where they rested, looking for physical contact with relics, touching them if possible, or at least praying before them and even sleeping by their side (Núñez Rodríguez 2002: 186-187). This closeness was possible in Santiago de Compostela, in whose cathedral pilgrims from all over Europe (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 89) devoutly held their night vigils before the high altar, in the proximity of the apostle's tomb.

### **The cult of relics of saints in the pilgrimage roads to Compostela**

From the second third of the ninth century, the *locus Sancti Iacobi*, the seed of the city of Santiago, took on its role as a recipient of relics. The Jacobean tomb and the main altar of the pre-Romanesque church formed a unit from that time on; and from the tenth century on, when the cult to saints in Christendom became increasingly relevant, the international promotion of the sanctuary turned it into a goal of pilgrimage that became a symbol for Western Europe. The cult of relics and living piety and pilgrimage as a miracle-working and thaumaturgical experience make up a triangle consisting of the early medieval mentality and world view of society (Márquez Villanueva 2004: 102-103). Centuries later, when the road to Compostela was a living reality, Christian culture, in the mouth of St. Thomas

Aquinas (1225-1274), rationalised the reasons behind the power of relics: physical memories of saints, who thanks to the presence of the Holy Spirit in their persons, maintain a direct link with God; miracles that occur through the mediation of relics manifest the divine desire for said remains to be venerated in the places where they rest (Sumption 2003: 23-24).

In addition to the body of St. James the Elder in Compostela, there were numerous sanctuaries holding relics. One of the chapters in Book V of the *Liber Sancti Iacobi*, popularly known as *Codex Calixtinus*, has the eloquent title of *De corporibus sanctorum que in itinere sancti Iacobi requiescunt, que peregrinis eius sunt visitanda* (Concerning the bodies of the Saints lying along the Way of St. James, and which should be visited by pilgrims) (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 241-250). Book II of the same *codex*, underlining the marvellous powers of the holy remains, is devoted to the twenty-two most popular miracles of the apostle, which took place in the sacred geography of the ways of pilgrimage. These routes are privileged spaces where pilgrims are in permanent contact with the mystery of the miracle, in an unearthly environment protected by a great number of churches and relics. Book V of the *Liber* highlights the relevancy of visiting the sanctuaries that preserve such valuable treasures: in Arles, on the road that goes to Italy via the Côte d'Azur, pilgrims could visit the bodies of St. Trophimus, St. Caesarean, St. Honoratus, St. Genesius and the cemetery of Aliscamps, “multa enim sanctorum martyrum et confessorum corpora ibi requiescunt, quorum anime in paradisiaca sede congaudent” (where lie the bodies of many holy martyrs and confessors, whose souls are now at rest in paradise) (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 242). Then came the body of St. Gilles, and on the way to Toulouse, St. William; on the same route the faithful could visit the holy martyrs Tiberius, Modestus and Florence, while the relics of St. Saturninus, bishop and martyr, were in Toulouse. The body of St. Faith, martyred under the persecution of Diocletian, can be visited in Conques, on the road to Le Puy. The body of St. Mary Magdalene was visited in Vézelay, on the road to Limoges, and then St. Leonard of Limoges and St. Front of Périgueux were venerated.

On the road to Tours pilgrims visited the *lignum crucis* and the chalice of St. Evurcius in the church of Santa Cruz in Orleans, a reference to a Eucharistic miracle that happened during a mass said by the saint. The body of Saint Evurcius was visited later, in the abbey of Saint-Euverte, in the outskirts of Orleans, and then pilgrims went to the church of St. Samson, where the knife used in the Last Supper is kept; it formed part of the tableware when Christ instituted the Eucharist. On the same route, by the banks of the River Loire, lay the body of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, famous for the great number of miracles he worked in his church. The building is now lost, but it was “ad similitudinem scilicet ecclesie beati Iacobi miro opere fabricatur, ad quam veniunt egri et sanatur, demoniaci liberantur, ceci illuminantur claudi eriguntur et omne morborum genus curator” (similar to that of St. James, where the sick go to recover, where the possessed are freed, the blind recover their sight, the paralytic stand up and all kinds of illnesses are healed) (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 246). Pilgrims visited the body of St. Hilary in Poitiers, while in Saint-Jean-d'Angely they could venerate, from 1010, the head of John the Baptist. They then went on their way towards Saintes, where they prayed before the body of St. Eutropius. They requested the protection of St. Roman in Blaye, by the sea, in whose church lay the body of the Carolingian hero Roldan; his olifant was kept in the collegiate church of Saint-Seurin in Bordeaux, where pilgrims could also visit the body of St. Severinus. On the moorlands of Bordeaux, in the town of Belin, pilgrims were recommended to visit to the bodies of

the martyrs Oliveros, Gandelbodo, Ogier, Arestianus, Garin and other warriors of Charlemagne (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 246-250).

Book V of the *Codex* continues by pointing out the holy bodies that can be found after the Pyrenees: St. Dominic the confessor, because he built the road that exists between the city of Nájera and Redecilla del Camino. Also the pilgrims should visit the bodies of the martyrs Facundus and Primitivus; in the city of Leon the body of St. Isidore, and “tandem beati Iacobi apostoli corpus dignissimum summopere atque studiosissime in urbe Compostellam visitandum est” (finally, in the city of Compostela, the most worthy body of the apostle St. James should be visited with great care and attention) (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 250). Such was the list of relics that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries dignified the Jacobean routes in France and Spain, consecrating a space on the edges of the earthly world, where supernatural manifestations could take place through the mediation of said holy bodies. This treasure of Christendom grew, increasing the miraculous capacity of the Way of St. James, with the relics of saintly builders and hospitallers: St. Dominic de la Calzada (+1109) from Rioja, quoted in Book V of the *Liber*, builder of roads, a bridge and a hospital, St. Juan de Ortega (1080-1163), from Burgos, a collaborator of St. Dominic, pilgrim to Rome and Jerusalem and devotee of St. Nicholas of Bari, who saved him from drowning on his way back to Italy from the Holy Land; the Navarrese monk St. Veremundus (+1092 or 1099?), abbot of the monastery of Irache, St. Lesmes of León (+1097), who lived in Burgos, where he was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Juan Bautista, very charitable with the poor and pilgrims, and finally, St. Amarus, a thirteenth-century French pilgrim, who on his return served as a hospitaller in Burgos, at the Hospital del Rey (Bango Torviso 1994: 96-103).

### **A pilgrimage for spiritual regeneration**

The spiritual renovation inspired in the twelfth century by the Gregorian Reform inspired a purgative feeling in pilgrimage (Davies, Davies 1982: 17-48; Constable 1996: 257-261); the moral regeneration of the believer became the final goal (Vogel 1994: 113-153; Díaz y Díaz 1997: 254-256). The concept was taken up again in the 13th century by German Franciscans – Bertold of Regensburg among them – who criticised all foundations, alms and pilgrimages that were not a declaration of a true conversion (Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. I: 112-113). Regeneration, conversion, the reencounter with God was materialised in Compostela thanks to the wide variety of indulgences<sup>3</sup> that the Church offered pilgrims through the mediation of the apostle (Sumption 2003: 200-206). The spiritual healing that pilgrims had to obtain is a concept highlighted by the *Calixtinus*, in miracle 22 of Book II (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 177), although from the early medieval period spectacular bodily healings are also recorded (Herbers 1991: 257-258). This advocacy was a key factor in the development of the pilgrimage to Santiago, whose church was authorised to grant indulgences by the Papacy, the seed of the holy year of Santiago de Compostela, a year of great forgiveness, officially instituted at the end of the Middle Ages. With the redemption of punishment and the powerful instrument of plenary indulgences, the Church exercised the power to forgive sins, after an ascetic and penitential experience, in which the pilgrim sacrificed a large part of his money and properties (Díaz y Díaz 1997: 258). This beneficence was characteristic of a caring world, whose social body was preserved thanks to a relation of reciprocity based on the theory of three orders

(those who pray, those who fight and those who work)<sup>4</sup>. Solidarity, charity and interdependence are concepts intimately linked to pilgrimage, since the journey was possible on one's own behalf or in place of an ill or even a deceased person (Caucci von Saucken 1984: 41-43; Díaz y Díaz 1997: 250), by virtue of the principle of the communion of the saints (Colzani 1986: 20), stimulated by the power of indulgences and by the belief in purgatory<sup>5</sup>.

### **The century of great crisis**

The collective fascination for the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela continued from 1300, despite the episodes of famine, pest and war in the framework of the so-called 'Hundred Years' War' (1337-1453) (Allmand 1989; Neilland 2001). Extreme needs and endemic violence ballasted the existence of a society that was already damaged in its intellect and religious sensitivity by a crisis in values and disregard for the Church as an institution (Renovard 1970; Mullins 2008). The sequence of Roman jubilees fought against this, decisively promoting pilgrimage to the Eternal City, together with the magnetic power of the Holy Land and the house of St. James in Compostela. For the celebration of the Roman Holy Year in 1300 the Pope offered pilgrims plenary indulgence, also capable of benefiting souls in purgatory (Le Goff 1981: 442-443). The holy city of Jerusalem, in the hands of the Mamelukes, beckoned multitudes of pilgrims who had to pay a canon to enter the Holy Sepulchre (Tyerman 2007: 1063-1083; Ruciman 2008: 927-939). Europe meanwhile was suffering from poor harvests, the loss of agricultural production, violent bouts of the plague – the Black Death of 1346-53 affected more than a half of the European population (Byrne 2004: 57-72; Benedictow 2004: 380-394; Zahler 2009: 86-101) – the proliferation of wars and economic recession (Rösener 1990: 267-287; Paravicini 1993). Although there was a moral concern for the good use of time, which was a gift from God (Le Goff 1983: 73-75), in the first half of the fourteenth century it was difficult to start up the productive machinery, since the crisis in the countryside was followed by a crisis in industry, the loss of trade and economic ruin (Romano, Tenenti 1980: 23-35). Cities awoke as privileged locations where a certain recovery in industry and trade became possible towards the end of the fourteenth century, the beginning of a period of economic expansion that took place in the glorious fifteenth century (Eberhard 1993: 247, 250-251). In the kingdom of Castilla and the city of Santiago, specific problems which affected institutions and society in general did not create the ideal scenario for the peaceful practice of pilgrimage either. The urban riots of 1317-1320 affected the peace of the sanctuary and the normal life of the people, as did the plague, and from the middle of the century, the civil war in Castilla, in which the Church had taken part and excommunicated King Pedro I in the cathedral of Toledo. He was seen as a kind of Antichrist, in contrast to Enrique de Trastámara, anointed with the legitimacy of divine power (Nieto Soria 2006: 43-47). The conflict came to an end in March 1369 – the same year of the renewal of the Anglo-French war (Thomson 1983: 141-147) – with the death of Pedro I in the battle of Montiel and the enthronement of the Trastámara dynasty (Rodríguez González 1956).

### **Popular piety and psychosocial atmosphere**

At this crucial time in history, the circumstances led to an increase in popular piety, in a context of superficial experience of religion (Huizinga 1999: 201-221). The pilgrimage to



FIG. 1. The Way of St. James in parallel with the Milky Way.

Compostela became the expression of a culture that was not ashamed of exteriorising its spirituality. The medieval world view understood that the Way of St. James had a parallel road of stars in the heavens (Fig. 1): the Milky Way, evoked by St. James the Elder in his appearance to the sleeping Charlemagne (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 201). This stellar route was a pathway of souls in search of Paradise, parallel to the Way of St. James that reaches its goal in the *Paradisus* of Compostela, i.e. at the north front of the cathedral (Castiñeiras 2005: 217-220). This belief in two parallel routes, expressed in the twelfth century in Book IV of the *Calixtinus*, is also documented in France in 1320 and possibly earlier (Jacomet 1995: 191). In addition to the land route, another alternative for pilgrims from the European Atlantic front – specially England – was to embark for Galicia, thereby triggering an international sea trade bound to pilgrimage, and whose main port was A Coruña (Thomson 1983: 56-64; Ferreira Priegue 1988: 180-195).

Popular piety and its fascination for relics in the fourteenth century was curiously reinforced by Arthurian mystique and the ideological contribution of chivalry literature. This mystique was rejuvenated in England in literature, the practice of tournaments and the military victories against France – Crécy, 1346 and Calais, 1347 – which led King Edward III to evoke the Arthurian Order of the Knights of the Round Table by creating the Order of the Garter in Windsor in 1348-49, formed by a small group of knights who swore mutual support and undertook the obligation to help their king. The king himself and his firstborn son, Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales, better known as the Black Prince, were members of the order (Tuck 1999:111-112; Green 2007: 12-13).

Arthurian mystique connected with the arid reality of the time, as one could say that the western world in the fourteenth century was a devastated land, a 'barren ground' that was a commonplace in medieval chivalry stories. After the Arthurian story in the poem of Chrétien de Troyes, composed in the second half of the twelfth century, an Arthurian cycle of fruitful literary results arose in France in 1215-1230 – *Queste del Saint Graal* –, which influenced the world vision of the chivalrous elite in early medieval times (Willingham 2008). Just as there was a previous step in the search for the Holy Grail, through chaos, desolation and shadow, pilgrims in the fourteenth century who aspired to a new life and





FIG. 2. O Cebreiro Chalice (s. XII).

Next page:

FIG. 3. Platerías Facade (s. XII), Santiago Cathedral (photo by A. Enríquez).

FIG. 4. Interior of the Santiago Cathedral (photo by J. Fernández).

a sacred existence had to risk their lives by walking through this desolation that was Europe. The Way of St. James was a test of initiation of sorts, ascetic and penitential, in which pilgrims had to pass the test of the barren ground in order to be born to new life. This spiritual life would begin after their moral regeneration before the tomb of St. James, after having gone through a sacred space – the road itself – apart from the world of senses; a space where it was possible to encounter the wonders of miracles and the Holy Grail, a symbol of immortality, in the church of the Santa Cruz de Orleans (the chalice of St. Evurcius, kept together

with a *lignum crucis*; Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 246), in the monastery of San Juan de la Peña – the cup from the Last Supper<sup>6</sup> – or on the summits of O Cebreiro, where a sacred chalice was venerated from the early fourteenth century, benefited with the mystery of the Eucharistic miracle<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2).

These Christological relics became very well-known among early medieval pilgrims, as once again, the route to Compostela worked like a sound-box of facts and miracles that happened in its environment. The encounter with the miraculous, to which the humblest people were open, was reinforced by the feelings of the nobility and the world of chivalry. In this period King Alfonso XI of Castilla (1325-50) was made a knight in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, by the apostle St. James himself<sup>8</sup>, at the same time as literature about chivalry became popular in his kingdom, in consonance with the high ideals of a social class whose most conspicuous international representatives – the Frenchman Du Guesclin and the Black Prince – had taken a very active part in the civil war that left the Trastámara victorious (Tuck 1999: 135-138). When the occasion allowed, diplomatic and chivalrous relations between the English and the French, at war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries over Aquitaine and Normandy, tried to obtain for certain knights, from one or the other nation, safe-conducts from the sovereigns to cross their respective kingdoms and enable them to go as pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela (Contamine, Paviot 2012: 122, 128-129).

Jacobean culture was not foreign to the mystique of feudal knighthood. Book IV of the *Calixtinus*, entitled *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Meredith-Jones 1936; Díaz y Díaz 2003), contains an epic and fantastic story of the adventures of emperor Charlemagne in Spain and of the heroes from France. This story certifies the consecration of epic inspired by the Jacobean world, with Charlemagne as the main literary character. Book IV of the *Calixtinus* was one of the most widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, since it was part, together with Books II and III, concerning the translation of the body of St. James from Jerusalem to Compostela, of an abbreviated version of the *Liber Sancti Iacobi*, called the *Libellus Sancti Iacobi*; some years later, in the thirteenth century, the *Libellus* achieved even greater popularity, as it was translated into several European languages,



limited to Books II and IV (Díaz y Díaz 1988: 38-42). Faced with despair at the 'barren ground', the faithful took shelter in religious practices, moved by widespread terror and material insecurity. The Papacy at Avignon (1309-1377) encouraged the pious life and proclaimed that, after death, the soul of the deceased appeared before God for its own particular judgment; before the Last Judgement a very long time would pass, in a place where the deceased can reach, thanks to the suffrage of the living, funerals, perpetual masses and indulgences obtained at sanctuaries of pilgrimage, certain merits that they lacked to enter into Glory (Duby 1999: 278). Very attentive to such prescripts, the French and Burgundian nobility in the fourteenth century kept on making pilgrimages to Compostela for devotional reasons or for deceased relatives, entrusted with taking a gift to the altar of St. James<sup>9</sup>.

### **Santiago de Compostela in the fourteenth century: tradition, rebellion and devotion**

The situation of the city which pilgrims came to, after concluding a long route and overcoming numerous hardships, changed greatly throughout the fourteenth century. Despite the situation of lawlessness in the kingdom of Castilla, at the beginning of the century the situation of the Church in Santiago improved (Figs. 3-4). In 1311 the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela recovered control of the city, which for some years had been in the hands of the Council, while at the same time the cathedral improved the external aspects of the cult to St. James (López Ferreiro 1902: 287-294, 301, 327, appendix LIII).

But problems arose once again when the city took up arms in 1317 against the new prelate, the Dominican Berenguel de Landoria, appointed by the Pope of Avignon John XXII. The walls were closed to avoid his entry, which worried the Archbishop and the Pope, since access was also closed to pilgrims (Sánchez Sánchez 2010: 195-200). The situation was one of war, and it ended with the victory of the episcopal side and the entry of the Archbishop into Santiago on 16 September 1320 (Rodríguez González 1993: 67). In the

following year, with the situation under control, the people of Santiago de Compostela pledged allegiance to their lord and gave him the keys of the city, facilitating the free transit of people, goods and pilgrims (Sánchez Sánchez 2010: 198). One of the devout faithful who came in 1321 was Birger Petersson, the father of St. Brigitte of Sweden, who went on a pilgrimage following an old family tradition (Almazán 2000: 59). Berenguel de Landoria staged the forgiveness and acquittal of the rebels of Santiago de Compostela in the cathedral, in a solemn altarcereemony held on 25 July 1322, the feast day of the apostle St. James, which coincided on a Sunday (Precedo Lafuente 1993; Péricard-Méa 2004: 271-279). The success of this great ceremony of forgiveness encouraged pilgrims over the following years, traditional rites were standardised, in particular the crowded vigils before the high altar – occasionally the scene of disputes, fights and deaths that led to the holding of a ceremony of reconciliation of the cathedral (López Ferreiro 1902: 49) – and offerings to the apostle (Fig. 4). An ark was prepared for this purpose, kept by a custodian entrusted with collecting the alms: golden pieces, wax images and candles (López Ferreiro 1903: 256). Some offerings were magnificent, as was to be expected from an exceptional pilgrim: the queen of Portugal.

Isabel de Aragón (c. 1270-1336) (López Ferreiro 1903: 83-86, 297-300, appendix XIX; Baquero Moreno, De Oliveira Martins 1993: 109-112; González Vázquez 2000: 24-25, 31-35), the widow of King Dinis, came to Compostela on 25 July 1325 accompanied by a retinue which included Arnaldo de Vilanova, the official doctor of the court of Aragon (Loução 2009: 162-164). She attended the celebrations in the cathedral and gave several valuable gifts to the apostle: her best crown, a cloak embroidered with threads of gold and silver, tapestries with the arms of Aragon and Portugal, the carved glasses that King Dinis used, a mule provided with a bridle of gold, silver and precious stones (López Ferreiro 1903: 299). The Archbishop gave him a pouch adorned with a 'scallop' shell (López Ferreiro 1903: 84-85, appendix XIX) – a symbol of charity, good works the pilgrim must persevere in (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 91) – and a staff – a symbol of faith in the Trinity (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 91) – finished off in a 'tau', like that in the image of St. James on the mullion of the Portico de la Gloria (Moralejo, Real 1993). The queen wished to come to the judgment of her soul as a Jacobean pilgrim, carrying the staff and 'scallop' shell, beseeching the intermediation of the apostle<sup>10</sup>.

Hospital attention in Compostela (López Alsina 1998) was reinforced in 1333 with the foundation of a hospital for the poor and pilgrims, financed by the bourgeois Marina Fernández de Tudela (López Ferreiro 1903: 289). Ten years later, at the end of 1342 or beginning of 1343, St. Brigitte of Sweden (1303-1373) (Almazán 2000) came, after making the pilgrimage with her husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, and other people. From Stockholm they came to the Danish city of Slesvig (today Schleswig, Germany), then to Cologne and Aachen, before crossing into France, avoiding the north-western area as it was at war. They went through Tarascon-sur-Rhône, close to Avignon, and continued on to Marseilles. It is possible that they embarked and sailed to Barcelona, then continued on to Zaragoza and joined the classical route of the Way of St. James (Almazán 1999: 18; Almazán 2000: 60). She had a mystical vision, something usual in her life, in the cathedral of the apostle (Almazán 2000: 105-119; Zolla 2000: 337-340). One of the women in her entourage also had a vision while she was praying before a crucifix; a mystical experience that took her to Montefiascone (Viterbo), where she left the world to live a holy life. Another of the members of the group, the Cistercian monk Svennung, entered into ecstasy, enjoying a vision

in which St. Brigitte appeared wearing the seven crowns of divine grace (Almazán 2000: 60). Another of the ladies was aided by St. James at the judgement of her soul, according to the saint's own *Revelations* (Almazán 2000: 62). There were, therefore, several notable cases of inner regeneration and a change towards a spiritual life on this pilgrimage. A second case of *post mortem* visions in relation to St. Brigitte's pilgrimage explains the value of the ascetical-penitential component of pilgrimage: in one of her revelations the saint saw her deceased husband in purgatory. He had died in Sweden in 1344; Ulf Gudmarsson revealed to her that one of the six things that were of greatest use for him in his life was to fulfil his promise of abstinence from drink during his pilgrimage to Santiago (Almazán 1999: 20), as this act of asceticism brought him great spiritual benefits, reducing his time in purgatory.

Belief in the mediating power of St. James continued to the end of the fourteenth century, as shown in the donation in 1380 of three thousand florins to the cathedral, by King Charles V of France, with the purpose of saying daily mass for the good of his soul (López Ferreiro 1903: 210-211), in a time when English, Flemish, German, Italian and French noblemen and knights could all be seen on the road to Compostela<sup>11</sup>, and when the presence of travelling preachers became common, Franciscans and Dominicans, whose word pacified the devout masses hoping for the end of the plague, the regeneration of their lives and the belief in a better existence in the afterlife (Duby 1999: 270). To avoid fraud and deceit, the Castilian Church took suitable measures, such those agreed at the provincial council of Salamanca of 1396, to ensure the identity and reliability of these travelling preachers or 'pilgrim clergymen'. Despite these precautions, the false clergymen who offered fake relics and false indulgences kept on cheating innocent people during the first half of the fifteenth century (Rucquoi 2012: 396).

### **The Autumn of the Middle Ages**

The emotional experience of piety in this society, perhaps somewhat superficial in the acts of everyday life, promoted the pilgrimage to Rome, Canterbury and other holy places at the end of the Middle Ages (Schnitker 2004). Compostela was one of the main destinations<sup>12</sup>, capable of granting generous indulgences and holding jubilees from the second half of the fourteenth century (Rucquoi 2012: 384-385) or the first third of the fifteenth (López Alsina 1999: 216-219). The desolate land that Europe had become in the fourteenth century started to show symptoms of improvement; in the fifteenth century – and especially after the definitive peace between France and England (1475) (Tuck 1999: 285) – it reached a commercial and economic splendour that in many western territories, especially in the urban world, contributed to demographic recovery and economic prosperity (Thomson 1983: 125-133; Braudel 1992: 26-29).

Compostela had not lost its capacity for attraction; on the contrary, since from the beginning of the fifteenth century pilgrims came to the city in search of indulgences, a situation that continued afterwards, coinciding with new forms of solidarity among brotherhoods (Le Goff 1981: 393-395) and the definitive enthronement of purgatory in the Christian doctrine (Le Goff 1981: 4818-484). The promotion of pilgrimage is not forgotten either in this period, with outstanding characters of the period praising the goodness thereof, such as the Dominican Friar Vicente Ferrer from Valencia, who preached in 1412 in the church of Santo Domingo de Bonaval in Santiago. This monk, who was canonised in





FIG. 5. Main altar, Santiago Cathedral (photo by J. Fernández).

1455, promoted the cult to the apostle and the pilgrimage to Compostela and to Oviedo from the pulpit (López Ferreiro 1904: 155-157). International devotion to the apostle left its mark even on the bylaws of the guild of jet workers in Santiago (1443), in which pilgrims were mentioned in the daily life of a city (López Ferreiro 1904: 82) that was a permanent goal of pilgrimage, especially in holy years, despite the social and political crisis, which often led to civil war.

The practice of war still fed the prestige of knights of noble origin, an arrogant social order, which shared its position before the urn of St. James with the humble people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their position in the world, their ideology and their particular interpretative framework inspired the cult of St. James as *miles Christi*, the sublimation of the celestial warrior (Sicart Giménez 1982: 15-23; Portela Sandoval 2004) as a model of so powerful a social group, whose main activity resided in the exercise of arms and the exaltation of war and crusades (Huizinga 1999: 82-94).

Their members were also inspired by the fashion of novels of chivalry, in whose bosom the world of Carolingian stories was evoked, with their heroic emulations and adventures<sup>13</sup>.

Hence it is not surprising to find knights, such as George of Ehingen, from Swabia, who in the mid-fifteenth century placed their arms at the service of the struggle against Granada or the defence of Ceuta, before or after making the pilgrimage to Compostela; others, like the Baron of Rozmítal, from Bohemia, travelled round Europe from court to court, accompanied by a large entourage, taking part in tournaments and showing their interest in relics (Herbers, Plötz 1999: 95-133). Among the growing number of chivalry novels that filled bookshelves at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, there was one published in Florence in 1410, which enjoyed great success in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and whose sixth part described *Guerrino il Meschino's* route to Compostela. This fictional character, created by Andrea da Barberino, was a knight errant, a relative of Charlemagne, whose ambition led him to fight against thieves who were attacking pilgrims along the Way of St. James. Guerrino came on a long journey from Italy that took him to Aragón, Castilla and Portugal; he spent five days in the city of the apostle and later visited Fisterra<sup>14</sup>. Chivalrous literature was not exempt from mystical trips, in which knights visited the entrance to eternity depicted in the so-called Purgatory of Saint Patrick in Ireland, or other places also located outside the world of senses (Ribera Llopis 1993: 33; Grilli 2004: 43-44).

Coming back to crude reality, if the knight who had promised to make a pilgrimage to Santiago could not fulfil his promise because he was laid up injured or captured, a close relative could do it in his place, as happened with Jean le Meingre, who in 1415 obtained a safe-conduct to make a pilgrimage to the apostle's tomb (Fig. 6), although he could not make use of it as he was made prisoner at Agincourt (Curry 2000; Barker 2005) in the autumn of that year; despite such a tragic outcome, his widow fulfilled his vow (Deluz 2012: 107). Sometimes these knights could make their pious trip to Compostela, also making a

pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem<sup>15</sup>, thereby linking this pilgrimage, for which they could be provided with safe-conducts and specific aid from the courts they visited<sup>16</sup>, to their participation in military campaigns against the Muslims in Spain, or to certain challenges thrown out to other knights at a specific place on the Way of St. James, in order to prove their courage. Thus Jean de Werchin, the knight errant, Seneschal of Hainaut and Baron of Flanders, defied any knight or squire who wished to take up arms against him on the road to Santiago in 1402 (Paravicini 1999: 130; Given-Wilson 2008: 38; Contamine, Paviot 2012: 124). This type of jousting also found its backdrop in Hospital de Órbigo, on the Pilgrims' Road in León, when Don Suero de Quiñones challenged all the knights who wished to cross the bridge in the location in the holy year 1434 (López Ferreiro 1905: 154-155; Vázquez De Parga 1948: 93). Authorised by King Juan II, Don Suero shattered a great number of spears from 10 July to 9 August in that year, gaining for the place the by-name of 'Passo Honroso'. After moving back towards Astorga to recover from his wounds, Don Suero Quiñones and other knights went on a pilgrimage to Compostela, and offered the apostle a bracelet of gold-plated silver as a gift; it is now kept in the reliquary bust of St. James the Younger.

The Jacobean pilgrimage was still an occasion to encounter a miracle for these knights, as happened in 1417 with the Gascon nobleman Nompár II, lord of Caumont. The Way of St. James also provided the possibility of evoking certain warlike heroic deeds that had taken place in their surroundings<sup>17</sup>. Arnold von Harff, from between Aachen and Cologne in the Low Rhineland, had a certain passion for relics; he was a knight who made a lengthy journey from 1496 to 1498. His experience blended devotion and religious desire with the yearning for adventure and a love for discovering distant lands, but Von Harff did not hesitate to consider a pilgrimage in the text he wrote for posterity (Almazán 1988: 369). After leaving Cologne, Arnold von Harff travelled to Rome, asked for papal permission to continue to the Holy Land; he travelled round Egypt and in Cairo he requested permission from the Sultan to visit diverse places in his domains, such as St. Catherine's monastery in the Sinai peninsula, and a city called Kalamya, where the peculiar pilgrim made enquiries as to the whereabouts of the apostle Thomas' tomb; he then carried on to the sources of the Nile, returned to Cairo by river, continued his trip to Jerusalem and then went to Beirut, Antioch and Constantinople; he returned through Eastern and Central Europe, crossed the north of Italy and the south of France and came into Spain, taking the Way of St. James.

After leaving Compostela Arnold von Harff went to Paris, where King Louis XI knighted him, he then made a pilgrimage to Mont Saint Michel and finally returned to Cologne. This knight indicated the existence of a canopy over the image of the apostle in the cathedral of Santiago and a silver crown that was hanging over the head of the image. He also mentions the ritual that included going up some stairs to the above-mentioned image, and the habit of German pilgrims of crowning themselves using the crown that hung over



FIG. 6. Apostle Santiago's silver urn, crypt of Santiago Cathedral (photo by A. Enríquez).

the apostle's image (Plötz 1992; Plötz 2004). He saw the reliquary head of St. James the Younger, he visited the church of St. Susanna, where her relics had been kept from the twelfth century, and continued to Fisterra (Almazán 1988: 371-383; Herbers, Plötz 1999: 228-229). In those years at the end of the fifteenth century it was a habit for pilgrims to venerate the relic of the sickle or knife on the high altar of the cathedral with which the apostle had been beheaded, before or after embracing the statue of the saint and/or crowning themselves (Stokstad 1987).

The fact that a significant number of knights made the pilgrimage to Santiago at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth is to be found in examples of quite a spectacular nature, such as the crusade against the Turks launched by Pope Pius II in 1464 with the support of Burgundy, whose knights disembarked in a Galician port to make the pilgrimage to Compostela (Contamine, Paviot 2012: 126). It was such a regular event that it is even recorded in several texts by Martin Luther, in which he says how inappropriate it was to go into a church wearing armour, as happened in the cathedral of Santiago (Almazán 1987: 548, 555-556). Members of the ecclesiastical class also made the pilgrimage to Santiago in this century, such as the bishop from Burgos Alonso de Cartagena, who came in the jubilee of 1456<sup>18</sup>, and the bourgeois Hyeronimus Münzer (1494), a doctor and diplomat from Nuremberg (Herbers, Plötz 1999: 139-168), who wrote about the indecorous uproar one could hear inside the church (Mieck 1992: 332; Herbers, Plötz 1999: 152). The complaints about overcrowding and the scarce decorum shown at the end of the fifteenth century before the altar of the apostle were well-known, since in 1446 the nobleman from Augsburg Sebastian Illung said that the peregrination on foot to Santiago was only surpassed by Jerusalem (Herbers, Plötz 1999: 82), and was more numerous than Rome (Mieck 1992: 292). This agrees with the impression that people had of the city of León in 1442: the visitors from the Order of St. James who inspected the Hospital of San Marcos in July of that year recommended substantial improvement in the facilities, as said hospital "on the French road to Santiago where so many people from such faraway lands come every day"<sup>19</sup>. The practical guide to the Way of St. James written by Hermann König von Vach at the end of the fifteenth century and published in Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Leipzig in several editions from 1495 to 1521 (Herbers, Plötz 1999: 168-213) responded to a specific demand and undoubtedly helped to maintain the large numbers of German pilgrims before the Reformation.

### **The pilgrimage to Santiago in the age of Humanism**

The cult to St. James and the pious practices of western peregrination also shaped to a great extent the religious experience of Catholics during the sixteenth century (Mieck 1992: 309-311), despite the fact that popular piety, towards the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, was directed more towards Marian cults and other saints, if we consider the documented appearances in this period: the Virgin Mary and the saints who appeared – St. Antony of Padua, St. Michael the Archangel etc – acted indirectly, as the power to reward or punish came directly from God (Christian 1981: 188-222). The educated elite of the first third of the sixteenth century adopted behaviours more in accordance with the new religious sensitivity of Humanism, the *devotio moderna*, which turned out to be intimate and Christ-centred, far removed from exterior manifestations like pilgrimages (Bataillon 2000: 28). Hence the ironic gaze of Erasmus of Rotterdam falls

on this practice in his *Colloquium* 'Religious pilgrimage' (1518), which saw the light of day in Spain in 1529, published by Alonso Ruiz de Virués (De Rotterdam 2005: XXXV).

The critical orientation of this humanist elite was recaptured with special vehemence by Martin Luther, since the reformer thought that the pilgrimage to Compostela was an act of idolatry, blasphemy, a way of going to hell, something that only madmen would put into practice, an excuse not to fulfil a duty that would require a greater effort, and that it was due to curiosity and a thirst for adventure, to the desire to commit a sin or to obtain profit by means of begging (Almazán 1987: 539). In several of Luther's sermons his distaste for the pilgrimage to Santiago was made clear and he expressed his ideas contrary to the belief in the mediating power of saints (Almazán 1987: 540-542). This was the very opposite to the ideal of chivalry, still in force in that period, sublimating the image of St. James as a celestial knight and the patron saint of the kingdom, illuminating pilgrimages and offerings, in gratitude for certain military victories in which the intervention of the apostle had been decisive. This mentality motivated the offerings of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the 'Great Captain', who made a pilgrimage in the holy year of 1512, and Don Juan de Austria, commander in chief of the Christian fleet that defeated the Turkish navy at Lepanto (1571), and who sent a pennant from his ship and several objects from the booty as a gift to the apostle (López Ferreiro 1905: 26-27, 428-431). The identification of Emperor Carlos V as defender of the Catholic Faith against Turks and Lutherans led him to commission a breastplate cover for his armour with the image of St. James the Moor Slayer (Carril Cuesta 1999: 190-191) engraved on it from Desiderius Helmschmid, in 1541, moved by the double intention of protection and a desire for emulation, at a time when the Hispanic affirmation of imperial supremacy was linked to the emblematic and warlike image of the patron saint of the kingdom (Fig. 7).

These and other eloquent testimonies by the warlike elite indicate the vitality of the cult to St. James as *miles Christi* and the force of a pilgrimage in whose bosom the brotherly values of Humanism were once again verdant, evidenced in the exercise of hospitality<sup>20</sup>, in a period when common pilgrims were not scarce, the faithful people attracted by the reputation of the sanctuary (López Ferreiro 1905: 419-443). The city of the apostle recovered from the *irmandiña* riots of 1467 at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. The works promoted by the cathedral Chapter and Archbishops Alonso II de Fonseca and Alonso III de Fonseca contributed to this; the latter was a recognised humanist related to the Erasmian current that held sway in the Spanish court between 1522 and 1530 (Febvre 1985: 103-104). The chapter house of the cathedral was built in 1489-95, with the help of Alonso II de Fonseca and



FIG. 7. Santiago *Matamoros*, Redondela fountain (s. XVIII), Portuguese Way.





FIG. 8. Facade of the Catholic Kings Hospital (s. XVI), Santiago de Compostela.

the economic support of alms from British and Dutch pilgrims, together with a pilgrims' hospital opposite the north front of the cathedral (López Alsina 1998: 151-153), serving the higher class of pilgrims and comparable to that of Rome and the Holy Land, as stated by Pope Sixtus IV in 1478 (Mieck 1992: 296-309).

Reinforcing this work of welfare, the Crown – Isabel I of Castilla and Fernando V of Aragon – promoted the construction of a modern hospital for the poor and pilgrims in the heart of the city in 1500 (Fig. 8) (García Guerra 1983; Rosende Valdés 1999; Rey Castelao 2004). The Great Royal Hospital was built at the same time in Compostela, for the benefit of those pilgrims who in 1530 were still coming by land or by sea, or combining both systems of transport<sup>21</sup>, while conditions at the Hospital of San Marcos in León were improved in 1528 (Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. III: 86-88; Martín Rodríguez 1977). The military orders, with their spirit of dedication, helped pilgrims and freed their way from danger from the twelfth century, enfolded the spirit of the Christian knighthood in religious ideal. The members of such institutions developed a hospitaller dimension

that they combined with their military purposes (Caucci von Saucken 1999). In addition to the pious and solidarity-based motivation, the inspiration in the sixteenth century for the foundation and/or endowment of welfare centres for pilgrims is to be found in the sense of duty, the practice of charity and the search for prestige by the institutions<sup>22</sup>, in accordance with the social sensitivity of the *devotio moderna*.

Erasmus' texts enjoyed great prestige in Spain during the first quarter of the century; and although this interest cooled down later, since his ideas were considered to be close to Protestantism. Erasmian thought kept on fertilising the work of Hispanic humanists up to the coronation of Felipe II (1556-98), who persecuted followers of both Erasmus and Luther (Febvre 1985: 106-107; González Novalín 1979: 160-174, 203-246). Sometimes, nevertheless, criticism of pilgrimage came from the bosom of the Church itself, and even from the cathedral of Santiago. In 1532, the pilgrim Andrew Boorde, a member of the English nobility who practised medicine and had been a Carthusian monk, met a priest in Santiago who did not believe that the church held the remains of the apostle, although he admitted that it did have certain valuable relics, such as his staff, the chain with which he had been imprisoned and the weapon with which he had been beheaded in Jerusalem, and which at the time was placed on the high altar (Herbers, Plötz 1999: 260).

The silent and always generous work of the hospitals for the poor and pilgrims did not cease to develop a secular tradition in favour of the Way of St. James in the sixteenth century. These centres took over and took care of the practice of hospitality on the route and at the goal, separating the pious who had come in search of spiritual benefit from the groups of itinerant beggars. The welfare network was renewed, maintaining a few sanitary and spiritual services that pilgrims demanded and were grateful for. The hospital for the poor and pilgrims existed in Compostela until 1546; it was run by the Church of Santiago, located opposite the north front

of the cathedral, with seventy beds, a doctor and a nurse and a chapel for the sick and dying (López Alsina 1998: 153-155). The traditional reception for pilgrims in the city was nuanced in the second half of the sixteenth century, due to the increasing tide of poor people and vagabonds who made the Way of St. James their way of earning a living, sometimes employing practices that were not exactly pious. As a precaution against such deviations, the municipal by-laws of the city of Santiago in 1569 limited the number of days that each pilgrim could spend in the city to three, in accordance with diverse corrective measures taken between 1523 and 1590 by the Crown, which established the use of the pilgrims' habit and made it compulsory to request a licence to make the pilgrimage from the local court in the place where the pilgrim was registered as an inhabitant. For the return trip it was necessary for the cathedral chapter to grant a certificate – the famous 'compostela' – showing that the pilgrim had concluded the peregrination piously; the document existed from at least the fourteenth century, but was generalised in this period (López 1992: 464-468). In case of suspicion of heterodoxy, there could be severe consequences, as happened to a group of German pilgrims in 1559 who had not confessed, according to the custom, and so they were retained and interrogated for six weeks and were forced to pay the costs of the process (Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa 1948-49, vol. I: 115).

The crisis of the pilgrimage in the mid-sixteenth century, due not so much to Erasmus criticism, the Lutheran rupture, or the excessive zeal of the Spanish Inquisition – installed in Santiago in 1574<sup>23</sup> – was provoked by the widespread suspicion of foreigners, as they could be labelled as Lutherans, vagabonds or simply as malefactors. The periods of insecurity provoked by the wars between Spain and France also had a negative influence, in addition to the French civil war in the second half of the sixteenth century (Mieck 1992: 338-342, 345-349). For all these reasons, pilgrimage went into decline from 1550 on, and entered into a phase of crisis that lasted until the seventeenth century (Mieck 1992: 311-312). In the last third of the sixteenth century, nevertheless, circumstances once again opened up the possibility for many Europeans of travelling to Compostela, in a moment of ideological rearming promoted by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The Erasmian subtleties for a new spirituality, purer and more Christological, were removed by the victory of the anti-Erasmian (González Novalín 1979: 165) conservative intelligentsia and the return to practices of piety in consonance with tradition. Pilgrims from France, Germany and Italy returned to the Road to Santiago; mostly peasants with a renewed experience of religiousness, mixed with the most helpless poor, attracted by the alms that they obtained in the cities, convents and monasteries along the route (Mieck 1992: 349-353). They were people of all conditions, encouraged by the dispositions of the Council of Trent, which closed in 1563, concerning the goodness in a pilgrimage purged of excess and superstition; a devout peregrination linked to the cult of relics and the attainment of indulgences, aimed at the intimate conversion of the faithful (Sforza Pallavicini 1851: 173). A renewal, in short, which accepted the medieval spirit of pilgrimage as a means for inner conversion and reencounter with God (Haskins 1927: 42-47; Constable 1996: 257-261).

In this way, a circle initiated at the height of the Middle Ages came to an end, a circle in which the world view of the period promoted an asceticism and a spiritual rigour in the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as way of reconversion, protected by a belief in personal sacrifice and the mediation of the saints – especially the apostle St. James the Elder – as a route of conciliation with the Creator. The crisis of the fourteenth century, the peculiar experience of the Way of St. James for Christian knights and the new forms of spirituality in the sixteenth century could not do otherwise than to reinforce this message.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Several texts in Book I of the *Codex Calixtinus* underline St. James' role as intercessor in the cathedral and on the pilgrimage routes, both on land and at sea (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 82, 91-92).

<sup>2</sup> In 1116 Queen Urraca donated the head of St. James the Younger to Bishop Diego Gelmírez and the cathedral of Santiago, together with one of St. Stephen's bones and a piece of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, according to the *Historia Compostelana* (book I, chapter 112); see Falque Rey 1994: 267-268.

<sup>3</sup> The redemption of sins by indulgences was already highlighted in the mid-thirteenth century in a synod held in Compostela by Archbishop Juan Arias (1259-1267): "Item publicamos in synodo indulgentias quas habet ecclesia compostellana que secuntur et mandamus omnibus archipresbiteris, clericis, et capellanis ciuitatis et diocesis compostellanae, in uirtute, obediencie et sub pena excommunicationis quod diebus dominicis et festiuis denuntiet et publicent eas populo in ecclesiis suis et incant populum et exortent ut ueniant ad ecclesiam compostellanam causa peregrinationis in remissionem peccatorum suorum" (Pérez López 2003: 315).

<sup>4</sup> This ideological system was set up c. 1025-1030 by Gerard of Cambrai and Adalberón of Laon (Le Goff 1983: 76-85; Le Goff 1999: 233-236; Duby 1992: 76-77).

<sup>5</sup> Le Goff 1981: 181-207, 236-238; Ariès 1983: 132-134. This solidarity between the living and the dead was explained in a papal bull in 1325, granted by John XXII to the brotherhood of pilgrims in Paris. The document enabled the brotherhood to accept as members sick people who sent a pilgrim to Santiago on their behalf, and also allowed pilgrimage for the deceased (Jacomet 1993).

<sup>6</sup> The supposed chalice from the Last Supper is the same one with which Joseph of Arimathea gathered Christ's blood on Calvary. For the greater part of the fourteenth century it was kept at this Aragonese monastery on the Way to Santiago. According to tradition, it was translated from Rome to Huesca in the mid-third century by the deacon St. Lawrence. It then came to San Juan de la Peña, where it was guarded by the monks. In 1399 it was taken to the royal treasury of Aragón, in Zaragoza. It was later taken to Barcelona and ended up in the cathedral in Valencia. The original part consists of an Eastern cornelian cup, made in the 3rd to the 1st century BC in Antioch or Alexandria; see Beltrán 1996: 65-67.

<sup>7</sup> De Molina 1550: fol. 21v. According to Fr. Yepes the miracle took place in 1300, in the midst of a snowstorm. A priest was saying mass to a congregation of one, a peasant called Juan Santín. The priest ridiculed the peasant's effort on coming to mass on such an unpleasant day, but to his great surprise, at

the consecration, the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ. See Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. II: 316-318; Larriba Leira 1990: 217-218.

<sup>8</sup> The sovereign made the pilgrimage to Compostela in 1332 and 1345. On the former occasion he was knighted in the main chapel of the church, and on the latter he gave the apostle two lamps and three candles to illuminate his altar for all eternity; see López Ferreiro 1903: 89-90, 127-128.

<sup>9</sup> In 1321 the bourgeois Geoffroy Coquatrix, benefactor of the pilgrims' hospital in Paris, sent a reliquary statue of St. James the Pilgrim as a pious donation to Compostela – possibly via Charles de Valois, brother of King Philippe le Bel (Jacomet 2003: 98-100). In the second half of the century we could underline the examples of Jean de Busseul, Lord of Moulin de l'Arcouce, who in 1386 made the pilgrimage to make his offering to the apostle; or the will of the 'noble homme' Bernard Johanini in 1375, who sent his son on the pilgrimage to Santiago to take his offering of ten pounds (Contamine, Paviot 2012: 123-124, 128).

<sup>10</sup> The shell, *signum peregrinationis* of the Way, is an emblem of identity *post mortem*, the symbol of the bearer's virtues and linked to resurrection and eternal life (Castelli 1995; Castiñeiras 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the numerous safe-conducts granted to these pilgrims by the King of England and the Crown of Aragón, see Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. I: 81-83. The French chronicles of 1386 speak of a pilgrimage to Santiago by three hundred French knights, according to Rucquoi 2012: 392.

<sup>12</sup> Such was the opinion in 1446 of the patrician Sebastian Illsung of Augsburg; see Herbers, Plötz 1999: 90; Rucquoi 2012: 379-398.

<sup>13</sup> See Italian and Spanish chivalry literature from the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries, the stories, dissemination and topics, in particular the aspects of knighthood adventures as a means of personal fulfilment of the knight errant, in Gómez-Montero 1992: 1-9, 104-121.

<sup>14</sup> There were numerous editions in Italian and it was translated into Spanish by Alonso Hernández Alemán; it was published in Seville in 1512, 1527 and 1548 under the title of *Corónica del muy noble caballero Guarino Mezquino*. The adventure on the Way to Santiago takes place in the first two chapters of Book Six; see Baranda 1992; Amozurrutia Nava 2008: 39.

<sup>15</sup> The Flemish soldier and diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy made the pilgrimage to Santiago twice, in 1407 and 1436; French nobleman Nompard de Caumont did so in 1417; Sebaldt Rieter in 1462, Italian nobleman Gaugello Gaugelli in 1463, Bohemian nobleman Leo von Rozmithal in 1466, the knight Jean de Tournai made the pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem and

Santiago in 1488-89 and the German knight Arnold von Harff did the same in 1496-98; see Arlotta 2012.

<sup>16</sup> As with Sebald Rieter and other patricians from Nuremberg (1462); see Herbers, Plötz 1999: 73-80.

<sup>17</sup> In this case the 'miracle of the hanged man', one of the most popular on the routes of pilgrimage, and the Battle of Nájera (1367), where King Pedro I and his ally the Prince of Wales defeated Enrique de Trastámara; see Herbers, Plötz 1999: 58-70.

<sup>18</sup> This bishop, from a Jewish convert family, made the pilgrimage to Compostela in the holy year of 1456, seeking the mediation of the apostle; in the cathedral he founded an anniversary for his soul and had the image of St. James the Pilgrim carved on his tomb; see Cendón Fernández 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. III: 84. Translation by the author. The original text from XV Century said: "En el camino frances de Santiago do tantos peregrinos e de tantas e de tan estrañas terras de cada día pasan".

<sup>20</sup> The excessively theoretical nature of humanist postulates, added to the concept of the idealisation of the human, was the cause of the practical failure of this ideology, according to Romano, Tenenti 1980: 128-133.

<sup>21</sup> A good example would be the pilgrimage of Swiss captain Heinrich Schönbrunner and various companions from the nobility of Lucerne in 1531, in which they combined travel on horseback with ships (La Rochelle-A Coruña); according to his diary, on the ship on the way home (A Coruña-La Rochelle) there were fifty-two pilgrims (Herber, Plötz 1999: 253-257).

<sup>22</sup> In 1585 the Knights of St. John or Malta visited the hospital of the Crucifixion in Puente la Reina (Navarra), under orders from the Grand Master of the Order, Mgr. Verdala; see Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Riu 1948-49, vol. III: 88-89.

<sup>23</sup> The Inquisition settled in the palace of Monterrey and fought against the heterodox trends of the Galician peasants, the presence of Judaizing Portuguese and the influence of Lutheran books and people from Flanders, France and England who came via the ports of A Coruña, Tui, Baiona, etc. Suspicions by the institution against pilgrims are rare, at least in Santiago; see Contreras 1982: 60-65, 80-89; Pita Galán 2012.

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## Essays



## ARE WE ALL PILGRIMS? THE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

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Does it suffice to travel towards a religious destination to be regarded as pilgrims? Does it show that the travellers have undertaken a process of religious conversion and are seeking to express specifically Christian values? If we ask ourselves what a pilgrim is in the 21st century and look for the answer in the principal contemporary publications (among them: Turene 1997; Mazza 1999; Scarvaglieri 1999; Vaccaro 2004), we find that the pilgrim is one who seeks a “divinising purification, through a sacred path that connects mankind with divinity”<sup>1</sup>. A pilgrim is very different from a tourist and even from a ‘religious tourist’, as stressed by Paolo Asolan in his review of the volume by Carlo Mazza in *Lateranum*, the journal of the Faculty of Sacred Theology of the Pontifical Lateran University (Asolan 2008: 424-426). In that volume we find a concise but effective definition of religious tourism that expresses the difference between the two experiences. “In the varied and multiple forms of mobility, the typical phenomenon of religious tourism acquires a substantial and indicative significance. By allusion, it recalls the ancient and traditional practice of pilgrimage, of which it preserves profound traces, which reveal a historical, cultural and religious continuity of undoubted symbolic and practical significance in the experience of contemporary man”<sup>2</sup>. Pilgrimage and religious tourism<sup>3</sup> are, in fact, profoundly different, both in their purpose and the ways they are practised. The pilgrim is one who is seeking the answers of faith and experiences travel as an opportunity for the encounter with God. By contrast, the religious tourist also enjoys choosing itineraries and encountering different cultures, while hoping to engage in a dialogue that favours growth and knowledge. But today the boundary between pilgrimage and religious tourism is increasingly narrow. People rarely go to Lourdes, Fatima, Santiago, Rome, S. Giovanni Rotondo, Assisi or Loreto, without living in the town and exploring its environs. They want to understand the culture of the places they visit and see the regions in which they are set and their natural beauties.

In the early sixties, tourism was a “social phenomenon of increasing development, in which the presence of the Church was necessary”<sup>4</sup>. These words by Cardinal Cicognani, in the name of Pope Paul VI, turned the Church’s attention towards this phenomenon, which has been defined as the “social event of the century”. After the Ecumenical Vatican II Council, with the Apostolic Constitution *Regimini Ecclesiae Universae* of 1967, tourism entered the sphere of competence, responsibility and activity of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy, which created a special Sector for Tourism (Paolo VI 1967). It developed a new practice of ‘sacred travel’, which favoured cultural, social and economic factors, making this experience closer to cultural tourism and social tourism rather than pilgrimage. Religious tourism is perhaps characterised by a religious quest that is more subjective and independent of the ecclesiastical institutions than pilgrimage, in which direct contact with holy places and landmarks plays a fundamental part. By following the ancient paths of pilgrimage it relates past to present and opens up prospects



FIG. 1. The way is central to the experience of pilgrims and religious tourists.

Next page:

FIG. 2. Signs make the way recognisable.

FIGS. 3-5. Different artefacts give a form to the landscape along St. James road.

for future hope. Through the recovery of the memory associated with places and their most profound significance, along the way the pilgrims rediscover, acknowledge and reflect on a whole series of spiritual (or psychological) needs of humanity, while concentrating on giving a meaning to their journey and their lives.

### **New geographies of the sacred**

Since the period of preparation for Holy Year 2000, there has been a wide-ranging debate between those who defend the tradition of pilgrimage and those who are receptive to other forms of 'sacred travel'<sup>5</sup>. A sacred place is one that is the object of veneration, which becomes a point of reference for a system of values of a religious nature, closely bound up with its history and the context in which it is set (Mazumdar, Mazumdar 2004). For example, in Italy, in relation to Holy Year, state or regional institutions defined favorable conditions to support religious tourism with funding aimed at the restoration of the cultural heritage along the paths, the reorganisation of places of hospitality, the preparation of museums and the reactivation of itineraries<sup>6</sup>. Some of the best-known destinations in Italy are pilgrimages to the churches of Rome, the 'encounter' with St. Anthony of Padua, the places associated with St. Francis in Assisi, the shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary of Pompei and Padre Pio at S. Giovanni Rotondo. This entailed a sort of redrawing of the 'geography of the sacred', which revealed the remarkable potential of the cultural heritage in Italy. Central to the experience of both the pilgrim and the religious tourist is the way (Gioia 2004). The way encompasses everything: historical, cultural, social, economic and religious factors (Fig. 1). The way transmits messages of various kinds in space and time (Caucci von Saucken, Asolan 2009). The way speaks of itself and of many histories. The way, with its rural settlements where people live and work, with its sacred buildings, the artefacts that make it recognisable (Fig. 2), gives a form to the landscape (Figs. 3-5). Along the way, at every crossroads, the destination, the point of arrival is always clearly signposted. So sacred travel proceeds between 'signs' and 'markers' in a specific context where we can be enriched by many experiences that may embody features of the landscape, enjoyment of the historical and artistic heritage, a knowledge of the local culture and a memory of the events of the faith. All this sets in motion processes of various kinds, at the heart of which is the theme of the journey and the experience that is possible along





the way. Sacred travel is also an anthropological and social fact, but one that implies a cultural and artistic dimension that religion has produced and still does, as well as the organisation of travel and hospitality (Acquaviva, Scarsini 1999), with a whole series of associations with the various aspects of the journey and travellers moving towards the great centres of pilgrimage.

### **The cultures of travel**

Religious tourism and pilgrimage are entwined and perhaps even overlap (Dani 1983: 126-139; Holsen 2010). The central question, when it comes to preserving the memories of places with their signs and meanings, is how to deal with the presence of both realities, as in the case of the pilgrims' way to Santiago de Compostela (among the most recent: Singul 2007; Somaville 2010; Singul, Pazos 2015). The pilgrim who goes to Santiago is the pilgrim par excellence. Dante explains: "For the word 'pilgrims' can be understood in two ways, one general and the other specific. In the general sense, a 'pilgrim' is anyone who is travelling outside his own land; in a specific sense the term 'pilgrim' means only one who travels to or returns from the house of Saint James"<sup>7</sup> (Musa 1973:

XL). Clearly Dante is referring metaphorically to the *homo viator*, the one who makes a journey to the farthestmost point, to the *finisterrae* of the then known world (Caucci von Saucken 1989: 35). It should be stressed that, as many books tell us, people of all kinds have travelled under the sign of the shell (Fig. 6) along the roads to Santiago ever since the Middle Ages (González Paz 2010), including vagabonds, the curious and adventurers, who used the facilities provided for pilgrims (Rucquoi 2014). The presence of the two parallel realities gives rise to a complexity that entails a different management of the two phenomena, especially of religious tourism, which differs markedly from pilgrimage in numbers and extent (Mazza 2007). Although it is still widely debated whether religious tourism is a sub-category of cultural tourism (Rizzo 2016: 8), the two phenomena are unquestionably closely linked and have in common consumer behaviour and supplier behaviour, when the areas of purely religious interest extend to those of culture (art, landscape, architecture, an interest in local products, etc.). In this respect, the important point is to adopt a policy that regulates the processes affecting religious or cultural tourism, rather than taking up an unsympathetic attitude, as if to deny what is already happening. And the worst approach would undeniably be to record the phenomenon and its forms and methods, without indicating how they should be regulated through complex strategies, which will inevitably have to act on different levels (supra-national, national and local) with various public and private actors. Undoubtedly a key to understanding this complex theme is the new approach and involvement by local communities, which are capable of activating a process that links religious or cultural tourism to the context, usages and society in ways that contribute to creating a culture of the territory in which the cult object is located. The interest in different sanctuaries or places of worship can also become an opportunity for the region, encouraging other forms of tourist interest respectful of the context and its resources. Neglect would leave space for the development of consumer attitudes to the cultural heritage and the prevalence of a profit logic alien to the deeper significance of these places. The strategies that should be adopted rest on a 'resource-based' model that derives not so much from users' requirements as the cultural characteristics and natural resources of a region, by promoting sustainable tourism (Timothy, Boyd 2003).

There are, however, points along the path in which the theme is most highly concentrated. Particular attention should be paid to such places. In all the different contexts (pilgrimages, religious or cultural tourism), the ecclesiastical cultural assets bearing testimony to the sacred are focal points that catalyse meanings, values and interests. The CEI (Episcopal Conference of Italy) defines them as assets of specific value that represent and express, through the work of the human intellect, the bond that unites God the Creator with humanity as the continuers of his work in the world (Conferenza Episcopale Italiana 1992). The encounter with this ecclesiastical cultural heritage, when it goes beyond just small groups of pilgrims and involves large numbers of tourists, raises questions concerning its protection and maintenance and its tourist and cultural function. So while we can consider expanding the use of the heritage assets to comprise different cultures of travel, we should reflect on the need to protect and preserve the cultural heritage for the edification of the Christian community to which they belong, and be concerned not to alter their purposes by reducing them to mere consumer goods for tourists (Conferenza Episcopale Italiana 1992). Hence the central factor is not to generate processes of use that lead to a sort of 'distortion of the ecclesiastical assets', whose

FIG. 6. Nowadays (like in the past) many kinds of travellers under the sign of the shell along the roads to Santiago.

FIG. 7. Identity of place like Santiago roads is closely bound up with religious and spiritual aspects.



identity is closely bound up with their religious and spiritual aspects (Fig. 7). The experience needs to take into consideration the settings where places notable for devotion in its geographic, anthropic, religious and historical forms have arisen (Garrido Villa 2000). We can take the case of the itinerary Cammini del Monte di San Michele (Berti 2012, Beltramo 2013), a pilgrimage route linking the 'mountains' dedicated to the Archangel and leading to sanctuaries set on their summits found in various European countries (England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany). The sites have very different characteristics, but in all the height on which the sanctuary is located, built according to similar compositional schemes, emerges from the context as if it were a landmark. In the Camino de Santiago, however, we find not a series of landmarks that can also be read in a local key, but a network of linear routes in which the paths themselves have provided the matrix for the development of towns and villages, infrastructures and cultural exchanges that have profoundly influenced the region. Precisely because of these characteristics of the Camino de Santiago, it appears crucial to foster an enjoyment of these assets that is respectful of the purposes of such places in both cultural and spiritual terms. This matter is extremely complex and still presents risks that need at the very least to be regulated (Alvarellós Casas, García Iglesias 2005), in order to avoid consumerism of the cultural heritage or even the possible birth of a 'market of the sacred'. The uniqueness of the 'sacred place' lies in its history and the context in which it is set, and it forms a landmark of a religious nature for individuals and communities. For these reasons it should not be transformed solely into a tourist destination (Gonzalez 2010).

### **Itineraries as instruments of enhancement**

Sustainable religious or cultural tourism can be an opportunity to enhance and develop peripheral areas, recognising and revaluing local identities through networks of local and supra-local institutions (Rizzo 2016). These resources are inscribed in landscapes with their natural elements and human artefacts, material cultures and individual and collec-

tive intangible values. They are an important asset that needs to be developed in the European economy. In Italy, there are some peripheral and marginal areas (small towns and rural or mountain settlements) where both inhabitants and territories suffer from economic inequality, exclusion and even abandonment. They need to be reconnected with the stronger areas of the various countries to begin a new processes by seeking to relieve the demographic pressure and redress economic disparity (simply to say...difficult to be done!). They need to become visible to the European population and display their neglected wealth and possibilities. The rediscovery, enhancement, virtual exchange and direct knowledge of the cultural (and religious) resources of these areas could also be important economic resources.

In recent years many European projects (among them the 5th, 6th and 7th Framework Programmes for Research and Technological Development) have evolved a new approach to preservation and the enhancement of the landscape and the cultural heritage. New strategies, approaches, forms of networking and education should be the basis of methods compatible with the characteristics, potential and local identities of such places. Innovative policies are needed to address and reduce processes of trivialisation and standardisation, while actively promoting their variety, complexity and difference, so redeeming their peripheral and marginal conditions, obsolescence, abandonment and neglect. The preservation of the cultural heritage for the future generations in Europe is one of the principal tasks, with responsibility for it resting on European citizens and conservationists. The approach, therefore, for addressing these processes must involve collaboration between the operators at different levels: from spatial planning to retailers, businesses and local communities, while being careful not to fall into the danger of promoting new sales formulas or religious marketing. The issue is extremely delicate. Fostering significances and values through the use of simple forms of communication in harmony with the methods of mass communication, that focus the values to favor contemporary communication, could mean an opening to a larger public and a more effective and 'contemporary' form of communication in relation to the new modes of perception and use. But it also risks trivialising (perhaps diminishing) ancient symbols, rich in significance, that from a certain point of view are the foundation of Catholic culture<sup>8</sup>.

In managing this complexity, involving different users who respond to the experience of sacred travel in different ways and with very different purposes, it is of crucial importance to develop organisational and communication networks capable of accompanying tourists, pilgrims or even simple visitors with educational instruments, including virtual systems. In this work, local communities have a central role to play. They have to rethink the various local contexts coherently and increase their diversity and specific values, relating to the deepest aspects of their identity. By adopting a participatory (bottom-up) process, which assigns a relevant role to local communities (public and private), taking decisions and determining responsibility for administering the necessary processes and changes (ICOMOS 1999, principle 4), it may be possible to analyse the local and global factors and the social, cultural and economic circumstances so as to understand the different attitudes of local communities towards the tangible and intangible local cultural heritage. In this way they might discover how the heritage could become a medium for raising awareness among the coming generations. A purposeful approach to regulating these complex processes should be guided by international cooperation in the case of the Camino de Santiago, which runs through different countries. They should promote local



development, but above all seek to preserve the identity of the places along the way, so as to preserve the significance and values of the pilgrimage and the sacred journey, albeit embodied in many-sided forms.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Mazza 2007: 19. Translation by the author.
- <sup>2</sup> Mazza 2007: 7. Translation by the author.
- <sup>3</sup> Although it is partly a question still to be debated whether religious tourism is a sub-category of cultural tourism (Rizzo 2016: 8), in the text this convergence is assumed because it is clear that they are closely linked and are increasingly being established in urban and rural contexts, expanding their areas of interest.
- <sup>4</sup> Cicognani 1963. Translation by the author.
- <sup>5</sup> *Itinera. Borsa internazionale del turismo religioso*, Ravenna-Verona 1990-1996 organised by BIT (Milan) in collaboration with the National Office of the CEI for pastoral care of leisure, tourism and sport; *I pellegrini della modernità. I giovani, i viaggi e la pace*, international conference organised by the Sociology Department at the Università Statale of Milan, 1996
- <sup>6</sup> For example, in the case of Rome and the Lazio region, Law no. 651, 23 December 1996; Law no. 270, 4 August 1997, *Piano degli interventi di interesse nazionale relativi a percorsi giubilari e pellegrinaggi in località al di fuori del Lazio*.
- <sup>7</sup> "Peregrini si possono intendere in due modi, in uno largo e in uno stretto: in largo in quanto è peregrino chiunque è fuori di la sua patria; in modo stretto, non s'intende peregrino se non chi va verso la casa di sa' Jacopo o riede".
- <sup>8</sup> In the case of Galicia, Xacobeo, an organisation that has been run by the Tourist Agency of Galicia since 2013, see <[www.Xacobeo.es](http://www.Xacobeo.es)> [Accessed 24 April 2019], seeks to promote the Camino de Santiago and Xacobeo culture. The official mascot, designed by the graphic artist Luís Carballo, was the Pelegrín. Carballo also designed the official logo. Both the Pelegrín and the 1993 logo represent the pilgrim with the traditional staff and pumpkin. The images of the following Holy Years (1999, 2004 and 2010) were the work of the designer Alberte Permuy, who started from a more abstract representation of another of the great symbols of the Way of Saint James: the scallop shell. Furthermore, in 2014, the artist Antón Lamazares designed the image for the 8th centenary of St. Francis's pilgrimage to Santiago. On a piece of pasteboard, it represents Franciscan austerity and is written using the 'Delfino alphabet', created by the artist himself.

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## ACCESSIBILITY TO CULTURAL HERITAGE BETWEEN TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE

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Cultural heritage is a complex system, defined by the overlap between different semiotic levels. Over the decades, heritage studies have progressively questioned the one-dimensional approach to cultural heritage, from both an interpretive and an operational point of view. If on the one hand it is not possible to consider heritage exclusively from the perspective of just one of its connotations (material, immaterial, functional, symbolic), on the other it is not legitimate to define a conservation strategy that is not holistic. In particular, when we talk about holistic management, we take into consideration an integrated approach capable of simultaneously managing the social, economic and environmental layers, which define the overall framework of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage represents a strategic resource in developing a human centred approach to empowering local communities. The concept of enhancement of cultural heritage has undergone a deep change, shifting attention from the objects to the ability of visitors to understand their tangible and intangible values. Until a few decades ago, every heritage management strategy was focused on heritage itself, while today an approach based on the active role of the visitor is increasingly recognised. In this context, each person is considered as an active stakeholder who contributes to the creation of cultural heritage's meaning, thus becoming a 'cultural presumer'. Strategies for inclusion and accessibility which enable people to react to and interact with heritage, could become real drivers for generating knowledge and wellbeing.

### **Losing and rediscovering the invisible values of landscape**

The progressive secularisation of thought over the last two centuries has led in the past to a desacralisation of reality and a rationalisation of culture, and this applies also to the interpretation of cultural heritage. In a certain sense, the delegitimisation of the ability to recognise the invisible dimension of reality has led to a reduction of the perceptive field of our cognition regarding the manifestations of existence. The loss of the non-perceivable dimension of reality has led to an impoverishment of the potential richness of cultural heritage in human landscapes. The rebirth of the theme of nature's spiritual value has encouraged the rediscovery of a lost interpretive perspective. Behind nature, behind the landscape, behind the visible reality, there is an intangible and dynamic dimension, which could help to redefine the cultural and spiritual value of places (Williams 1992).

The UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage recognises a double characterisation to the invisible dimension of cultural heritage: on the one hand it is a product, which is defined as "constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history"; on the other it is a semantic and semanticising filter, which "provides them with a sense of identity and

continuity” (UNESCO 2003). In both meanings intangible heritage is characterised and defined within a symbolic process.

When we talk about intangible heritage, we must consider it in its manifold manifestations, which can be traced back to the phenomenology of symbolisation or to the (formal) sedimentation of tradition (Murin 2014). In order to be able to understand it, to be able to communicate it and to preserve it effectively, it is necessary to have the interpretive key.

From this perspective, heritage studies must necessarily take account of studies of semiotics, cultural anthropology, sociology, the social history of culture and art, in order to fully understand the needs and develop effective tools for a holistic approach in heritage conservation, as well as for a strategy for real accessibility. In particular, we should be aware of three main criticalities:

1. multisensoriality: intangible heritage, despite its name, is strongly characterised by a multisensory approach, in which all the senses can contribute to the definition of possible manifestations and their complexity;

2. dynamic nature: intangible heritage, as highlighted in the 2003 Convention, is ‘constantly recreated’, as a product of the interaction between the context and the communities; the impossibility of defining heritage in a permanent way obviously poses constraints, making it necessary to identify adaptable methodologies and tools;

3. cultural complexity: intangible heritage is the product of a process in constant evolution of the transformation of languages, of technological change, of demographic change, of pluralist contamination<sup>1</sup>; therefore it is not possible to define a conceptual reference system; contextually with the transformations of the cultural system, there is also a modification of the symbolic system of understanding, interpretation and communication of intangible heritage.

Dealing with conservation of intangible heritage, and making it accessible, means being able to adopt a dynamic, adaptable approach, which allows for constantly modifying methodologies and practical instruments, depending on the characteristics of each specific case. The heterogeneity of the categories included by UNESCO as intangible heritage (Bortolotto 2007) also makes clear the need to approach the subject with multi-disciplinary tools, which could be able to interact with a complex system.

### **Pilgrimage and cultural routes: different conceptual categories for the same holistic approach**

The Council of Europe, with the Declaration of Santiago de Compostela (October 23, 1987) for the first time formally defined the theme of cultural routes, declaring that “cultural identity has been and still is made possible by the existence of a European space bearing a collective memory and criss-crossed by roads and paths which overcome distances, frontiers and language barriers” (Council of Europe 1987). The paths that have always crossed Europe have been a fundamental element in the construction of European identities, through processes of contamination and cultural enrichment. In a sense, the declaration tries to bring back to life the spirit that had characterised the *ecumene*, the shared space of belief within which pilgrims lived over the centuries of the Santiago pilgrimage observance, in an era of profound secularisation and strong ideological clashes (note that the Declaration was issued two years before the fall of the Berlin Wall). Although it is an institutional document, in fact, the proposed vision is certainly driven by deeper values:

“May the faith which has inspired pilgrims throughout history, uniting them in a common aspiration and transcending national differences and interests, inspire us today, and young people in particular, to travel along these routes in order to build a society founded on tolerance, respect for others, freedom and solidarity” (Council of Europe 1987).

Pilgrimage can be understood as the most complex demonstration of the role of religious culture in conditioning landscapes. The journey for religious motivations characterises every system of belief, and has deeply conditioned the process of diffusion of Christian thought in the European scenario. In a sense, the pilgrimage contributes to the creation of sacred landscapes, composed of a final destination and all the places and territories crossed by the pilgrim route.

Currently, the theme of Catholic pilgrimage is governed by the Code of Canon Law, which focus attention on the physical place considered as the final destination of the route. Although using a semantic and a completely different conceptual reference system with respect to the interpretative neutrality of UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM and the Council of Europe, the Directory on Popular Piety and Liturgy (Congregation for Divine Worship 2002) clearly underlines the awareness of the interdependence between tangible heritage, intangible heritage and landscape: it explicitly declares that the necessary interconnection between sanctuary and pilgrimage defines a methodological horizon that must effectively take into consideration the invisible history of places, translating it into an integrated strategy of heritage semiotics and transmission of the social value of sacred landscapes.

The sanctuary represents a unique case of space conceived as a multisensory dimension, in which light, sounds and smells contribute to define the sacred space, considered as a closed semiotic context. Therefore, working on accessibility means questioning the complex nature of the sanctuary ecosystem, defined by a deliberately multisensory design model and a symbolic history that translates the participation of the believing community into a ritual system. When we talk about accessibility within a dimension such as that of the sanctuary, we cannot limit ourselves to the issue of physical accessibility, or to that of conceptual accessibility. The sensoriality itself helps to determine the context that must represent the condition of access to the symbolic and ritual value of the complex sanctuary.

### **Desacralising the sacred, resacralising the profane: the central role of community**

The relationship between sacred landscape and intangible heritage is an extremely rich case of study and reflection, but it is important, in a broader sense, to investigate the relationship between cultural landscape and its uniqueness, which is largely defined by the framework of the intangible heritage that characterises the values of each territory.

The Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Council of Europe 2005) represents a watershed in European policies of integrated conservation of cultural heritage. The radical transformation from a heritage-centred approach to a human-centred approach, regarding the relationship between community and heritage in cultural landscapes, has determined a revolution in methodologies as well as in the definition of tools and models of conservation. The introduction of the concept of ‘heritage community’, which binds the cultural value of heritage to its living value for society, activates a process of community empowerment, sharing both the potential benefits and conservation re-

sponsibilities. Cultural heritage becomes a system of values, not only from a point of view of intellectual symbolisation, but also from the point of view of the everlasting history of social transformations.

For the first time, the ICOMOS Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICOMOS 2008a) introduced the priority problem of finding the balance between correct comprehension and respect for the authenticity of the heritage value (Silberman 2009). In an era in which communication had acquired a too cumbersome role in the policies for the enhancement of cultural heritage, ICOMOS legitimately sought to restore order in a disordered scenario. As stated in the Charter, the need to facilitate understanding and appreciation must in any case guarantee respect for the authenticity of sites, thus posing problems of definition of methodologies and operating standards.

The International Charter on Cultural Routes (ICOMOS 2008b), highlights the interrelated nature of the relationship between social history and heritage. In the awareness of the need for a conceptual redefinition of cultural routes management methodologies, the Charter proposes the characteristics that routes must possess to be considered as cultural routes. The identification of five elements (context, content, cross-cultural significance as a whole, dynamic character, setting) must take into account, in the specific case of a religious route, the strongly symbolic character of the process of definition and the sense of perception of a pilgrimage route. The preservation of the complex pilgrimage cultural system must be based on participation, as evidenced by both the formal acts of the Church and by international scientific and institutional reflection.

The central role of the community, in the integrated conservation of the landscape, is also confirmed by the Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (ICOMOS 2014) which clearly remarks the key role of a community-based approach for the effective conservation and holistic sustainability for the management strategies of cultural sites. In the case of the conservation of a sanctuary and of the pilgrimage route, it is important to highlight that the community involved goes beyond the local ecclesial community, but involves the whole society, basically for two reasons:

1. the whole cultural landscape is deeply modified by the presence of the sanctuary, not only that of direct religious interest;
2. the religious phenomenon represents a potential driver of local development, from the point of view of the economy, of social development and of public education.

With a view increasingly oriented towards participatory conservation, every methodology must base its vision in the need to ensure the possibility, diversified for each person, to contribute to the conservation and enhancement of heritage and landscape. Speaking of community-based approaches generates the responsibility of being sure that the community could be composed of all its members, recognising the potential value and uniqueness of each person (Sørmoen 2016).

### **Route of Santiago de Compostela case study**

The criteria for the inclusion of the Camino de Santiago in the UNESCO World Heritage List, tell us about complexity and difficulties related to making 'accessible' the values held in the Camino as a whole. Moreover, the fact that "in contrast with the waning of urban life in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, the reception and commercial activities emanating from the Camino de Santiago led to the growth of cities in the



north of the Peninsula and gave rise to the founding of new ones" (UNESCO 1993) recalls the issue of accessible tourism as relevant, among the ones raising about the possibility for all to experience the pilgrimage.

Looking at the growing demand for destinations of cultural tourism, and the danger of massification for some of them, the Camino does not represent an exception. It has become a source of economic growth in the regions of northern Spain and this fact has had a great impact on local population, culture, economy, and environment. Constant promotion of Jubilee years attracts a huge amount of pilgrims and tourists from all over the world; thanks to the development of routes and trail infrastructure many northern Spanish towns raised their cultural prominence, turning out cultural heritage previously neglected to be a great asset. The Camino is therefore not only seen as a spiritual phenomenon, but it has also gained an economic value and potential for its historical heritage; at the same time, it has acquired a risk of overcrowding, being overloaded with commercialisation, which may conflict with the inner authenticity of the values it holds, and with the experience in its deeper and intimate meaning.

Development of tourism based on walking trials requires consideration of environmental and cultural impacts, logistics, and the needs and interests of tourists (UNWTO 2004: 274-275), including requirements of travelers with special needs.

Improving accessibility of the Camino affords potential and opportunities to promote equality in the places it comes across, in terms of quality of life and accessible spaces and services for all.

Achieving tangible accessibility definitively implies deep changes of material aspects that affect its inner values. The Camino overcame changes over the years: bumpy sections have been paved, impervious paths have been joined by driveways to service local community; the landscape, the noises and smells are ever changing in relation to the needs of those who live along the way. The tangible improvement in accessibility is found in the provision of services along the path: *albergue*, toilets, refreshment points, adequate facilities to meet contemporary and common needs such as the availability of universal multi-device charging stations. Accessibility also has less tangible aspects, related to the personal, experiential and symbolic value motivating people to undertake the journey and therefore with the whole preparatory phase in terms of motivation, organisation and training. In some ways the experiential part, different for every human being and different even for the same person who lives or relives it in a different moment, is charged with a sort of 'intimacy' that acts as a filter between the intangible cultural values and the person, and so difficult to distinguish the one from the other: the intangible value being the person, the person being the tangible value. In other words, accessibility cannot only be considered as a logistic interaction (related to the body), but also, or more properly, as a human interaction.

### **Final remarks**

Accessibility, interpretation and correct communication are necessary tools for the development of a new conception of conservation. Heritage management strategies must allow the user to access the heritage, to interpret and understand it correctly, in order to generate a real engagement process. Therefore physical, cognitive, sensorial and semiotic accessibility must be taken into account in a holistic strategy for heritage conservation.

To improve the accessibility of cultural sites it is essential to develop plans and programmes to support not only the most vulnerable users and this can be done by exploiting the different dimensions of accessibility. The demand for new experiences and a deep personal contact with travelling, especially in the case of persons with special needs, leads to a different approach to the project for accessibility. In order to foster community participation and to ensure the function of global pedagogy of cultural heritage, it is necessary to establish methods that make integrated accessibility a fundamental condition, overcoming the purely compensatory use of the available tools, promoting a broader vision of strategic actions. Therefore, integrated accessibility complies with a principle of synergy (benefits for users with disabilities or special needs are, *de facto*, beneficial for all) to a principle of law: accessibility is a fundamental right of each of us, with or without disabilities or special needs.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The process of social pluralisation has provoked the multiplication of semiotic and communication systems; heritage, characterised by a conceptual and symbolic specific frame, risks becoming unreadable to those who belong to an allogeneic culture; at the same time, the coexistence of numerous cultural systems determines hybridisation and contamination phenomena, which regenerate the same symbolic systems in new creative productions and new reinterpretations.

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## WALKING THROUGH THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: FROM THE PILGRIMAGES TO THE CONQUEST OF THE 'CATHEDRALS OF THE EARTH'

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*Between art and nature there is mountaineering, which is a creative spiritual activity like art,  
but it is also contemplation, dedication and communion with nature<sup>1</sup>*

Castiglioni 2017: 25

### Introduction

Walking tourism includes a large number of cases ranging from the most famous pilgrimages to different ways to frequent the natural environment<sup>2</sup>; in particular, the mountains can be considered as 'natural monuments' that are also affected by consumption dynamics.

The relationship between the different experiences of walking are in the interweaving of immaterial values (spiritual/intellectual/emotional) and with material ones of the path (places traversed, with monuments and views) and, in particular, in the risk that the latter are altered or distorted by excessive tourism and poor awareness of these values.

Mountain landscape is the combination of natural heritage and anthropised territory; a particular reflection must be done where the latter presents such labile traces of anthropisation (trails, huts) which are, however, significant for historical and cultural reasons related to mountaineering history, to the evolution of geographic knowledge, but also to the events of World War I that occurred on the borders between the European nations.

In the last century the practice of mountain tourism grew at an increasing rate, bringing with it a landscape distortion due to the development of winter sports and the socio-economic change of many alpine areas, that have been subjected to a withdrawal from rural activities (with the consequent degradation of the territory and its characteristic buildings) and to an often uncontrolled construction development.

Even in different situations, the relationship between the problems of consumption and safeguarding of the territories crossed by the walking tourism (see the Camino and the other 'Ways') with those of the Alpine areas is evident.

Starting from highlighting the cultural and spiritual significance of the mountains<sup>3</sup>, this paper reflects on the consumption of this heritage and on the need to safeguard the existing material testimonies of historical value, preserving its authenticity.

Finally, the consideration of the different elements that give meaning to the 'route' itself (regardless of the finish line to be reached) provides a possible key to avoiding overcrowding, without limiting the tourist presence on the Camino de Santiago.

### The mountains as cultural heritage

The history of mountaineering generally places the birth of this activity with the first explorations by the Englishmen William Windham and Richard Pocock in 1741 on the Mer

de Glace (the impressive glacier on the French side of Mont Blanc) and with the first climb of the same peak in 1786 by the French climbers Jacques Balmat and Gabriel Paccard (Motti 2016). However, in previous years, various intellectuals had expressed their interest in the mountains<sup>4</sup>.

In 1729 the Swiss scientist Albrecht von Haller had published a poem on the Alps<sup>5</sup>. This was followed by other publications, translated into various languages, which laid the foundation for the (not only scientific) attention that would soon be given to it<sup>6</sup>. Jean Jacques Rousseau<sup>7</sup> and Horace Benedict de Saussure<sup>8</sup> also made noteworthy contributions to stimulating attention for the mountains. So this interest stems from wide-ranging and diversified cultural bases, which go well beyond naturalistic study or sporting passion. From that moment the travellers of the *Grand Tour* began to direct their attention not only towards the monuments of antiquity, but also the alpine landscape, and in particular, the glaciers<sup>9</sup> (Bourrit 1773).

Following this phenomenon there was construction in 1795 at Montenvers (near Chamonix) of the first mountain hut, called 'Temple de la Nature'<sup>10</sup>. The good fortune of the site grew considerably, to a point at which in 1840 a hotel was built (and another in 1880) and in 1909 the Chamonix-Montenvers railway line was inaugurated (Fig. 1).

At the same time, this interest in the mountains was also extended to the Apennines: in 1794 the scholar Orazio Delfico<sup>11</sup> climbed to the eastern summit of the Corno Grande



FIG. 1. Montenvers and the *Temple de la Nature* (France). Above, from the left: a view of *Mer de Glace* by M.T. Bourrit with the idealised image of the hut; a drawing by Charles Vallot illustrating the refuge before restoration. Below: a photo showing the place in the early Twentieth century (the refuge can be seen behind the two hotels); the current situation of the historic hut (by <[www.unil.ch/viaticapes](http://www.unil.ch/viaticapes)>; <[blog.chamonix.com](http://blog.chamonix.com)> accessed 27 April 2019).

together with the architect Eugenio Michitelli (Fig. 2). This feat (for a long time held to be the first ascent of the Gran Sasso) was achieved together with a series of studies and measurements (Delfico 1994 [1794]).

Beyond the scientific interest of the representatives of Enlightenment culture, the attraction to the mountains had been clear well before. This is already shown by the climbs of Francesco Petrarca in 1336 on Mount Ventoux<sup>12</sup> (in Provence), Leon Battista Alberti on Monte Velino<sup>13</sup> (in Abruzzo), and Leonardo da Vinci on Monte

Rosa<sup>14</sup> (Monboso). Leonardo drew different mountain landscapes; recently it has been hypothesised that he was familiar with the region of Abruzzo, whose mountain territory of the Baronía di Carapelle belonged to the Signoria of the Medici (from 1579 to 1743)<sup>15</sup>.

The first documented ascent of the summit of the Gran Sasso (then known as ‘Corno Monte’ and described as “the highest that there is in Italy”) was completed in 1573 by Francesco de Marchi<sup>16</sup>. A military engineer in the entourage of Margaret of Austria, as well as confirming the interest at the time in the mountain environment and geographical observation, de Marchi attested the regular use of mountain paths by the local populations<sup>17</sup>.

Beyond the scientific interest, since ancient times the mountains have been an object of spiritual attraction. The concept of ‘sacred mountain’ that cannot be climbed is found in various cultures, as the Mount Uluru (or Ayers Rock) in Australia, the Chomolungma<sup>18</sup> or Sagarmāthā<sup>19</sup> (known to the Western world as Mount Everest). In the Bible the mountain is identified as a place of meditation (see Moses on Mount Sinai, Jesus and his *Sermon on the Mount*), then becomes a symbol of an ascetic path. From Milarepa (Tibetan poet who lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD) to the hermit Pietro da Morrone (Pope Celestino V in 1294), to San Giovanni della Croce with the *Ascent to Mount Carmel* (16th century), up to the ‘mountaineer pope’ Pius XI, walking on the mountains has always constituted an experience of great spiritual value (Bobba, De Mauro 1923; Langella 2002).

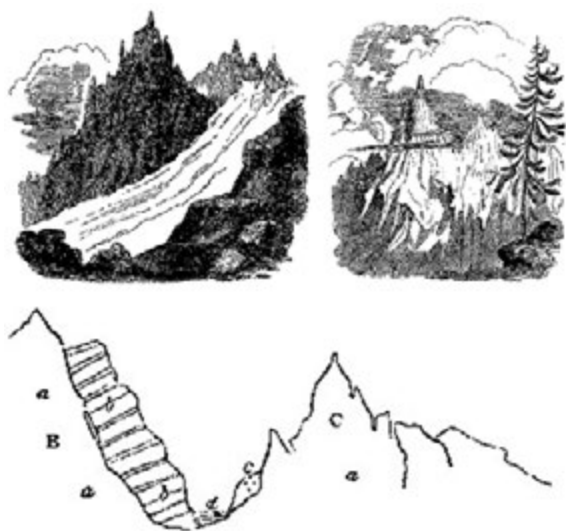
Leaving aside the issues of political propaganda (that is also present in the history of mountaineering) (Pastore 2000), it is worth emphasising the spiritual and cultural interest for the mountain landscape and its aesthetic and ‘monumental’ value, vouched for by well-known personalities in the field of restoration.

John Ruskin from 1833 to 1888 constantly spent time in the mountains, writing a great deal on the subject and contributing greatly to the interest that developed for knowledge of the mountain environment<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 3). He defined the Alps as “Cathedrals of the Earth” highlighting not only the sense of magnificence expressed by the mountains, but also the need for respect and protection that they inspire. Similar to his considerations on the restoration of monuments, he was among the first to express concern about the risks provoked by mountain tourism (Ferrazza 2016: 15-16, 187).



FIG. 2. A view of the Gran Sasso d'Italia (north-eastern side) drawn by Eugenio Michitelli, architect and climber together with Orazio Delfico in 1794 (by <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orazio\\_Delfico#/media/File:Veduta\\_gran\\_sasso.jpg](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orazio_Delfico#/media/File:Veduta_gran_sasso.jpg)> accessed 27 April 2019).





Viollet-le-Duc visited the mountains of Auvergne and the Pyrenees. In 1836 he climbed Mount Etna and made numerous studies and drawings regarding Mont Blanc, proving once again that scientific interest and aesthetic attraction can coexist<sup>21</sup>. He also transferred his vision of restoration to the mountains: by observing its erosion, he imagined Mont Blanc as a 'monument in ruins', prefiguring the need to safeguard the mountain landscape (Fig. 4).

At the same time, among the ascents documented by the Italian Alpine Club, the interest of several intellectuals and artists for the mountains of Abruzzo is very clear. In 1881 Edoardo Martinori<sup>22</sup>, with Enrico Coleman<sup>23</sup>, reached the summit of Pizzo Cefalone (Coleman 1981 [1881]). Still today, at the foot of the Gran Sasso, near the Garibaldi mountain shelter, there is the stone pyramid of its sepulchral monument (Fig. 5). Ignazio Carlo Gavini<sup>24</sup> made important ascents on Gran Sasso: on the summit in 1892, he carried out the first winter ascent of the Corno Piccolo in 1893 with Enrico Abbate<sup>25</sup> and in 1894 the first ascent of the mountains Infrance, Prena and Camicia (Gavini 1892; Pietrostefani 1975: 74, 85).

The interest shown by these and many other personalities confirms the several values of the mountain heritage, which go beyond a purely environmental interest.

### The 'consumption' of mountain heritage

Today, given the increasing number of visitors to mountain environments, the phenomenon of 'consumption' (understood not only as overcrowding, but also as inappropriate use) is illustrated by numerous cases. For brevity's sake, we limit ourselves to some examples.

The Himalayan peaks and, in particular, the Mount Everest (the most accessible among the 'Eight-thousanders') are currently the subject of widespread commercial speculation and serious changes in the environment<sup>26</sup>. The reports of the crowded paths, the base camps covered in rubbish, and the exploitation of local people used as carriers are well-

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FIG. 3. The first drawings by John Ruskin illustrating the mountains. Above, from the left: Aiguille du Servoz and glacier; Aiguille du Dru; geological stratifications of Mont Blanc (*Magazine of Natural History*, 1834, VII: 644-645).

FIG. 4. Two paintings by E. Viollet-le-Duc showing the Mont Blanc: above the situation observed in August 1874, below the reconstructive hypothesis of the glacier (De Rossi 2014: tav. 43; Schepis 2017: 134-135).

FIG. 5. The sepulchral monument of Edoardo Martinori (1935) in Campo Pericoli, under the Gran Sasso (Abruzzo).

FIG. 6. The crowded routes to climb the Mount Everest (photo by Simone Moro, 2012 in <<https://www.planetmountain.com/it/notizie/alpinismo/everest-come-gardaland-intervista-a-simone-moro-dopo-la-rinuncia-al-progetto-di-salire-everest-e-lhotse.html>> accessed 27 April 2019).

known<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 6). Beyond that, the very fact of having changed its name (because “the mountain has no name intelligible to civilised men”<sup>28</sup>) reveals the indifference to the local cultures and history (given that the name of George Everest – a British colonel at the head of the expedition between 1830 and 1843 which attempted to measure the mountain<sup>29</sup> – was given to the mountain in 1856).

Currently in these locations, there are various initiatives of ‘sustainable tourism’<sup>30</sup> and attempts to regulate the flow of climbers<sup>31</sup>. The efficiency of these projects should perhaps be assessed, but they do however appear to be consistent with the objectives of the International Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS 1999) which makes explicit reference to the natural and cultural heritage<sup>32</sup>. The same cannot be said for tourism in the Alps. Here commercial strategies seem bent on transforming the mountains into something that is very much ‘people-friendly’ in ways which are totally inappropriate for these places (consider the distortion of the landscape stemming from the building of ski lifts, the exploitation of water resources for artificial snow production, and the transformation of the huts into hotels and ultra-luxury restaurants)<sup>33</sup>.

Similar (in some respects) to the symbolic value attributed to Everest, is the case of Mount Eiger in Switzerland. Considered to be a ‘monument’ of mountaineering (invulnerable until recent times, due to the extreme difficulty in climbing its north wall)<sup>34</sup>, it was pierced by a tunnel, between 1896 and 1912, in order to build the highest railway station in Europe (3,454 m) and favour access by tourists. Today this area is a World Heritage site<sup>35</sup> and it is visited by many people, for the most part totally oblivious of the mountain environment they are visiting (Fig. 7).

Consumption and overcrowding concern the most well-known places in the Alps (Mont Blanc, Matterhorn, Dolomites) and even the Apennines. On the Gran Sasso, there





FIG. 7. The Mount Eiger (Switzerland): on the left, the Jungfrau railway at the Kleine Scheidegg station (in the background, the fearsome North Face). On the right, the arrival at 3,454 m: a tourist appears totally extraneous to mountain frequentation.

are massive visitor numbers especially in summer, when many people crowd the paths, increasing both erosion and the levels of danger of the area. Alternative enhancement strategies should be adopted, avoiding localised concentrations and distributing mountain users over a wider geographical area. In fact, many other equally evocative places are completely ignored.

In this regard, the Camino de Santiago is a positive example, given the multiplicity of possible routes. The problems of overcrowding seem to concern, however, the terminal sections (in particular the arrival at Finisterre, where the natural environment is distorted by numerous tourist facilities).

### **Preserving the heritage: historic paths, alpine huts, war sites**

In the light of these considerations it is clear that the historical architectural artefacts existing in the territory crossed by the Way, or by the path in general – such as chapels and hospices on the main Alpine passes (dating back to very remote times and mostly transformed in the Napoleonic period)<sup>36</sup> – must be fully recognised as objects worth safeguarding. However, this awareness still seems somewhat remote with regard to alpine shelters (rather recent buildings and very often transformed by expansion and renovation) or other historical artefacts (e.g. stone huts built by shepherds, or rock engravings documenting the passage of the ‘brigands’ on the Maiella massif)<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 8).

In Italy the alpine huts were built mostly after 1863 (the year of foundation of the Italian Alpine Club) to allow the mountaineers to make a stop and take refuge. Sometimes they were enlarged and transformed into buildings of a military nature<sup>38</sup>. An example is the Marinelli-Bombardieri hut in the mountain range of Bernina (Sondrio). Built in 1880 with the name of Capanna Scerscen, renovated in 1906 and renamed Rifugio Marinelli, it was again enlarged during the World War I to house troops<sup>39</sup> and then again in 1935 on the initiative of the mountaineer Luigi Bombardieri, after whom it was named on his death (Bombardieri 1961). In this case, the history of the hut can be recognised in the various volumes of the refuge (Fig. 9). However, the original structures of the hut are generally no longer recognisable because they have been replaced by later building works.

Today the needs for enlargement and adaptation to regulations (healthcare-sanitation and safety) are often addressed with little awareness of architectural values. Yet the shel-





FIG. 8. Above, the inscriptions of 'brigands' on the rock in Majella Mount. Below, the stone huts existing near Piani di Fugno was built by the ancient shepherds (Abruzzo).

FIG. 9. Transformations undergone by the Marinelli-Bombardieri refuge (by <<http://www.cartolinedairifugi.it/regioni/lombardia/marinelli-e-bombardieri-al-bernina-rifugio/>> accessed 19 June 2019): in the upper left, the Scersen hut (1880); the first extension (Marinelli hut) next to the original shelter (1906). Below, the refuge transformed by soldiers (1917); the current situation (2017).

ters, due to their historical significance and the very fact of being in natural contexts of great landscape interest, pose undoubted restoration issues (similar to what is observed for historical and vernacular architectures along the Way).

A survey conducted in the CAI database highlights the general lack of information regarding any 'listed' buildings as cultural heritage. Rarely is there any indication of the year of construction and the uneven information does not allow keyword searches<sup>40</sup>. At the same time, the feedback in the MiBAC<sup>41</sup> information system provides only rare cases (there are very few alpine huts registered) and confirms the general absence of protective decrees, with the exception of some in Veneto<sup>42</sup>. It is surprising to note, even among these, the lack in the CAI database of historical information and data related to 'listed' buildings<sup>43</sup>. Thorough checks in the field are advisable to identify how many historical huts still exist (whether only the original name of the shelter is maintained, or the present physical conditions the building). Where there has been enlargement, it should be noted if the historical nucleus is still identifiable or not. In this regard, it is noteworthy that often on the websites of the individual huts there is a presence of 'immaterial' memories (photo of mountain-climbing), together with a general lack of awareness of the 'material' values of the building itself.

Among the oldest Italian mountain huts there is that named as Garibaldi (on the Gran Sasso), inaugurated in 1866. It is one of the few not to have been enlarged<sup>44</sup> and nevertheless it is not 'listed'<sup>45</sup> (Fig. 10). Here intangible values associated with the history of mountaineering combine with the material value of the building itself, never altered by refurbishment<sup>46</sup>. There is a clear contrast with the series of building events of the nearby Duca degli Abruzzi hut, built in 1908 but raised and enlarged various times, and of other similar cases in the same area<sup>47</sup>.

Observing some recent renovations of Alpine huts, attitudes are more or less attentive to historical-conservational issues<sup>48</sup>. The new construction of the Gonella refuge on Mont Blanc<sup>49</sup> stands next to the old building (dating back to 1891, enlarged in 1925 and rebuilt in 1963), which is to be demolished<sup>50</sup> (Fig. 11).

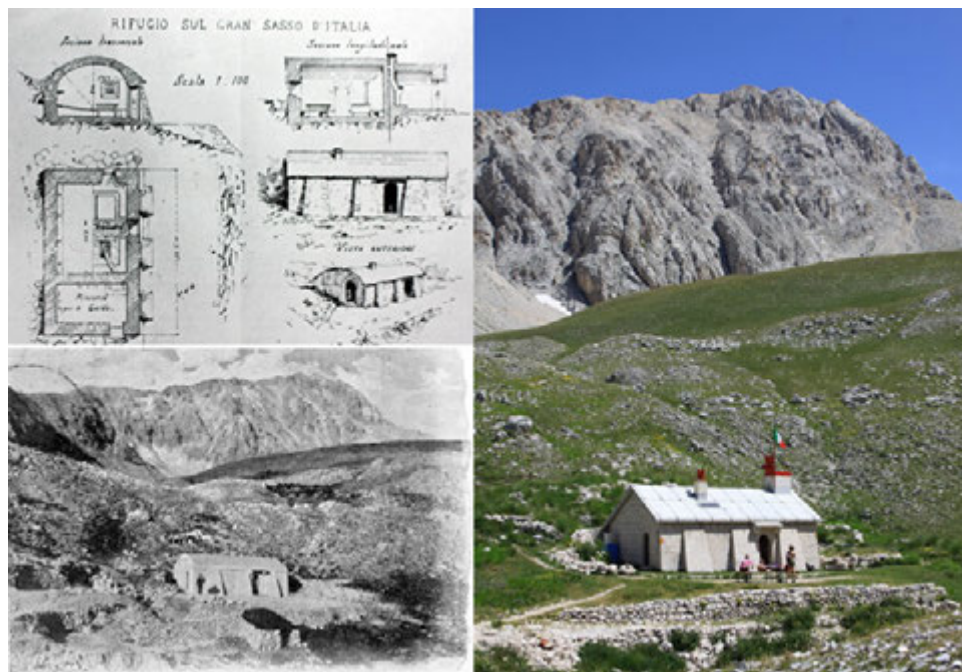
FIG. 10. The Garibaldi hut under the Gran Sasso: on the left, the building project (1884); a postcard (1900) showing the refuge, which was inaugurated in 1886 (CAI 1975: 27). The current situation (2017). The original volume is intact, but the vaulted roof has been transformed into a gable roof in 1977.

Next page:

FIG. 11. The new Gonella refuge on Mont Blanc: the previous small hut can be seen in the foreground (by <[www.rifugiogonella.com](http://www.rifugiogonella.com)> accessed 27 April 2019).

FIG. 12. The new Gervasutti bivouac at the Grandes Jorasses (by <[www.caichieri.it](http://www.caichieri.it)> accessed 27 April 2019).

FIG. 13. The Vittorio Emanuele II refuge at Gran Paradiso: above you can see the old hut (built in 1884 and renovated in the 1930s) and the new building. Below, the ground floor late expansion (by <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifugio\\_Vittorio\\_Emanuele\\_II#/media/File:Rifugio\\_Vittorio\\_Emanuele\\_II\\_01.jpg](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifugio_Vittorio_Emanuele_II#/media/File:Rifugio_Vittorio_Emanuele_II_01.jpg)>; <<https://www.cai-torino.it/rifugi/vittorio-emanuele-ii-vecchio-e-nuovo/>> accessed 27 April 2019).



The new Gervasutti bivouac (at the Grandes Jorasses) replaced the 1848 hut, already rebuilt in 1961, with an unusual volume<sup>51</sup>. The building erected in 2011 is deliberately situated as a foreign body within the mountain context, foregoing any attempt at blending in with its surroundings (Fig. 12).

What is interesting, as regards the conservation approach to the existing building, is the expansion of the Vittorio Emanuele hut under the Gran Paradiso. Expansion is limited to the base section (hidden by the rocks but recognisable due to the different materials used) so as not to alter the historical and landscape context<sup>52</sup>. Here the first hut, built in 1884, was renovated in the thirties and flanked by the new building erected in the fifties, characterised by a large hull-shaped roof (Fig. 13).

Apart from the mountain huts, there is also a need to safeguard all those structures of historical/cultural value referred to as 'war architecture'<sup>53</sup>. These include fortifications, trenches, but also shelters dug into the glaciers. These structures have emerged recently due to progressive glacier melt, posing problems of conservation not dissimilar to those of archaeo-





logical findings. Furthermore, the structures with a historical-landscape value (ancient and recent pathways, mountain pass crossings in the Alps and Apennines, tunnels and routes excavated into rock) pose issues of protection on a wide scale.

Among the evidence of war existing in Italy, the ‘monumental sacred area’ of Punta Serauta (on the Marmolada) has a museum itinerary marked by a series of posts and fortifications. These have been restored in order to commemorate the war events, and are for teaching purposes rather than historical documentation (the material authenticity appears somewhat neglected)<sup>54</sup> (Fig. 14).

Another example of a ‘war monument’ is the Road of the 52 tunnels, a mule track built on Mount Pasubio in 1917, today a destination for evocative excursions (Fig. 15).

Recently, on occasion of the centenary of the Great War, various initiatives were carried out to study and promote these works<sup>55</sup>. Nevertheless, the tourist promotion of the areas often seems to neglect these important historical testimonies in favour of sporting interest (the Alps have become “the playground of Europe” as the evocative definition appeared since 1871)<sup>56</sup>.

One last issue, for the sake of brevity only hinted at here, is linked to the signposting of mountain paths. The adaptation to international signposting conventions has imposed new numbers and names, with the consequent systematic redrawing of the signs. However, the old indications deserve to be maintained next to the new ones, recognisable with different colour coding (this also applies to the ancient signs along the Camino). The same applies to the routes of some of the first ascents, about which recent controversies have





FIG. 14. On the left, a war trench on the Marmolada Mountain; on the right, the 'sacred monumental area' of Punta Serauta, with military installations along the war path.

FIG. 15. The '52 tunnels road' was built by Italian soldiers in 1917 on Pasubio Mount. Today it is a destination for suggestive excursions (by <<https://www.stradadelle52gallerie.it/la-strada/>> accessed 15 June 2019).



arisen. The two opposing views put those who would like to eliminate dangerous traces and restore the integrity of the mountain against those who, on the other hand, pose questions regarding the conservation of important historical evidence<sup>57</sup>.

## Conclusions

In general, authentic understanding and recognition of the values and significance of a route (be it the Camino de Santiago or any other itinerary in their specific different nature) must lie at the base of each decision regarding protection. Indeed, the phenomena of consumption and degradation come about due to a lack of awareness or distortion of meanings. The inclusion of places of cultural/natural interest in the World Heritage List tends to accentuate the phenomena of tourism consumption and consequent degradation; these problems evoke comparison of the Camino de Santiago with the frequentation of some mountain sites listed by UNESCO (Dolomites, Alps).

The birth of 'modern' mountaineering (understood as human endeavour or behaviour) has distorted the primitive admiration for the mountain environment, transforming what was initial reverence into challenge and conquest<sup>58</sup>. The exception with those who admit that the route is more important than the destination to be reached (in mountaineering, there are those who say that "the top is an event, but the route it is everything"). Applying this reflection to the Camino it could be possible to avoid the intense crowding in its final sections, favouring a better distribution of pilgrims onto other tracks.

In general, together with recognition of the 'intangible' values (spiritual, traditional, emotional connected to effort and time spent walking) there must also necessarily be consideration of the 'material' values. Safeguarding a route of cultural interest (and its environment) cannot overlook protection of the already existing structures, which must be preserved in all their authenticity (avoiding camouflage and falsifications). Beyond careful evaluation regarding the conservation of historical constructions, it must be taken into account (especially in the case of alpine huts) that there are very few that have remained intact. In these rare cases conservation is absolutely essential, studying the possibility of carrying out potential expansion in the area external to the original structure. In any case, the new buildings should be located appropriately so as not to overwhelm the environment in which they are situated, following an approach appropriate with integration into a monumental context. The same applies to the Camino of Santiago: the environment and the landscape along the way must be protected as a monument in itself<sup>59</sup>.

Furthermore, in the mountain environment, the building works should be reversible (besides being eco-compatible), since the natural landscape imposes future restitution of the original situation. Therefore, the technological aspects must be faced together with architectural issues with an approach open to safeguarding the monuments. Very rarely do we see projects that are coherent with these criteria<sup>60</sup>.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Translation by the author.

<sup>2</sup> See, for examples, the *Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe* (<<http://dbunico20.beniculturali.it/DBUnicoMedia/repository/documents/26-09-2017/77a1842587a53e4aaed84ace5e729c71dfda0ad.pdf>> accessed 9 October 2018) and the *Cammini d'Italia* (<<http://www.turismo.beniculturali.it/home-cammini-ditalia/>> accessed 10 October 2018).

<sup>3</sup> See the mystical experience of Ettore Castiglioni on March 1936 told in *The day of Mesules* (Castiglioni 2017: 84-87). About his, see the documen-

tary film *Oltre il confine* by A. Azzetti and F. Massa (2017).

<sup>4</sup> The forerunners of scientific interest, in particular the contribution of the *Illuministi italiani alla scoperta delle Alpi* (Italian Enlightenments in search of the Alps), are described in Ferrazza 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Doctor, naturalist and poet, wrote various essays on the mountains (von Haller 1729).

<sup>6</sup> These writings are collected in Rizzi 2009. What is particularly interesting with regard to the possible development of a 'cultural route', is the description of the transport in 1778, through the Gotthard Pass, of



more than 20,000 books from von Haller's library. This was the most important scientific collection of the time, acquired by Giuseppe II after the scholar's death (now in the National Braidense Library of Milan).

<sup>7</sup> The philosopher sought refuge in Môtiers from 1762 to 1765, due to the persecution he was subject to because of his political writings (Rousseau 1764).

<sup>8</sup> Scholar of geology, botany and physics, he is considered to be the promotor of the discovery of the mountains; he carried out various ascents and measurements, and reached the summit of Mont Blanc in 1787. See De Saussure 1780.

<sup>9</sup> See the travel reports to the glaciers (1741-1742) in Pesci 2001: 153-179.

<sup>10</sup> The hut hosted famous guests (among whom Victor Hugo in 1825, Alexandre Dumas in 1832, John Ruskin in 1835) but, following construction of the nearby hotel, it remained almost abandoned until the mid-20th century. Charles Vallot (author of the first guide to Mont Blanc) turned to the Comité des Sites et Monuments for the hut to be safeguarded; it became a national monument and was restored in 1973.

<sup>11</sup> Naturalist, botanist and chemist.

<sup>12</sup> F. Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, Book IV.

<sup>13</sup> See Alberti 1784, book. II: 84, in which he describes the rocks "full of images similar to seashells".

<sup>14</sup> Ricci 1977.

<sup>15</sup> See the 'mountain studies' in the *Windsor papers* (1478-1518, Royal Library). G. Ferrini's hypothesis on the representation of the Abruzzo landscape is in <<https://www.montagna.tv/cms/109095/quando-leonardo-da-vinci-visito-le-montagne-abruzzesi/>> [Accessed 19 September 2017].

<sup>16</sup> The account of the ascent is published in De Marchi 1973 [1573] (see also Marinelli 2005 and Ardito 2014).

<sup>17</sup> The author describes the commercial trade that occurred between L'Aquila and Teramo carrying the goods (wool) on foot from Assergi through Portella Pass (2,260 m asl). The traverse of the Gran Sasso is an example of a 'cultural route' to be safeguarded, together with the remains of stone huts that are testimony to attendance in ancient times.

<sup>18</sup> The Tibetan term means 'mother of the universe'.

<sup>19</sup> The Nepalese word indicates the 'sky god'.

<sup>20</sup> His mountain writings are collected in *Works* (Ruskin 1904). See also Ferrazza 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Frey 1989; Schepis 2017: 131-136. See also his *Carte du Mont Blanc* of 1876 (scale 1:40.000).

<sup>22</sup> On the figure of Martinori (engineer, intellectual, traveler and mountaineer) see Ciranna 1999.

<sup>23</sup> He was an Italian painter of British nationality (1846-1911), leader of the 'naturalism' of roman painting in the second half of nineteenth century.

<sup>24</sup> Member of the Associazione Artistica dei Cultori dell'Architettura (since 1895) and architect of the Superintendency for the Monuments of Lazio and Abruzzi, he is author of *Storia dell'architettura in Abruzzo* (1927-28).

<sup>25</sup> History and art scholar, he was author of the first *Guida al Gran Sasso d'Italia* (1888) and of the *Guida dell'Abruzzo* (1903).

<sup>26</sup> From 1953 up until today, the number of climbers reaching the summit of Everest is 8,306. On the first attempt, in 1924, see <<https://www.caitorino.it/montievalli/2017/08/28/perche-sei-li-i-misteri-di-george-mallory-e-andrew-irvine/>> [Accessed 2 January 2018]. See also <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/116863/requiem-per-leverest/>> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

<sup>27</sup> See <<https://www.planetmountain.com/it/notizie/alpinismo/everest-come-gardaland-intervista-a-simone-moro-dopo-la-rinuncia-al-progetto-di-salire-everest-e-lhotse.html>> [Accessed 21 December 2017].

<sup>28</sup> The "Highest Mountain in the World", in *The Times* 1856. See <<https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/jul/21/mount-everest-name-1856>> [Accessed 19 September 2017].

<sup>29</sup> In reality the complex measurement was completed by the Indian mathematician Radhanath Sikhdar in 1852.

<sup>30</sup> In addition to solidarity projects following the 2015 Nepal earthquake.

<sup>31</sup> <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/116454/nepal-cambiano-le-regole-per-sherpa-e-alpinisti/>> [Accessed 2 January 2018].

<sup>32</sup> It seems appropriate to identify and 'recognise' the cultural itineraries first of all before delimiting them physically (cfr. "buffer zone" in ICOMOS 2008: 5); in the mountain environment this last aspect may interfere with the integrity of natural places and may be resolved with the principles of protection established in landscape plans.

<sup>33</sup> See <<http://www.lastampa.it/2017/12/03/societa/montagna/turismo/il-rifugio-cambia-pelle-spa-menu-stellati-e-architetture-di-design-KGg1pU8uXX0dCKvI84P90K/pagina.html>> [Accessed 18 December 2017].

<sup>34</sup> On the dramatic events associated with attempts to conquer the Eiger, there exists a rich bibliography and a recent film (*North Face*, directed by P. Stölzl, 2008).

<sup>35</sup> Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch (<<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1037>> accessed 30 September 2018).

<sup>36</sup> See those at the Simplon Pass, the Great St Bernard Pass and the St Gotthard Pass (built by monks in the Middle Ages to offer shelter to wayfarers).

<sup>37</sup> One of this inscriptions reveal the political view contrary to the Unification of Italy: "Read my memory for dear readers: in 1820 Vittorio Emanuele King of Italy was born. Before 1960 he was the kingdom of flowers, now he is the realm of misery".

<sup>38</sup> See, in France, the huts built by Napoleon III (Col du Noyer, Col de la Manse, Col d'Izoard and Col de Vars).

<sup>39</sup> In 1917 forty-two Italian alpine troopers setting off from Rifugio Marinelli were killed in an avalanche in the Scerscen Valley, where there is a commemorative monument.

<sup>40</sup> The database is subdivided by region and distinguishes mountain huts from bivouacs, with a total of 774 buildings. See <<http://www.cai.it/index.php?id=6&L=0>> [Accessed 29 December 2017].

<sup>41</sup> The Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage.

<sup>42</sup> In <<http://vincoliinrete.beniculturali.it/VincoliInRete/vir/utente/login>> [Accessed 29 December 2017]. There is listing regarding war buildings, but these are generally air-raid shelters.

<sup>43</sup> The *Guida ai rifugi* (CAI 2013) lists year of construction, but not the presence or otherwise of environmental or cultural restrictions.

<sup>44</sup> This circumstance is due to the fact that the hut fell into disuse after construction of the Duca degli Abruzzi shelter, then of the hotel and Campo Imperatore cableway in 1933.

<sup>45</sup> Actually "the cultural interest is not verified" (<<http://vincoliinrete.beniculturali.it/VincoliInRete/vir/bene/dettagliobene396793>> accessed 23 January 2018).

<sup>46</sup> Despite modest building works (roof renovation), the building has maintained its original size. For the story, see Clementi, Pietrostefani, Tobia 1980.

<sup>47</sup> The Sebastiani hut was inaugurated in 1922 (but the project dates back to the previous decade), and the Franchetti hut in 1960. They have been enlarged in comparison with the original structure, with methods indifferent to the architectural and historical values.

<sup>48</sup> See the *Brief history of shelter constructions on the Alps* (Gibello 2017).

<sup>49</sup> The new building (designed by A. Ingegneri and E. Ribetti) has a structure in glued laminated timber and walls in laminate aluminum. See Dini, Giusiano 2011.

<sup>50</sup> See <<http://ilgiornaledellarchitettura.com/web/2012/01/16/i-cantieri-estremi-del-monte-bianco/>> [Accessed 3 January 2018].

<sup>51</sup> Designed by L. Gentilcore and S. Testa, the building has the appearance of a large telescope in fiberglass pointing towards the surrounding landscape.

<sup>52</sup> Designed by E. Giacomelli, M. Falletti and B. Amodei (G Studio). The same designers carried out enlargement of the Teodulo refuge in Valtournenche (a

flanking structure recognisable in contrast with the original, with similar materials but a different form) and that of the Toesca refuge in Val di Susa (enlarged by lengthening the existing volume in a clearly visible way).

<sup>53</sup> Gianpaolo Treccani illustrate how the 1915-18 War in Italy was "the last conflict in the history of humanity in which, beyond enormous tragedies, new architecture and landscapes were produced" (Treccani 2014: 142).

<sup>54</sup> The protection of these works is entrusted to the Italian Ministry of Defence: *Commissariato Generale Onoranze Caduti in Guerra* (L.719/1975) and is carried out by renovating structures of warfare (look-outs, shelters in caves or huts, trench walkways).

<sup>55</sup> See CAI 2014. See also <<http://www.trentinograndeguerra.it/>> [Accessed 21 December 2017]; S. Ardito, "I sentieri della pace nella valle di Caporetto", in *Il Messaggero*, 19 October 2017; the application for inclusion in UNESCO sites in <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6077/>> [Accessed 3 January 2018].

<sup>56</sup> Stephen 1871. See De Rossi 2014: VIII, 137, 358.

<sup>57</sup> See the "debolting" of a famous climbing route on Cerro Torre (Patagonia) in <<http://www.montagna.tv/cms/38579/cerro-torre-kruk-e-kennedy-non-gratos-a-el-chalten/>> [Accessed 23 December 2017].

<sup>58</sup> Walter Bonatti's famous phrase ("mountains have the value of the men who climb them, otherwise they would be nothing more than a pile of rocks") seems to prove this, denying the very value of this immense natural heritage.

<sup>59</sup> Taboada 1999.

<sup>60</sup> See the cableway on the Piztal glacier (in Austria), which on arrival presents a structure (glass-paneled and with a shell-shaped covering) which blends well into the surrounding landscape and privileges the panoramic view. See also <[http://www.repubblica.it/viaggi/2018/01/17/news/rifugi\\_boutique\\_con\\_spa\\_alpi\\_dolomiti-186681645/](http://www.repubblica.it/viaggi/2018/01/17/news/rifugi_boutique_con_spa_alpi_dolomiti-186681645/)> [Accessed 23 January 2018].

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## CONFLUENCE OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: THE CASE OF EL CAMINO DE SANTIAGO

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In 1994, after a year of the inclusion of the Spanish Section of the Pilgrim Route of El Camino de Santiago on the World Heritage List, the ICOMOS held in Madrid a meeting of experts on *Routes as part of our cultural heritage*. At the end of the Report of the Meeting of Experts, the following definition that only recognises the tangible elements was proposed as a paragraph to add to the report: “A heritage route is composed of tangible elements whose cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time” (UNESCO 1994).

It is important also to mention that the 1994 meeting of experts resulted in the creation of the International Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC-ICOMOS). Since then this Committee has held a series of meetings with the goal of promoting the identification, study and enhancement of cultural routes and their significance as a whole. During May 2003, a meeting of experts had the task of formulating a concept of cultural routes; at this point the definition recognises the importance of both, tangible and intangible heritage (ICOMOS 2003).

The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes in 2008 pointed out the need for a holistic vision that recognises the value of all its elements and the value of the whole. “A Cultural Route must necessarily be supported by tangible elements that bear witness to its cultural heritage and provide a physical confirmation of its existence. Any intangible elements serve to give sense and meaning to the various elements that make up the whole” (ICOMOS 2008a).

### Intangible Assets in El Camino de Santiago

The intangible assets of a Cultural Route are fundamental for understanding its significance and its associated heritage values. In this 6th Workshop of the EAAE Thematic Network on Conservation, we have been exploring The Route to Santiago as the result of a long transformation from the origins of the cult of the Apostle St James to the use and consumption that nowadays this Cultural Route is facing. In this paper the immaterial aspects will be studied in connection with other values of a tangible nature.

### The pilgrim's reasons

There is no doubt that the main reason for the pilgrimage in the Medieval Ages was fundamentally religious. The devotion to the Apostle St. James was the most authentic and genuine of the pilgrims' reasons to walk El Camino. This *pietatis causa* had also different goals for the pilgrims walking alone or in groups. For instance, a personal vow after an

illness, to prepare oneself before asking the Apostle for a specific grace, a search for redemption, atonement and purification. Others were obliged to go on pilgrimage by the provisions of the will of a dead relative or to find a person to do it in their name, and in the thirteenth century it was also possible to find pilgrims walking to comply with a criminal sentence from the court of Justice. In the eighteenth century the peregrination *pro fame* was also important. This term refers to those that were in need and went to the Route to take advantage of the goodwill of inhabitants, hospitals and convents.

Nowadays, the religious and spiritual motivations are still alive, and are among the principal motivations of those on the pilgrimage, but are frequently intertwined with other interests. Ninety-one percent of pilgrims declare that they have a religious motivation to walk El Camino de Santiago<sup>1</sup>. While the percentage of people that make the journey with only the aim of tourism, hiking or as a challenge is increasing, it is important to point out that the historical reasons mentioned for the pilgrimage remain, including those related to compliance with a criminal sentence<sup>2</sup>. El Camino today shows a growing diversity of pilgrims which is beneficial for the experience of pilgrimage itself, but also brings challenges to the route and facilities. These include the need for programmes for accessibility, meeting special dietary needs, intercultural dialogue; as well as those related to the consumption of the route as a mere touristic experience, such as authenticity and local development, safety and interferences between those walking for a personal experience and those walking in groups motivated by the challenge or just for recreation.

The spiritual reasons for pilgrims to start the journey are deeply related to the respect for the values associated with this cultural route and complex heritage. A change in this principal motivation of pilgrims will impact the way that it is used. The consumption of this heritage will result in a degeneration of the route by its use as a mass tourist destination. Therefore, the spiritual value of the pilgrimage might be considered to be an important intangible attribute to recognise and preserve.

## Hospitality

One of the main aspects that supported the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was the well-known hospitality that characterises this Cultural Route and is probably the clearest association between its tangible and intangible heritage. The exercise of the ideal of Christian charity was fundamental to the hospitality along El Camino. Being a route of piety and prayer, the pilgrim was considered akin to Jesus Christ himself. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* on multiple occasions exhorts everyone to welcome the pilgrims and take care of them as though they were Christ. “Everyone should receive with charity and respect the pilgrims, rich or poor, who return or go to the city of Santiago, because everyone who receives and hosts them with care, will have as guest, not only Santiago, but also same Lord”, says Aymeric Picaud in twelfth century, at the end of his *Liber Peregrinationis*, a medieval guide to El Camino<sup>3</sup>.

The practice of hospitality, very common during Medieval times, was a pilgrim’s right, without which it would be impossible to face the journey to Santiago (Martínez García 2000). Hospitality was also the origin of a network of institutions along El Camino to assist the pilgrim in all their material, spiritual, and health needs. Hundreds of hospitals and hostels were built during medieval times – the greatest era of pilgrimage – to assist the travellers (Martínez 1976). It is important to mention that in Medieval Ages, hospitals



FIG. 1. Map of Pilgrim's Hospitals at the end of 11th century along El Camino de Santiago in Spain (processing by M.A. Calvo-Salve).

were places where the pilgrims found comprehensive care, a place to rest and eat after a long walk, regardless if they were healthy or sick. From the beginning and first years of the pilgrimage in the ninth century, the hospitals and hostels were the monasteries or convents. It was not until the tenth century that hospitals and hostels emerged, not only on the initiative of Kings and wealthy families, but also of inhabitants of the villages along the Route (Singul 1999). Every hospital provided comprehensive care to the poor and the sick, local or foreign.

At the end of the eleventh century there were hospitals on each stage of El Camino (Fig. 1), and in the late Middle Ages, there were no less than 60 hospitals documented (Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa 1948-49). There was not a village, however small, that did not have its hospital. The construction of hospitals also gave the name to the village, like Hospital de la Condesa in Galicia, Hospital de Órbigo in Leon. But this long network of hospitals along El Camino was not enough to assist all the people who walked it. There was a second network of private hostels that were essentially houses that could accommodate 5 or 6 beds. Indeed, there were also two different models of care during the Middle Ages along El Camino. The first was public and offered free and charitable assistance, while the second was private and care was to be paid for in inns, hostels or private homes.

A public network of Pilgrim's hostels still exists that follows the model of the networks of medieval hospitals. In just the Galician stretch there are 69 centres that together provide more than 3.000 beds (Fig. 2). Hospitality as an intangible part of the cultural route is well preserved today although public pilgrim's hostels along the route are not free now; there are a few that ask for a donation or a small fee of between 5 or 10 euros and pilgrims can only stay for one day. The care and facilities that they provide are also very different from those of the past. The Spanish Federation of Associations of Friends of the Camino de Santiago have recovered that value of hospitality along El Camino by coordinating the *Hospitaleros*. It utilises volunteers from all over the world to serve as hosts in public hostels, provide a warm welcome, and collaborate in the dissemination of the artistic, cultural and spiritual contents of El Camino.

There was more than one typology of hospital or hostel along El Camino – they were often built adjacent to churches and abbeys. Some medieval monasteries and ancient hospitals like Sobrado dos Monxes on the North Way or the hospital of San Antón de Ponte de Ribadiso on the French Way (Figs. 3-4), are today appropriately preserved and enlarged

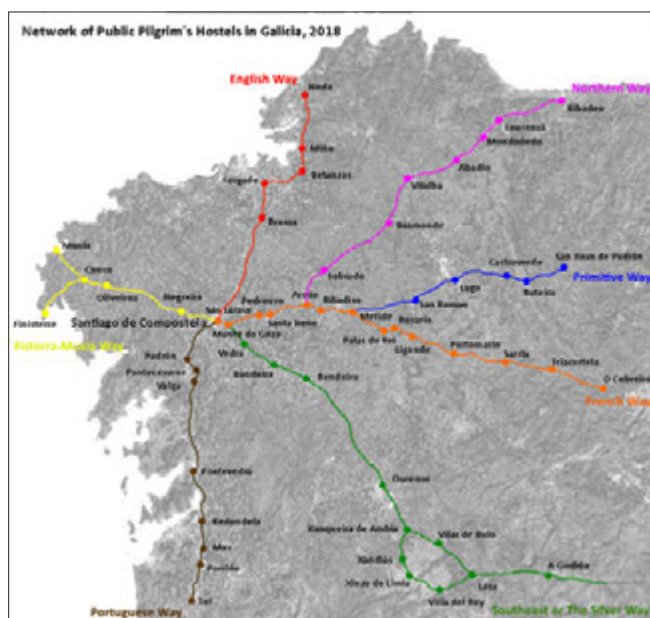


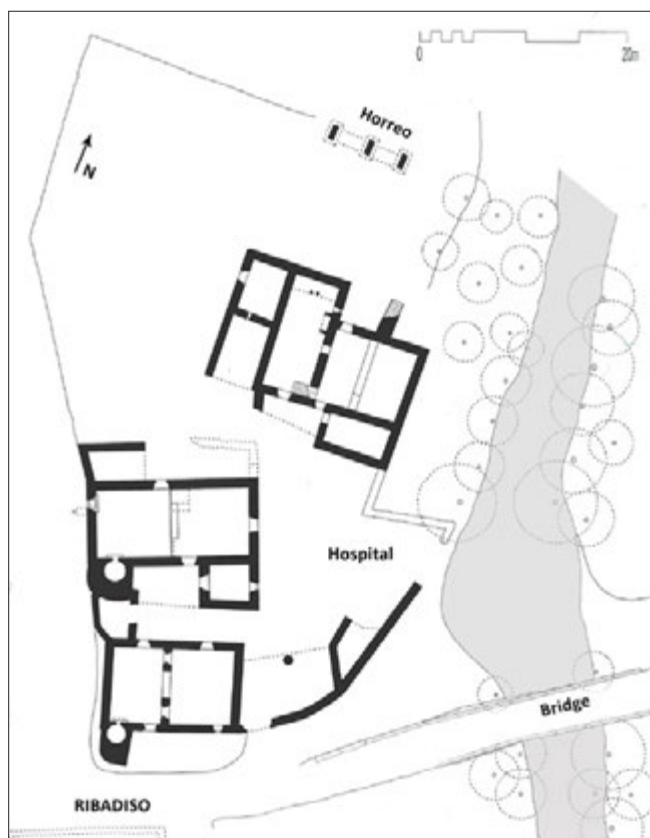
FIG. 2. Map of the 2018 Network of Public Pilgrim's Hostels in Galicia (processing by M.A. Calvo-Salve).

FIG. 3. Plan of the Hospital of San Antón de Ponte de Ribadiso (processing by M.A. Calvo-Salve).

Next page:

FIG. 4. Exterior of the Hospital of San Antón de Ponte de Ribadiso.

FIG. 5. Plan of the Hospital of O Cebreiro (processing by M.A. Calvo-Salve).







as hostels for pilgrims although most of the medieval hospitals are no longer in use. New hostels have been built on the outskirts of villages. The medieval hospital of O Cebreiro (Figs. 5-6), built adjacent to the Santa María la Real Church, founded by King Alfonso VI

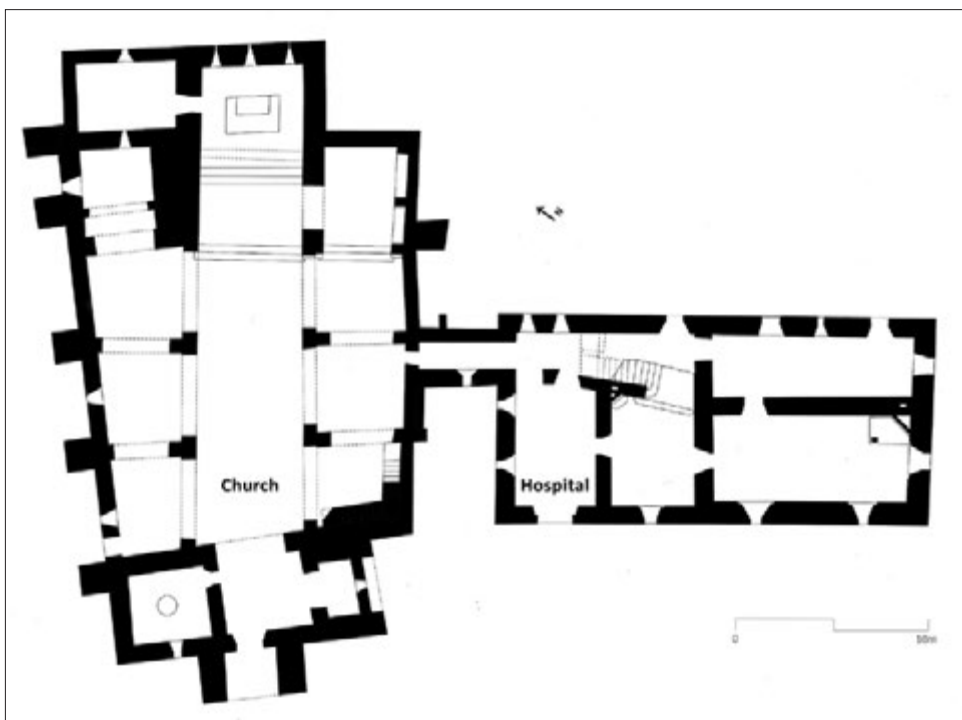




FIG. 6. Exterior of the Church and Hospital of O Cebreiro.

FIG. 7. Exterior of a *palloza* in O Cebreiro.



in 1072 and administered by the French monks of the St. Geraud d'Aurillac abbey, is now abandoned. A new public hostel of about 80 beds has been built outside of the village. This village of O Cebreiro, sited at 1.300 meters and home to the traditional Pre-Roman mountain dwellings called *pallozas*<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 7), has also been transformed into a picturesque settlement. It however deprives the inhabitants of their original homes, tantamount to 'embalming' a peculiar Historical and Monumental Site (Castro Fernández 2007).

The hospital of O Cebreiro is only one of the numerous examples of medieval constructions dedicated to this intangible value of hospitality that are currently abandoned or in ruins, while the village itself is experiencing an important resurgence due the growing interest in the route. In other cases, the magnificent constructions of new hospitals during the Fifteenth century promoted by the Catholic Kings are now transformed into luxury hotels, such as the Hospital Real in Santiago or San Marcos in Leon<sup>5</sup>. Authenticity of the route

lies in the conservation of the association between the tangible and intangible heritage. The value of hospitality may in a sense be preserved with new constructions but they are leading to the abandonment of the historical buildings present in many villages along El Camino which can only accommodate few pilgrims. They could however complement the new ones.

### **The Blessing of the pilgrims and the symbols**

At the beginning of his journey towards Santiago, the pilgrim invoked God's blessing to complete the route and to return safe and sound to his home after the pilgrimage. Pilgrims used to write their will before leaving as many did not return. They sought permission from their local religious authorities, and swore an oath to remain loyal to their monarchs. Vázquez de Parga describes the pilgrim's Ritual of Departure as one involving deep and intense prayer, in which the local community also participated (Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa 1948-49). The Pilgrim blessing also included providing the pilgrim with some equipment such as the staff (*baculus*) and satchel (*sporta*, *scarpcella*) that conferred social status and visible identification on the pilgrim for those whom they would encounter along their journey (*intersigna peregrinorum*).

On their way home from Santiago, a pilgrim would pin a St. James' scallop shell in some visible place such as on the up-turned brim of the hat or on the satchel. The shell became the symbol most often associated with the pilgrims from Santiago, like the palm that pilgrims would wear returning from the Holy Land, and or the set of keys worn by pilgrims returning from Rome. It is important to point out that the scallop shell (*venera*) became the symbol that distinguished the pilgrims who had completed the pilgrimage to Santiago from those who were still on their way as they crossed each other's route. Today the scallop shell is sold in many places along El Camino as a souvenir and is turned into an object that every pilgrim wears on their journey to the tomb of the Apostle and not just to recognise those on their way back home. The rise of the use of this route just as a touristic experience is dramatically changing its values. The return home of pilgrims walking again in the opposite direction, had been an important part of pilgrimage, providing the pilgrim with the time to reflect on the experiences and even to share them, along with their knowledge of the route, with those pilgrims who had not yet reached their goal. The scallop shell as a symbol has lost its historical significance and is being trivialised as an iconic image with branding goals.

### **The protection of the Route and the legal status of pilgrims**

The popularity of this route during the Middle Ages and the diversity of nationalities of pilgrims along El Camino, was beneficial for economic and cultural exchange, but at the same time this flow of people presented endless problems for the international and national legal order and affected the pilgrim in many respects: pilgrim's protection against thieves, fraud and abuses, access to hospitality, illness, wills, burial, etc., as well as provisions for contact with relatives if the pilgrim died during the pilgrimage (Valiña Sampeiro 1971). It was necessary to establish special legal status for pilgrims since the Route crossed different territories with different laws and jurisdictions. The legal doctrine developed during these years not only recognised the special legal status of pilgrims, but also





FIG. 8. Church-castle of San Nicolás, Village of Portomarín.

granted permission to carry out activities from which they would have otherwise been banned (Martorell Carreño 2003) and exempted pilgrims from paying tolls or taxes at several points along the Route (López Alsina 1993).

The protection of pilgrims and the Route was supported also through the actions of the military orders, the establishment of which represented a sacralisation of the idea of 'soldiers of Christ' (*milites Christi*). Several Orders of Knights were deeply involved in the defense of pilgrims to the Holy Land and El Camino de Santiago. The centre of the activities of the Order of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (the Knights Hospitaller), was at the church-castle of San Nicolás in the Ville of Portomarín (Fig. 8). It served as the headquarters from where the knights organised the protection of a large stretch

of El Camino in Galicia. The Order of the Knights Templar, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, before its suppression in 1312, built and assisted a large network of castle-convents within the Catholic Kingdoms, especially along El Camino to Santiago (Singul 1999). In 1160 the Christian military-religious Spanish Order of Santiago was founded to fight Spanish Muslims and to protect pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela with Santa María de Loio or Ribaloixio (Lugo) as their headquarters. Their dead are buried in the church of Vilar de Donas (Lugo, Galicia), recently restored.

Numerous safe-conduct passes, and letters of recommendation were issued by Kings and Bishops. Those letters were carried by the pilgrims during their journey. Certificates of pilgrimage were also extended to those completing the pilgrimage. Conserving this tradition, today the 'Credential', 'Compostela', or pilgrim's passport is a document issued by the Pilgrims Office to those walking El Camino as a certificate of completion, reminiscent of the medieval safe-conducts and certificates. Pilgrims request their 'Credential' at their starting point and collect the stamps in their document along the Route from hostels, churches, or any stopping point (Fig. 9). Pilgrims that demonstrate the completion of at least 100km on foot or 200km by bicycle, on presenting the collected stamps on their 'Credentials' during the different stages along El Camino, receive a certification of completion and the distance covered at the Pilgrim's Office in Santiago de Compostela. More than 25% of pilgrims<sup>6</sup>, obtain this certification of completion in the quickest way, starting their walk in the village of Sarria, 113km away from Santiago, thus overwhelming the route along the five last stages during holiday season. Numerous tourism agents and businesses cater for large groups of people, carrying their bags in vans or tracks from one hostel to the next for those five days with the promise to gain the 'Credential' or 'Compostela'. Every year the number of people walking this route increases, even more during the Holy or



FIG. 9. 'Credencial' or 'Compostela' with the stamps collected along El Camino.

Jubilee Years<sup>7</sup>. The pilgrims find themselves immersed in a phenomenon of mass tourism experience when arriving at the final stages.

### Music and Literature of El Camino: the immaterial legacy

Among the most valuable exchanges of intangible culture between European nations where El Camino was an essential element, we can highlight the musicological. In fact, we cannot understand the development of European culture during medieval times without examining the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Polyphonic music is one of the artistic manifestations that better illustrate this cultural zenith, which developed in Santiago after two centuries of polyphonic music development in the main musical chapels in France. The *Codex Calixtinus*, inscribed in 2017 in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, features twenty polyphonic compositions, constituting approximately one fourth of the polyphonic repertory preserved in manuscripts dating before 1200 and, include the *Hymnus Peregrinorum – Dum Pater Familias*, the oldest known chant of pilgrimage (Echevarría Bravo 1971).

In his Pilgrim's Songbook, Echevarría Bravo collected the hymns, chants and songs that were popular and the traditional artistic manifestation of the pilgrimage. Pilgrims might have heard these sung by other pilgrims or locals as they marched along the Route. While church music was sung in Latin, popular music was in the vernacular language of the pilgrim (Echevarría Bravo 1971). Other countries also have their own songbooks. Well preserved is *Les Chansons des Pelerins de Saint Jacques* from 1718 that includes 5 pilgrims' chants each one followed by a prayer. The *Wer das elend bauwen will* (the Hymn of German pilgrims) was well known by these pilgrims and sung until the nineteenth century, having been transmitted from one generation to the next since the fifteenth century. The hymn offers a description of a pilgrim's preparation and equipment followed by a description of the diverse landscapes along El Camino.

The popularity of El Camino de Santiago in last few decades has also increased the interest in the polyphonic repertory, helping its conservation and investigation. The important association between this valuable intangible heritage and the tangible elements has been recognised by a multidisciplinary project completed in 1991, focussed on the central archivolt over El Pórtico de la Gloria (Portal of Glory), the early entrance door to



the cathedral, the impact of which is now somewhat reduced as a result of later additions to the facade. This features sculpture by Maestro Mateo (12th century), depicting twenty-one different musical instruments held by elders of the Apocalypse. The musical instruments were replicated, and handcrafted, using the highest level of historical studies and resources. The project's finale was a concert celebrated in 1991 in El Pórtico playing medieval compositions on these instruments.

Every effort should be made to safeguard the immaterial legacy of those hymns, chants and songs related with El Camino as an important part of its cultural legacy, which will not be complete until this intangible heritage is recognised, protected, and incorporated within the complexity of this cultural route.

### **Traditional craftsmanship as immaterial cultural heritage along El Camino**

The route to Santiago de Compostela was not only a pilgrimage route, important in terms of cultural exchange and spiritual content, but also of commercial and artisanal trade. Once the route was safe and villages were growing along El Camino due to both the flow of pilgrims and the *Reconquista* (Reconquest) of the territories from the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, it became a very important merchant route. On the demographic level, the villages along El Camino experienced significant growth in population, their inhabitants working as basket makers, blacksmiths, bellmen, carpenters, butchers, shoemakers, bakers, etc., exerted great social and economic influence. Along the route some villages even maintain the name of what was their principal way of life, such as Herrerías (blacksmiths) in Galicia.

Many of these handicraft and artisanal jobs have disappeared nowadays. To preserve some of this valuable traditional craftsmanship, a Smartphone App called 'Open Workshops' has been developed to allow pilgrims immediate access to craft-related locations around their present position. For instance, in the textile linen mill of Cecilia Carballo in Triacastela, Lugo, it is still possible to attend live demonstrations of the traditional art of making linen fabrics, and in the Laia Zapateiros Artisans, artisanal shoemakers in Melide, it is possible to appreciate traditional work with leather.

Only a few handicraft and small traditional architectural structures related to agricultural activities of the population along El Camino are still well preserved and visible in the Galician stretch. In Valos, Lugo, it is possible to see a replica of a *cabaceiro*, an elevated and circular granary made of wickerwork placed on a square floor on four granite pillars. Similar basketwork is found in Leboreiro a small, nearly abandoned village (Fig. 10). The *horreos* is another traditional and unique construction preserved and visible all along the Galician stretch (Fig. 11). These are rectangular elevated granaries built on podiums of slats, stilts, or pillars that end in straddle stones to prevent the access of rats or rodents. They are made of stone or wood incorporating slits allowing internal ventilation for the corn. Those *cabaceiros* and *horreos* are samples of the craftsmanship and rural conditions of the inhabitants of the territories crossed by El Camino.

Traditional craftsmanship is recognised by UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage. In the case of El Camino, craftsmanship is strongly associated with the communities and landscapes that the route crosses and which changes from one region to another, but its conservation is quite different from the material or tangible elements. Conservation of the intangible heritage is supported by the transmission of knowledge, traditions or cultural expressions from one generation to another, not just by creating inventories, listing or replicating the products as elements for the education of the visitors.



FIG. 10. Cabaceiro. Basketwork in the Village of Leboreiro with the abandoned hospital behind.



FIG. 11. *Horreo* in San Xulian do Camiño.

### The problem of depopulation

As we have seen, historically El Camino was a route of economical, spiritual and cultural development. However nowadays many small and medium villages along El Camino, are experiencing significant depopulation. This is a key challenge that also affect other pilgrim routes and historical places. The significant increase of pilgrims and facilities along El Camino is not reflected in maintaining the current populations, numerous villages are losing the identity that they maintained historically by living their daily life while attending and hosting pilgrims. Nowadays those villages are being transformed into mere touristic facilities for a one-day traveller passing through the village and attended by non-locals with a systematic displacement of local population and traditional and rural economic activities.

The systematic decrease of agricultural activities in the rural areas in the majority of developed countries, has led to a progressive abandonment of small rural villages, as discussed in the 4th EAAE-ENHSA Conservation Workshop<sup>8</sup>. The rebirth of El Camino several decades ago and the yearly increase of pilgrims was seen as an opportunity for those rural areas along El Camino to diversify their economy, but the character and organisation of the route has not benefited the small rural villages, including some in the main stopping points. For instance, the village of Los Arcos, Navarra is an important end of stage on the Route between Estella and Logroño and has four important public hostels and numerous private ones. Until 1877 it had an average of 2200 inhabitants, in 2017 the population is 1104 and it experiences a continuous process of depopulation even though the flow of pilgrims through the village is increasing yearly. Another example is Tosantos in Burgos which is located on the stage of El Camino de Santiago between Belorado and San Juan de Ortega in the Burgos stretch. Up until 1877, Tosantos had around 300 inhabitants, but by 2016 the village has only 56.

The small village of Leboreiro in the Galician stretch, known as *Campus Leoprarius* (land of hares) in the *Codex Calixtinus*, had a total of 100 inhabitants in 2000 and in the same year 55,000 pilgrims passed through the village. In 2017 the number of inhabitants had decreased to 70<sup>9</sup>, while the number of pilgrims passing through the village increased to 188,000. When crossing this village of Leboreiro, it is possible to see the abandonment of many buildings next to the path (Fig. 12) and some others have been transformed by their owners using non-traditional materials, thus losing their authenticity (Fig. 13). The



FIG. 12. Abandoned construction in Leboreiro next to El Camino.



FIG. 13. Loss of authenticity in rural constructions, Village of Fonfría.

Declaration of Quebec in 2008, pointed out the importance of the interaction between tangible and intangible heritage in the construction of the ‘spirit of place’ and in the “preservation of the identity of communities that have created and transmitted spaces of cultural and historical significance” (ICOMOS 2008b). The progressive disappearance of the local communities that were the custodians of the identity of these small villages, the neglect of some transformations, and new demands related to the flow of pilgrims crossing them are clearly disrupting the authenticity of those settlements along El Camino. One should ask: were, these rural enclaves prepared to adapt to the new demands and activities? Were the communities of these small rural towns ready to accept the responsibility of the preservation and transmission of their heritage when listed as related to an historical and cultural route? Conservation of living environments should address the idea of adaptation by a continuous monitoring of the changes of external conditions and the reactions of the environment.

## Conclusions

We need to consider also that change and adaptation during different periods are part of the Route’s history and identity. Each pilgrim creates and changes El Camino as much as El Camino changes the pilgrim. We have seen how this cultural route is the point of a symbiotic relationship between cultural and spiritual, tangible and intangible manifestations.

The consumption of this type of heritage is deeply related to the motivation to start and complete the journey, and to the respect for the values associated with this cultural route and complex heritage. El Camino like other UNESCO heritage monuments is facing the problems of mass tourism. The idea of promoting tourism within heritage creates challenges for conservation itself, and while the material aspects can easily be restored the associated immaterial ones are being lost.

Hospitality is well maintained today through the extensive network of public hostels and *hospitaleros*. This universal intangible value is still present along the route, but in this case the tangible heritage associated with it is being lost by the construction on new facilities, while some of the medieval hospitals are being abandoned due to their lack of

capacity to host the numerous pilgrims, or by the transformation of the historical ones into tourism resorts.

The immaterial legacy of legends, literature and music related to El Camino have been studied for many years and most of them are well preserved. In the UNESCO description of the *Routes of Santiago de Compostela*<sup>10</sup>, the integrity and authenticity of the route is based exclusively on its material elements, without acknowledging the associated immaterial ones. All these cultural manifestations, as well as the artisanal work and traditional craftsmanship, are the result of the local people and those who have historically used the route and cannot be separated.

The dynamic links between the intangible cultural heritage and the local inhabitants within the cultural route of El Camino is fragile and vulnerable by its very nature, and hinge on social and environment conditions. Although the problem of depopulation of many rural villages or small historic towns is not confined to the villages along El Camino, it must be addressed in order to keep alive the spirit of those places crossed by pilgrims which became an important part of their experience.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The statistics report of 2017 from Pilgrims' Office, includes the percentage of pilgrims walking for religious motivations, religious and cultural and non-religious. In 2017 was reported that 130.831 (43,46%) walked for religious motivation, 142.662 (47,39%) for religious and cultural motivation, and 27.543 (9,15%) for non-religious motivation. *Oficina del Peregrino. Statistics. Year 2017*. [online] Available at: <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics/>> [Accessed 20 August 2018].

<sup>2</sup> Walk the pilgrim Route of El Camino de Santiago was the sentence delivered in 2017 by the Judge Reyes Martel in the Court for Juveniles of Canary Islands in Spain, to a group of 19 minors. This initiative seeks the reintegration through installing in them fundamental values, such effort, solidarity, enthusiasm and respect for others.

<sup>3</sup> Bravo Lozano 1991: 87. Translation by the author.

<sup>4</sup> *Pallozas* or *Pallazas* are a Galician word that refers to the archaic constructions of Pre-Roman origin that houses people and animals together. They are made of a circular or oval shape walls of granite or slate and roofed with straw and thatch.

<sup>5</sup> The Hospital Real in Santiago and San Marcos in Leon were promoted by the Catholic Kings during the 15th century and are now transformed into luxury hotels. Those hotels currently only offer discounts on lodging and meals to the pilgrims and in the case of the Hostal de los Reyes Católicos in Santiago, in order to keep minimally the tradition of service to the pilgrims, they offer in the hotel's kitchen, daily free breakfast, lunch and dinner to the first ten pilgrims whether they are accommodated or not at the expensive hotel.

<sup>6</sup> The statistics report of 2017 from Pilgrims' Office, includes the starting point of pilgrims. In 2017 was reported that 75,330 pilgrims started at the city of Sarria, 25,02% of the total of pilgrims of that year and the 41,68% of those walking the French Route. *Oficina del Peregrino. Statistics. Year 2017*. [online] Available at: <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics/>> [Accessed 30 September 2018].

<sup>7</sup> Whenever St. James's Day (25 July) falls on a Sunday, the cathedral declares a Holy or Jubilee Year. Depending on leap years, Holy Years occur in 5-, 6-, and 11-year intervals. The most recent were 1982, 1993, 1999, 2004, and 2010. The next will be 2021, 2027, and 2032.

<sup>8</sup> During the 4th EAAE-ENHSA Conservation Workshop held in Rome during the fall of 2015, we discussed the abandonment of small historical towns, having as a reference the Village of Castelvecchio Calvisio, a historic enclave in the Abruzzo, Italy. Numerous participants reported the common problem of depopulation of historic small towns in the counties of origin (Crisan et al. 2015).

<sup>9</sup> *Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Population of the Continuous Municipal Register by Population Unit. Leboeiro. Year 2017*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.ine.es/nomen2/index.do>> [Accessed 10 January 2018].

<sup>10</sup> <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>> [Accessed 15 September 2018].

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## SOWING THE SEEDS OF AWARENESS TO DEFEND CULTURAL HERITAGE

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### Introduction

Like the fruits of those seeds sown centuries ago, buildings and places are now an essential part of our cultural heritage. Their golden Age long past, they now risk abandonment, because maintenance costs are often prohibitive, so that tourism could provide an important contribution to sustaining their maintenance.

Tourism is an essential resource for the promotion of cultural sites and for keeping them alive. Traditional and modern technology should be employed whether for a single edifice, a whole village or a small island.

On the other hand, increasing exploitation of such sites may reveal itself to be a double edged sword. By attracting an uncontrolled number of visitors this could result in a more rapid decline of the resource.

Some places have been radically transformed to accommodate ever increasing numbers of tourists, with detrimental results. Rather than being enriched by the authenticity of the site, mass tourism is liable to degrade the authenticity that it is seeking. Sometimes the final result is less authentic and the traditional spirit of the place destroyed, sacrificed to a need to comply to standard 'hit and run' tourist destinations.

Any technical consideration of the intervention or protection of a historical and architectural heritage cannot be made without regard to the intended use of that heritage. When the use of the heritage is primarily touristic, even more so if it involves mass tourism, the reasons that attract visitors to a certain place should also be analysed together with the way in which this product is 'consumed'.

To this end, the policies for tourism exploitation of an area should not be left to the sole interests of the stakeholders but must be programmed and controlled by qualified scientific staff. The crucial matter is the balance between the economical aspect and the need to preserve the unique and distinctive characteristics of the environment surrounding heritage buildings, bearing in mind that some of the lost assets can never be recovered.

Therefore, there is a need to educate local authorities to ensure forward-looking policies and sustainable conservation strategies, in order to sow the seeds of local heritage defence and to disseminate the same seeds in local practitioners and citizens to obtain their support.

These reflections can be developed by apparently very different examples, but similar in view of the need to preserve the historical context they represent.

The route of Santiago has for centuries linked several places of cultural and religious interest along thousands of kilometres. In contrast, the Isola Superiore in Stresa, here used as a case study, is a small fishing village located in the centre of Lake Maggiore (It-

aly). The island belongs to the Borromean islands and for years has been included in the international tourism circuit as one of the most visited areas in Italy<sup>1</sup>.

Both of these realities need to deal with ever growing tourist pressure without eroding their authenticity<sup>2</sup>.

### **Camino de Santiago as heritage of all humanity**

Together with Jerusalem and Rome, Santiago de Compostela has been one of the most important Christian pilgrimage destinations. Because of its historic, religious and symbolic significance it forms part of the cultural heritage of all Christians, and it can be argued, of all humanity. With the aim of understanding the reasons why the Camino de Santiago is so important for Christians, and there are still so many people who go along its way every day, some basic issues are here resumed, without being exhaustive and strictly connected to the author's limited experience on site.

Nowadays, more than 200,000 people every day walk along the different paths of the Camino, rich in history and adventure, from France and Spain to Santiago de Compostela Cathedral, where the sanctuary of San Giacomo is located. The three above mentioned main pilgrimages were the cornerstones of a cultural system based on the material presence of relics in places considered sanctified by the Divine presence. Walking the Way has always been a unique and intense experience that for centuries has deeply impressed the believers who have walked along it.

As is well known, to undertake a pilgrimage is a devotional phenomenon common to many religions: it is the representation of the believer's path to divinity through the places where the sacred is represented (Chélini, Branthomme 1995).

The Pope Emeritus Benedict XVI said that "To go on pilgrimage is not simply to visit a place to admire its treasures of nature, art or history. To go on pilgrimage really means to step out of ourselves in order to encounter God where he has revealed himself, where his grace has shone with particular splendour and produced rich fruits of conversion and holiness among those who believe" (Benedict XVI 2010). Next to Jerusalem, where history places the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and Rome, where the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul took place, from the 10th century the memory of Saint James also became a place of pilgrimage, where the Pilgrim's spirit could be strengthened through the Apostle's testimony of faith.

But the Santiago Way has always had double significance: not only of a spiritual nature but also a political nature. The quest for purification, through a concrete expiatory path, also corresponded to the need to consolidate Christianity in a territory still contended by Islamism. James, the evangeliser of Spain thus became first the defender of Christians, then the murderer of Moors (*Santiago Matamoros*) who led the armies as an *Oriflamme* (Sabbatini 2008).

In recent times, the Way has gained widespread popularity also thanks to the book by Paolo Coelho, who reinterpreted the original religious meaning in an esoteric and new age light. Today, pilgrimage is seen more as a metaphor for personal life: walking the Way more generally represents the trials endured towards a final goal. It also alternates difficult and peaceful moments where the relationship with other people leaves a mark on people encountered and within the pilgrims themselves. Since the relationship with the deity lost importance, other human values find room: thanks to the sincere desire to

meet others, friendship naturally develops among pilgrims. In order to genuinely fulfil this desire, people can abandon the masks they wear every day; the masks are the external appearance and by the fear of what other people can think or say. Being free of those masks means to show virtues and defects, and by doing so a true contact with others can be made and through this rediscover themselves.

### **The Camino de Santiago today**

In the last 30 years, the Camino de Santiago has become fashionable. Hundreds of people walk the Way without knowing the underlying ancient reasons for its existence. Today the Way is considered as a place for any form of 'human religiosity' and not just for Christianity. This fashion is now also influenced by the culture of walking and running as physical exercise and as a life philosophy, together with the suggestion offered by Paulo Coelho's book.

Pilgrims (tourists?) run from one hostel to another, passing by churches, which are often closed, and looking for the famous rubber stamp, that once absolved pilgrims from paying for lodging and food but now is only a souvenir, considering the low prices of accommodation along the route.

After a long wait to finally enter the Cathedral of Santiago, the final destination of their Way, some visitors don't even stop at the tomb of the Apostle, distractedly visiting the historical, artistic and religious vestiges that surround it.

Contrary to many situations of our times, where collective experiences have been supplanted by individualism, the Camino de Santiago, which was born as an individual experience, has slowly become a collective activity. Sometimes the Way is dedicated to remembering a deceased relative, or to ask for grace for a sick person, or even to draw attention to difficult social situations. There are people who smoke, drink and reinvent the Way as a food and wine itinerary alongside others who run isolated from the world by earphones. There are individuals looking for the authentic experience while others complain about the lack of a connection that allows them to share their experience on a social network.

What does it mean to receive the 'credential' ('Compostela') unless one hour is devoted to learning the history and meaning of the Way?

Reflecting on the impact of tourism to St James's route, does it make sense to try to mitigate these trends, or in other words: is there any reason to make a distinction today between cultural tourism and interesting day trips?

### **Tourism as a double-edged sword**

The cultural value of heritage is not only intrinsic, but is closely linked to the community that comprehends and receives it as a strong testimonial of the past to be passed on to posterity. Without this awareness and without any response on our behalf, all that remains is to accept these new forms of consumerism, through the commercialisation of cultural goods, considered as generic commercial products, the result of which is already before our eyes. It is not necessary to limit ourselves to the most famous Italian cities, there is a large number of minor places, but nonetheless famous, which are invaded for short periods; they have been completely transformed merely to satisfy the requests of tourists, paying attention only to the financial gain aspect. On the other hand, some plac-

FIGS. 1-2. Isola Superiore or Pescatori. View of the Borromean gulf and drawing of 1840 (Arrigoni, Zipoli, Bianconi 1973).



es are abandoned without touristic development despite their history and beauty, risking being left without resources for their maintenance. In this complex context, the debate on the sustainability of historical and artistic heritage tourism needs to be developed.

To better explain this contradictory aspect, a small Italian case study is reported here with the risks it faces from an uncontrolled growth in tourism, and which are leading to a real erosion of heritage – a heritage that can be saved if this positive trend is also managed positively. Obviously, this site does not even remotely have the importance of the Santiago Way, but even from a small example of how tourism can transform a village forever – a village that can represent one of the many villages along the way – it is possible to draw useful suggestions.

The example presented here refers to a small touristic island on Lago Maggiore, in the North West of Italy: Isola Superiore also named as Isola dei Pescatori, in Stresa (Figs. 1-2). The island is part of the Borromean islands and for years has been included in the international tourism circuit as one of the most visited areas in Italy, although it is the only island outside the property of the Borromeo family – powerful feudal lords of the area since the sixteenth century.

With its 100 meters of width and 350 meters in length and its fish shape, the Isola dei Pescatori, despite being the smallest and poorest of the Borromean Islands, is the only one to be permanently inhabited throughout the year. Today there are only about thirty people living there, a drastic reduction compared to more than a hundred during the last century. It can be accessed by the boats of the national shipping company, their frequency being intense in the summer months, decreasing in winter. These boats are also used by dozens of people employed in restaurants and businesses on the island, along with motor-boats of the public service and private boats of residents and visitors.

The history of the island is ancient: in the medieval age there was already a village of fishermen gathered around a chapel of the 11th century, a small cemetery and an array of narrow streets with a 'fishbone' shape, ending at the 'tail' of the island, where the port and some landing ramps for boats are positioned and used by fishermen as an outdoor space dedicated to the making and repair of nets. In the 18th century the external

features of the built heritage were already completely defined and similar to the current ones. The ancient village, famous for its picturesque atmosphere, has always been lived in by fishermen, whose main occupation persisted until the 1980s. This prevalent activity has ensured the presence of people over the years and they have taken care of the built environment and shores. In order to guarantee their livelihoods, the fishermen themselves contributed to the conservation of various fish species, using traditional methods that restocked and maintained the natural lake habitats.

Over the past two centuries, the life and economy of fishing has been integrated with the tourism of Italians and foreigners, including various artists and some illustrious guests, present in private residences and quality hotels, which flanked some trattorias and inns and the commercial activity of souvenir kiosks, once managed by islanders.

Currently, several private houses, no longer inhabited by residents, have been taken over by the short-term rental market, while most commercial and catering activities are run by owners who reside elsewhere, as do almost all their staff.

Several factors are threatening the island's environment and its built heritage, well reported in several books since 19th century (De Vit 1887; Marzi 1991). From Montesquieu to Rousseau, from Byron to Stendhal, many celebrities have travelled here, telling the beauty of the classic Grand Tour on Lake Maggiore with its islands.

The tendency to turn almost all traditional houses and apartments for residents into holiday houses is a vulnerability, significantly linked to the strongly fluctuating dynamics of use and habitation: tourist invasion in the summer months and depopulation in winter. This means that permanent residents (who are not more advantageous) are pushed away in favour of tourists (who can spend much more in a short time). The houses are likely to lose their traditional, individual, interior appearance in favour of standardised houses, with small apartments, characteristic of a tourist chain or other private companies. This trend guarantees that, outside the tourist season, these houses will always be empty, further depopulating the village. This strain on such a small and fragile territory puts the environmental, social and cultural identity of the island under pressure. The main risk is that its identity (Pisoni, Spadoni, Zacchera 2010) disappears forever in the face of a commercial, uneven and conflicting decline of each activity. Fishing has for centuries been the main source of income for the inhabitants of the Isola Superiore, giving it its second name and its typical character. The island's economy has supported the interests of mass tourism more than those of its own inhabitants, fishing activity is reduced to a few people, destabilising the territory and its fragile balance. An additional vulnerability is that no one looks after the coastline anymore, so no one can see that the increase in engine power of tourist boats is slowly eroding the shores and the whole contour of the island (Figs. 3-6), bringing the water closer to the main external road, usually occupied by souvenir kiosks. These same kiosks, along with the exterior areas of bars and restaurants, now extend and obstruct the view of the lake, with a disorderly occupation of public land. Even the anthropised landscape risks severe deterioration due to the lack of implementation of planning strategies, maintenance plans, and coordination of different areas of knowledge aimed at its protection. The medieval footprint (Marzi 1991) and the picturesque nature of the island are constantly threatened more by the lack of governance than by the needs of tourist businesses. This is because the former can control the latter: good governance can allow a reasoned and respectful use of the existing historic buildings, even with tourist purposes, without giving total freedom of action, but still ensuring the life and mainte-





FIGS. 3-4. Isola Superiore or Pescatori. Private and public trip boats to reach the island.

FIGS. 5-6. Isola Superiore or Pescatori. Tangible erosion of the shores and consequent damage of the stone masonry piers.

nance of those constructions. The tourists visiting the Isola dei Pescatori always wonder at the reason for this name, as no clear or visible sign of this once dominant activity is now apparent and the hit and run tourism of day-trippers is now prevalent.

It is too late to preserve the cultural value still existing on the island and so what can we do now?

### **Preserving cultural heritage from the gradual consumption: some suggestions for the minor case of the Italian Isola dei Pescatori**

On the Island, one of the aims should be the preservation of the identity of the local community, focused on fishing, kept alive by supporting the activities of the few fishermen still partially active and encouraging the entry of young people in this sector. The renewal of awareness, developed in the last few years, of the genuineness and integrity of food could give a kick start to the consumption of local fish as a starting point in the reconstruction of the whole fishing chain. Re-launching this specific culture will mean recovering the traces that survive, even the smallest, and including elements of the entire production chain (shipbuilding and repair of wooden boats, fishing tackle, nets,

protection and restocking of fish heritage, conservation, processing and marketing of fish, etc.). It must involve the companies, schools, research centres and related activities already present on the mainland, and extend beyond the tourist season. The rescue of this activity, without pretending to become the predominant one on the island, can guarantee the constant control and protection of the environment and landscape, starting from the lake and its shores. A priority for the municipality is to repair and protect the shores over the long term – this task should start from the municipality and this important link with the natural environment can again be transmitted to the younger generations.

The task of recognising the values of cultural heritage must be engaged in actively. It is possible to propose thematic itineraries, which can make a significant contribution to the preservation and use of the cultural heritage represented not only by the individual architectural artefacts, but also by that set of tangible and intangible assets that are connected to them. An overall scheme to recover the heritage of the island should highlight key elements to stimulate the discovery of the full range of resources.

### **Preserving cultural heritage from the gradual consumption: some suggestions for the case of the Saint James's Way**

The small Isola dei Pescatori teaches that 'predatory tourism' is not only a threat to cities of artistic importance, but also to small villages. If the authenticity of a village cannot be separated from the life that goes on there, distorting customs, traditions and local economy leads to compromising the value of authenticity of the village first and afterwards, its own prospects of survival.

The Fishermen's Island seems by now compromised, but there is still hope of restoring the cultural value of this small territory. The case of Saint James' Way, a vast territory compared to the island mentioned above, is now beginning to show signs of a gradual transformation linked to mass tourism. It is suggested that this trend be corrected immediately because, as is well known, recovery is more difficult than conservation. For example, the dispersion of knowledge (how to let the art of fishing die in a specific environment, handed down from generation to generation), will no longer allow its recovery and its re-importation will be in vain.

The situation of Way of Santiago is not yet compromised and it is possible to intervene in time. On the way to Santiago there are many villages and characteristic areas that present the same characteristics as the Isola dei Pescatori (small size, small and historic buildings, natural and beautiful environment, historic traditions, the need to cope with growing tourism, etc.). The fact of covering many regions and municipalities, allows each village to be individually analysed, evaluated and protected. However, the Way has its own specific identity, which must be preserved.

The intimate and intangible strength of the Way, which has preserved it for centuries, cannot and should not be lost or reduced, in view of a future possible revision of the tangible path. Those animated by the true pilgrim spirit, care not much about the surrounding environment and therefore it is not necessary to crystallise it at a given historical time or to show historical fakes. The surrounding landscape can be transformed over time, without changing the intimate force that leads pilgrims along the Way. The essential aspect for the modern pilgrim is to have the opportunity to meet other fellow travellers, to commu-

nicate and exchange their experiences, which can sometimes be tiring and challenging, sharing efforts along the way, and not only at the end of the trail.

The use of fast vehicles for pilgrims (cars, buses, shuttles) must be carefully assessed and planned. While the sharing of this experience for people who are unable to do so by walking, such as the elderly and disabled, is certainly an advantage, on the other hand the interference of these means with local traffic and slow mobility, which is the real essence of the Way, can be disruptive. In fact, these two paths should not overlap, leaving the pilgrim in a slow and more human-friendly environment, both in the urbanised areas and in those where contact with nature is intensified (Figs. 7-10). Building false environments, villages that simulate the life of ancient pilgrims is contrary to the original spirit of the route. The needs of a pilgrim today are linked to modern basic needs, comfortable but essential, better if traditional and local and therefore particular.

In recent years, the attention paid to the traditional culture of places, as against a commercial globalisation, is increasing. The Way has a very long path and, passing through different countries, the landscape changes, as well as local traditions and customs. The enhancement of these local traditions (not only culinary) could be a strength that gives an added value to the Way. As the Way is long, this gives the chance to discover a less known territory, pleasant as an accompaniment to the spiritual pilgrim's path. In order to avoid the erosion of the territory and the deterioration of local culture and not only that, it is necessary to preserve what is still authentic in villages, churches, places of prayer and meeting points. Wherever possible, it is advisable to prevent the installation of inexpensive and impersonal hotel chains and fast-foods, which can attract a huge number of tourists, without conveying to them anything they cannot find elsewhere. Once again, the dialogue between tangible and intangible (intimate) Way should therefore be improved and not only exploited.

The signs linked to the Camino de Santiago must exist but should not become the new symbols that characterise a territory and that advertise it. They should be silent signs of a more intimate journey that should not take advantage of the natural life of the environment that hosts it and that can naturally change over the centuries. Of course this is the opposite of what happened one thousand years ago, when promoting the Way of St. James meant feeding one of the strongest bastions of Christianity in a territory that had just escaped the control of the caliphate and thanks to the organisation of the travellers' flow, it was possible to bring Spain out of its isolation (Reconquista and Saint James in the role of *matamores*). The political and of religious reasons were so intertwined that it had become practically impossible to separate them.

Nowadays, the spirit of the place along the Way may already seem compromised, but it has changed many times over the years. In this regard, it is not possible to act on the territory, thinking only about the Pilgrim's Way to Santiago, even if in many respects it is the main resource. It is certainly necessary to support and improve the path, facilitating and preserving the spirit that has kept it alive for many centuries, preventing temporary trends from undermining the original spirit that animates those who decide to travel the Way at a certain time of their lives.

When we have removed these special characteristics, then we will have lost a fundamental cultural, historical and spiritual heritage. Replacing these testimonies with simulacra will not only mean losing part of the history of Christianity, but perhaps an anthropological heritage will also be lost.





FIGS. 7-8. Camino de Santiago. The impact of natural landscape and of the historic built landscape.

FIGS. 9-10. Camino de Santiago. The interference of the two level of streets in a slow human-friendly environment and in an urbanised area.

Based on this aspect the Churchmen can decide not to be hoteliers, but to offer spiritual hospitality: confessions, listening, lectures. Away from home and more lightened by the distance from everyday life, travellers can be more open and free to ask for help<sup>3</sup>, searching for the truth step by step along the Way with God. Nowadays many churches encountered along the Way are closed or without the presence of spiritual help.

### General Remarks

A growing number of visitors can be an extremely important resource for a territory, presenting many challenges and opportunities (ICOMOS 1999), but with no control, it can often turn out to be a double-edged sword. The impact on the territory, in fact, can be either positive or negative.

It is necessary to improve the value of the whole territory, in order to better manage this resource, where cultural heritage encompasses the places and lives of populations, managing this resource demands that the territory as a whole must be improved. These can help to define the peculiarities of that context with a rich and varied set of resources that characterises that territory, starting from the historic vernacular buildings, which are often abandoned.

In order to safeguard these resources, it is necessary to promote specific actions, both on an architectural and a territorial scale. The tangible and intangible heritage, as well as

the customs and traditions of the places and people who live there, must be recognised and valued above all by the citizens themselves. To do this, local government must promote active integration coordinated by research institutes such as universities.

The work begun by the University of La Coruña, Departamento de Representación de Teoría Arquitectónica, should go beyond the survey (Taboada, Tarrío Carrodegua 2000). It should extend to giving guidelines as to how to better understand the cultural heritage of the existing structures, and, from the technical point of view (materials, constructive techniques, historical transformations, etc.), how to repair them in a proper manner. This can control also the extension of the historical masonry buildings (Figs. 11-12) and the new constructions.

The fundamental objective of protecting historical heritage must foster interaction between the public administration and citizens, assisted by researchers with different skills (restoration, design, management, technology, etc.). This means sowing the seeds of awareness of heritage and the fundamental role that must be played by citizens, controlling and sometimes opposing solutions that are not consistent with the joint project.

The interchange of specialist knowledge with the widespread awareness of the people who live daily in the territory, can become a valid tool to control abuses dictated only by economic interests.

There is therefore the need to educate local authorities to ensure forward-looking policies and sustainable conservation strategies, in order to sow the seeds for a defence of the local heritage of each site, thereby spreading the same seeds to professionals and the local population.

This strategy could be effectively applied to both the small fishermen's island in Italy and the vast area along the Way of Santiago. In the small island this strategy was totally missing and now it is gradually starting, still without real comprehension of the value of the island and without a complete masterplan: nowadays local inhabitants are always forced to intervene autonomously, to solve the problems, without a guide that clarifies to what extent they are allowed to do so. This caused both a paucity of interventions or intermittent interventions without any coordination, as has happened in the matter of the partial interventions on the shores. This situation has led to a bottom-up request for management from inhabitants and from local associations. However, more than anything, all attempts by local authorities are welcome, if well thought out and verified. In this sense, architectural conservation can contribute to the future development of tourist sites of historical interest such as pilgrimage sites.

## Conclusions

The exploitation for touristic purposes of an historical-architectural heritage is a double-edged sword: on the one hand the resources generated by its use can provide resources for its conservation and protection, on the other hand intensive use may damage the asset. Local authorities have the responsibility to regulate and manage a balanced use of the asset, ensuring that a greater number of visitors can get to know and appreciate the heritage, without causing any deterioration.

The role of the scientific and technical experts must not be limited to providing and applying the most appropriate techniques for conservation and protection. Their deployment must be based on the reasons why visitors choose to visit a particular place and how they use it.





FIGS. 11-12. Uncontrolled houses extension.

Just as the urban context surrounding an architectural work must not be disregarded during a conservation plan, in the same manner the analysis of tourist use cannot disregard the socio-cultural reasons that propel visitors (the beautiful atmosphere of an historic village based on a traditional simple activity, the beautiful view of the surrounding landscape from this peculiar point of view, the peace and quiet, without traffic, that the small island or a particular place can offer with local and traditional food to taste, are only some of the aspects to be preserved). Only with a holistic approach that places these factors at the centre of the analysis, will it be possible to begin an integral protection of the cultural heritage in all its tangible and intangible aspects.

This article summarises some reflections on how to plan a balanced use of historical assets, using examples apparently very different from one another: the Camino of Santiago and the small Isola Superiore on Lake Maggiore, both of which have in common a growing tourist presence, which threatens to compromise the material preservation of the heritage. In this sense, architectural conservation can contribute to the future development of tourist sites of historical interest such as pilgrimage sites.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> <<http://www.stresa.com/borromeanislands>> [Accessed 12 May 2018].

<sup>2</sup> This paper is part of the workshop activities of the Theme 1a: *Consumption/preservation of heritage/tourism*. General issues, with suggestions arising from the track O Leboreiro – Melide, in the province of La Coruña along the French way.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://www.culturacattolica.it/attualita/C3%A0/chiesa-oggi/l-insegnamento-del-papa-oggi/2010/11/07/l-uomo-C3%A8-pellegrino>> [Accessed 7 February 2018].

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## ROAD TRAVELLERS AND PILGRIMS IN ABRUZZO. ANCIENT AND MODERN ROUTES BETWEEN OBLIVION, RESISTANCE AND CONSUMPTION

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The Way of St. James, the network of routes to the shrine of the apostle St. James the Great in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, embodies the metaphor of the 'path' – in a proper as well as a figurative sense – of spiritual growth, slow and meditated, undertaken by the believer. Such routes have been travelled for centuries, and are so even today, using different means of transport, touching and 'consuming' human and environmental resources on the way. Over the last decades, the massive increase in pilgrims and the 'widening of supply' to serve them – considered as simple tourists – by the towns and territories on or near the various itineraries, fit the more general phenomenon of the consumption and spectacle of historical architecture, villages and landscape.

This paper aims at tackling the dual concepts of preservation/consumption, taking the Abruzzo region as a relevant example because of its dense network of ancient and modern routes, cultural and sacral, covered by travellers and pilgrims, inspired – owing to background and culture – by different expectations and emotions, but united by the idea of the journey as a fundamental moment in their lives: the opportunity for an independent quest, crammed with active social participation, from which they return enriched.

The identification and preservation of the tangible and intangible heritage of cultural and sacral itineraries in the Abruzzo region, collide with a reality poised between oblivion, resistance and consumption. A 'local' and limited reality that is offered as a *cartina di tornasole* (test, witness) about the wider international context of the Way of Santiago, the topic of the EAAE workshop and of experience in covering, with our own work team, the route between San Xiao do Camiño and O Leboreiro. The territory covered by this route is one of woods, pasture and agriculture, dotted with little bridges and small villages (San Xulian do Camino), kilns (Casa de la Crux), dwellings with porticoes and stone barns (e.g. Casa de la Chimenea) and the small Romanesque church of San Julian (Figs. 1-2): an ensemble whose substantial integrity, albeit with traces of abandonment and 'careless' transformations, recalls the features on the innermost areas of Abruzzo.

### Travellers and pilgrims in Abruzzo: resistance and consumption

The geography and political history of the Abruzzo region have been strongly influenced by the formation and differentiation of the routes we are speaking about. The oblivion into which these itineraries have fallen, or their resistance and 'consumption' must be considered first and foremost on the basis of familiarity with them, followed – as discussed during the workshop – by an attempt to harmonise their intended revitalisation with the aim of preserving the tangible and intangible heritage binding them to the specific identity of locations and traditions.



FIGS. 1-2. The route between San Xiao do Camiño and O Leboeiro (photo by G. Franco, 2017).

From that perspective, therefore, we must analyse the transformation of historical-sacral-landscape itineraries into cultural and religious tourism. That change is a widespread global reality, but while in the Way of Santiago it appears to weigh substantially in terms of the numerical impact of usage – especially on small settlements along the paths and in the city to satisfy basic and consumerist needs – in the case of Abruzzo it threatens to overturn the delicate and fascinating network of devotional, historical, monumental and environmental destinations.

Such change is a diversified phenomenon that includes, besides a mere conversion into touristic amusement trips – and particularly international pilgrimages in which the faithful *en masse* are managed by specialist organisations and attracted by consumer enticements – “attempts to rediscover, in modern ways, the activity of travelling”, like the recent conception of the Cammino di San Tommaso, taking as a model the Way of Santiago di Compostela, to unite Abruzzo and Lazio<sup>1</sup>. The Way of San Tommaso, a “cultural, naturalistic and spiritual” journey links the basilica of San Pietro at Ortona, where the saint’s relics

are housed, with Rome, running 316 km through the National Parks of the Maiella, of the Gran Sasso and of Monti della Laga, the nature parks of Sirente-Velino, and of the Monti Simbruni and then the Regional Nature Park of the Castelli Romani (Fig. 3).

Initiatives such as Cammino di San Tommaso tend to merge travel experiences and goals that in Abruzzo have for centuries been assigned to distinct personages and itineraries: the layman and cultivated traveller looking for monuments and ruins on the one hand, and on the other, the devout Christian driven to sacred places by the desire for purification or healing.

By the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, appreciation for Nature and landscape, as well as a passion for the Abruzzi mountains, was already providing further motivation for the first type of traveller, but only the last few decades have we seen the promotion of religious tourism, its itineraries absorbing the region’s historical and environmental heritage and intergating the double identity of the pilgrim.

This ‘mix’ is the result of a commitment to support the local economy. The commitment has resulted in several important initiatives, among them the Portale dei Cammini<sup>2</sup>, launched in 2016 by the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo (MiB-



FIG. 3. The map of the Way of San Tommaso (by <<http://www.camminodisantommaso.org/il-progetto/>> [Accessed 29 April 2019]).

ACT) with the aim of promoting the network of historical, naturalistic, cultural and religious itineraries in Italy<sup>3</sup>, a digital atlas that currently includes five circuits in the Abruzzo<sup>4</sup>.

In Abruzzo, however, the initiatives risk undermining the very character of its network of cultural itineraries, formed and developed since the final decades of the eighteenth century, through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, together with paths direct to devotional, penitential and healing places of ancient origin at various levels: nation-wide, inter-regional and local.

From that perspective the case of the Way of Santiago is different: at least until the early twentieth century, there seemed to coexist on the same routes, travellers/pilgrims of different backgrounds and cultures. The development of the transport system in last decades and the numerical and diversified growth of pilgrims oblige, however, to reflect on the preservation of specificity of the various branches of the network, on a regional, national and international scale.

### **Cultivated travellers in Abruzzo: oblivion and consumption of ancient itineraries**

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Abruzzo was substantially excluded from the educational travel of wealthy *grand touristes*, but by the end of the eighteenth, it became a destination for intellectuals, men of letters, artists, scientists and diplomats travelling in Italy for professional reasons and specific interests, whether geographical, archaeological, military, historical (particularly linked to the Hohenstaufen and the Anjou), monumental (Roman and medieval antiquities), or even a passion for the horrid and solitary mountain landscape<sup>5</sup>.

Naples, Rome and Rieti were, as a rule, the points of departure for such travellers, prepared to overcome the difficulties of a scanty and uncomfortable road network, penetrating uncertain areas, especially inland, with frigid winters, rumoured to be inhospitable



and brigand-infested. Such realities and prejudices were divulged in Italy and abroad in travel journals, amongst the first being that of Carl Ulysses von Salis Marschlin (1762-1818), a member of an illustrious noble Swiss family, a jurist interested in botany and entomology, as well as in agriculture and economy, who travelled in Abruzzo in 1789<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 4). The traveller several times complains of the disastrous state of the roads which, at times, made it impossible to cover more than 15 miles per day, even travelling until late at night.

Sometimes the roads were covered on foot, as in the case of the Turinese architect, archaeologist and historian of architecture Carlo Promis (1808-1872), whose diary describes the pitiless weather in the summer of 1835 (Fasoli, Vitulo 1993), or else on mule or horseback, often accompanied by servants, draftsmen, and even by gendarmes. This was the case of the Honourable Richard Keppel Craven (1779-1851), author of *Excursions in the Abruzzi and Northern Provinces of Naples*<sup>7</sup>, who travelled on horseback in Abruzzo in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties of the nineteenth century, accompanied by the itinerant artist Edward Westall (1788-1857) (Fig. 5).

More specialised was the aim of the journey undertaken by the native of Rieti, Giuseppe Simelli, in 1809, commissioned by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in Paris, to find and copy ancient Roman remains and, in particular, the Pelasgian walls in

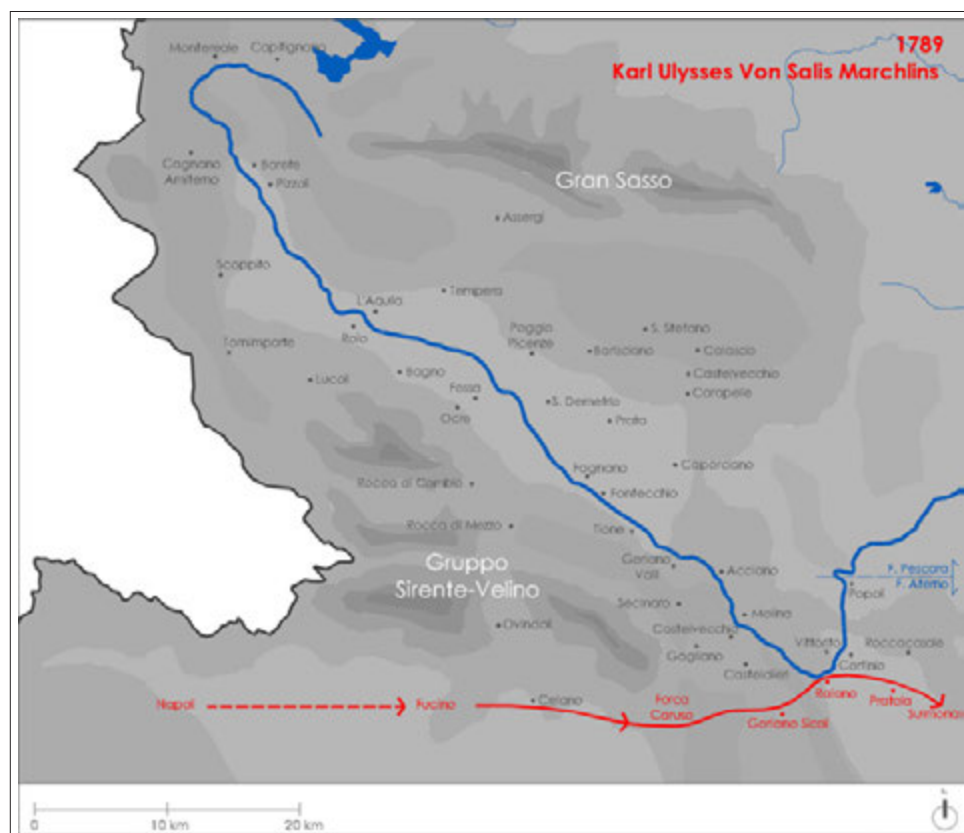


FIG. 4. The itinerary of Carl Ulysses von Salis Marschlin, 1789 (processing by F. Geminiani, in Geminiani 2017).

Sabina<sup>8</sup>. Several lines from his travel diary sharply recall the freshness of these places and his discoveries: “in the gorge between two mountains to the east of Amiterno, about two miles distant and precisely on the borders between the territory of San Vittorino and the village of Coppido, lie the remains of great and most ancient Cyclopean wall, built without cement, known popularly by the name of La Murata, of which I attach a drawing”<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 6).

It was however the journeys made in the 1840's by the English painter and writer Edward Lear (1812-1888), Queen Victoria's art master and illustrator for the Royal Zoological Society, which would leave abundant and careful graphic and descriptive testimony of the human impact on the Abruzzo landscape, while his collaborator R. Branston checked his architectural drawings, since Lear deemed he was not sufficiently prepared (Lear 1846). On his journey in July 1843, on horseback and on foot, Lear reached the valley of the Fucino, coming from the area of the Aniene and going on to Celano, and then as far as Popoli over the pass of Forca Caruso, Goriano Sicoli, Corfinio and Raiano; he also visited L'Aquila and passed through Rieti before returning to Rome (Fig. 7).

Many other wealthy travellers covered the itineraries of the Abruzzo, accompanied by friends or painter-collaborators, including the German historian and medievalist Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891), in Abruzzo in 1871, together with the painter Karl Au-

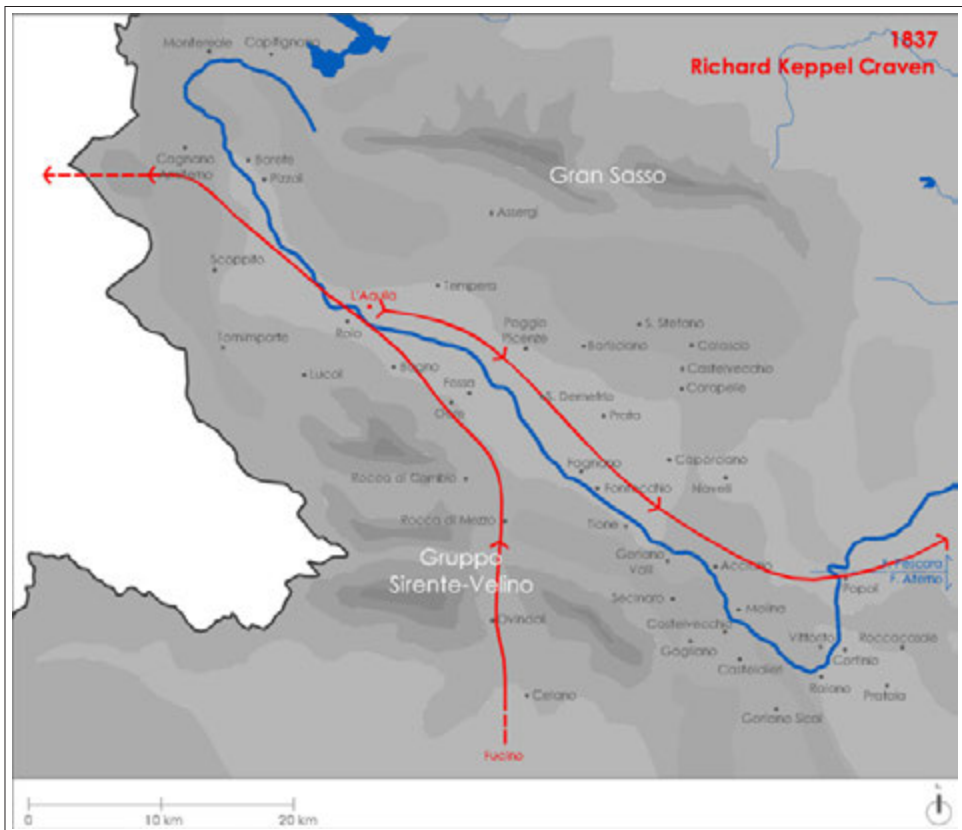


FIG. 5. The itinerary of Honourable Richard Keppel Craven, 1826-31 (processing by F. Geminiani, in Geminiani 2017).



FIG. 6. Giuseppe Simelli 1809, remains of cyclopean wall between San Vittorino and Coppito (BI-ASA, ms. Lanciani, XI, 66, 1810-1815).

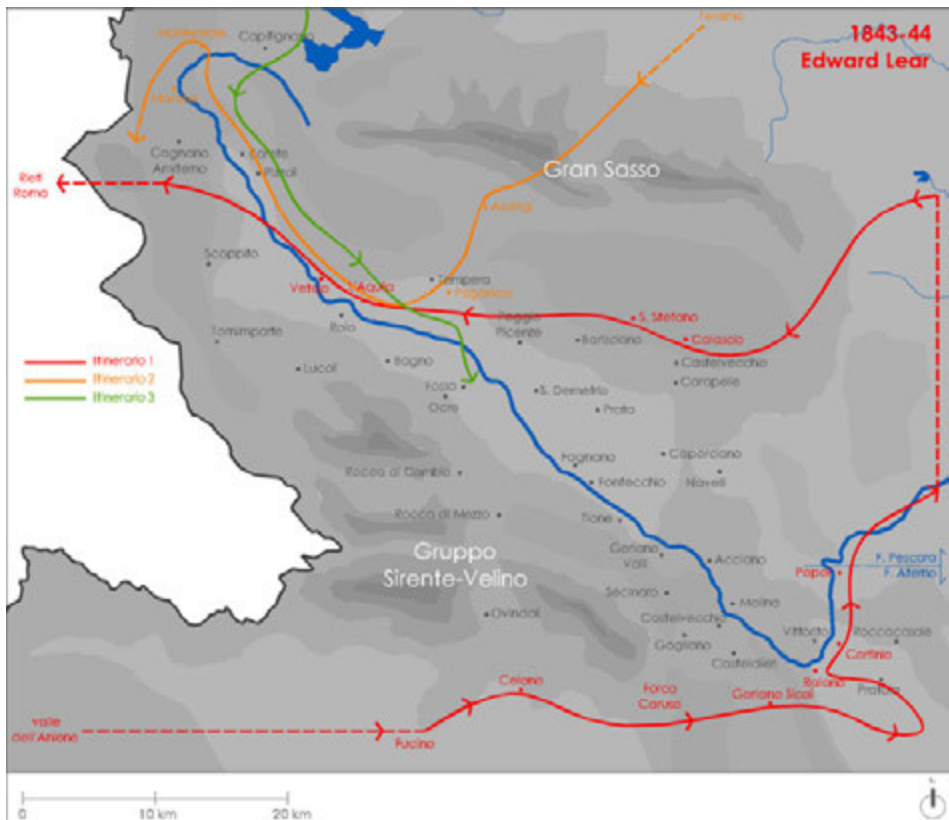
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FIG. 7. The itinerary of travel by Edward Lear, 1843 (processing by F. Geminiani, in Geminiani 2017).

gustus Lindemann-Frommel (Gregorovius 1856-1877). His journey, in a carriage drawn by oxen or in ‘primitive’ little post wagons, included visits to towns such as Rieti and L’Aquila, villages such as Popoli, hikes to the Gran Sasso and to the Fucine Lake, as well as paying tribute to the battlefield of Tagliacozzo, which in 1268 saw the end of Conradin of Swabia.

During the early twentieth century, travellers showed growing attention and awareness of the landscape, the local populations and their way of life. In this connexion, it is useful to go back to the itinerary covered by Lear, and to his words in describing both the “courtesy, simplicity and hospitality” of the inhabitants, and the moving of flocks through the three major Abruzzo sheep trails that leave L’Aquila, Celano and Pescasseroli to reach the pastures of Foggia. “I cannot help saying”, he writes, “that the impression I received from these extraordinary caravans is quite other than gloom or melancholy” (Lear 1846: 9). These words anticipate those written many years later, once again by an English traveller, Anne MacDonell, in Abruzzo in 1907 together with her friend, the painter Amy Atkinson; the latter was the author of the water colours illustrating the account of the journey published the following year<sup>10</sup>.

In describing with irony her disappointment over the ruins of Corfinio, reached by the ‘poor’ and slow railway line, she advises the reader: “If San Pelino doesn’t manage to satisfy your expectations, there is another way of assuaging anger: you must set your foot toward Raiano, but not because this, the most miserable of villages, is interesting (...). Nevertheless, the return walk to Sulmona, along the *trattojo*, is a delight and will always constitute a happy memory. As soon as we pass the place where the women gather to do the washing, at the stream, we find ourselves in a vast grassy area – a sort of endless green space – magnificent for walking and for being admired. As we walk, it seems that the hills on either side keep in step with us. Strips of farmland border this green area the whole way: along the path there are horsemen singing, lazy young shepherds and flocks bunched together in the shade, as well as shrubs and rows of ornamental trees. Indeed, this place is both an avenue, a pasture and a path, eight miles long (...) here no one who has a horse, even the most derelict nag, goes on foot, and once on horseback, a peasant gives himself the airs of a D’Artagnan” (MacDonell 2004: 138).



The reports of the cultivated travellers in Abruzzo underline the role of the means of transport and the importance of the reception, hospitality and beauty of the surrounding landscape: characteristics still essential for travellers and pilgrims. It is important to retrieve and protect these peculiarities, particularly in slower and less comfortable routes running through the Abruzzo, to prevent their definitive abandonment. Similar human and environmental qualities can be seen in many routes direct to Santiago, including the one between San Xiao do Camiño e O Leboeiro, traversed by the working group and on whose fragilities it suggested a preservation approach aware of the current needs.

### Pilgrims in Abruzzo: the risk of oblivion

The section of sheep track (*trattojo*) recounted by MacDonell belongs to one of the principal 'green roads', the Celano-Foggia (km 207), which, together with the L'Aquila-Foggia (km 244), Pescasseroli-Candela (km 211) and Castel di Sangro-Lucera (km 127), was covered by the Abruzzo shepherds twice a year with their flocks, starting in the first or second week of October, to reach the Apulian Tavoliere, and returning in May to the cooler mountain pastures of the Abruzzo (Fig. 8).

Together with the major sheep trails (some even as wide as 111 m), the extensive and very ancient transhumance network, already well-documented during the Republican era,

FIG. 8. The *Carta dei Tratturi* update in 1959 by Commissario per la reintegra dei Tratturi di Foggia on the previous edition of 1911.

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FIG. 9. The sacred sourced of St. Franco at Assergi (AQ) (Burri 2007: 72).



comprised *tratturelli*, branches and resting places<sup>11</sup>. The main routes partly follow the Roman roads: Via Claudia Nova and Via Traiana (L'Aquila-Foggia), Via Romana or Valeria (Celano-Foggia), Via Minuccia (Castel di Sangro-Lucera).

Along these trails a pastoral culture developed in symbiosis with the environment, the economy and religion. Besides trade, along the 'flock roads', cults, devotional practices and pilgrimages weave together and integrate, forming a tradition dominated by religious and cultural expression (Capezzali 1982).

Evidence of this symbiosis of a pastoral economy and sacral and cultural transmutations is first and foremost encountered in the cult of St. Michael, a significant example of the continuity and transformation of the Italic cult of Hercules, the warrior god, protector of trade and the transhumance of flocks<sup>12</sup>. In Abruzzo, numerous shrines dedicated to St. Michael are found in particularly evocative 'natural' places, such as grottoes and springs, some going back to pre-Christian cults. Among these we find, for example, along the Centurelle-Montesecco sheep trail, the grotto of Sant'Angelo a Castiglione at Casauria (PE) and another at Lettomanoppello (PE), where the shepherds could rest and water their flocks (Gasparroni 2015), while at a short distance from the Celano-Foggia sheep trail lies the grotto of San Michele at Bominaco (Aglietti 2003: 265-266). Linked to the pastoral world is also the cult of the Crowned Madonna and other arboreal Madonnas with a dark-coloured face, portrayed among the branches of a tree, the symbol of regenerative power and of the bond with Mother Earth<sup>13</sup>.



Fairs connected to the return or departure of the flocks bring us back to the economic context of the daily and religious life of the community and of the shepherd/pilgrim<sup>14</sup>. The fair took place in front of the Casauria abbey on 27 May, coinciding with the return of the flocks to the uplands of the Abruzzo.

Even Abruzzo monasteries linked with Celestine V are connected with the sheep trails in their double role as trade routes and paths of faith: Santo Spirito at Morrone monitors the Celano-Foggia sheep trail, just as Santa Maria at Collemaggio does with the one that connects L'Aquila to Foggia<sup>15</sup>.

Devotional practices in Abruzzo have not spread only along the 'grass roads' and the region contains several pilgrimage destinations, famous at nationwide or inter-regional level, and a dense web of local pilgrimages<sup>16</sup>.

The first and most important include: San Gabriele dell'Addolorata at Isola del Gran Sasso, the Madonna dei Miracoli at Casalbordino, the Volto Santo at Manoppello, San Domenico at Cucullo, the Sacra Spina at Vasto, the Miracolo Eucaristico at Lanciano, the Madonna d'Oriente at Tagliacozzo, and also the Santissima Trinità at Vallepietra at the foot of Mount Autore in the Simbruini in Lazio, but close to the border with Abruzzo<sup>17</sup>. Visits to this last sanctuary by *compagnie* of the Abruzzo were often paired with a visit to Cucullo or to Isola Gran Sasso. The journey started from a church and could last a week or more. "Companies from the Lazio side reached Vallepietra on the eve of the feast. From here, after a stay of several hours, they took the path again for the final and most wearisome stretch that leads to the sanctuary. Those coming from the Abruzzo side, on the other hand, did not go as far as Vallepietra but, passing through Capadocia, came directly to *the Cimata*, the meeting point of the final stretch of the various paths"<sup>18</sup> (Maresca 1999: 62). From here started the procession, which could last for hours before reaching the sanctuary.

The rituality indicated above testifies to the peasant-popular matrix of many pilgrimages in Abruzzo, and particularly local ones, more restricted in numbers and in their catchment area (Di Renzo 2000). Of these, particularly evocative are those in which the pilgrimage is linked to magic-therapeutic practices, where archaic beliefs connect health to holiness: sacred and scientific combined (Di Renzo 2002). Through the sacrifice of the way, travellers hope for purification and healing and to safeguard their health, so fundamental in the peasant society of Abruzzo in guaranteeing survival but, also for many of the pilgrims going to Santiago. As 'health facilities' these destinations form a dense grid reached by pilgrims to cure or prevent the most diverse pathologies: headaches, earache, epilepsy, arthritis, and so forth<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 9).



## Conclusions

The social and economic transformations that started from the second half of the nineteenth century, and their impact on infrastructure, towns, villages and the region itself, and more particularly the acceleration of travel and the very way of life, have gradually condemned to oblivion, as well as imposing irreversible changes, many sections of the sheep trails and ways covered by travellers and pilgrims.

The specificity and fragility related the sheep tracks and ritual routes in Abruzzo underlines the importance of network memory, also true in relation to the various branches of Way of Santiago, and underlines the need for it to re-emerge to prevent its consumption. To this aim the 'plot' – albeit incomplete and reconstructed in summary terms – that we have attempted to unravel is intended to illustrate the extraordinary richness and complexity of the network of roads and paths and pilgrim routes in Abruzzo which is a circumscribed case but comparable in many aspects with the Way of Santiago. This heritage of information and memories constitutes the pre-condition for any understanding and safeguarding of the myth and reality of secular and religious journeys and, also, to equip the pilgrim-traveller with a background of awareness.

The many aspects of routes and itineraries in Abruzzo have overpoweringly re-emerged, especially during the last few decades, through careful research and publications based on archival sources and historical local and international advertising, including advertisements for educational travel; works backed and enriched by direct investigation of the area, greatly aided by modern instruments. The presence of these routes is also supported both by the tradition of popular festivals and memories, as also by existing architectural and territorial remains, elements which, over the past few years, have generated a will to rediscover and rehabilitate through numerous initiatives<sup>20</sup>, often undertaken by associations of volunteers who have found a reference model in the Way of Santiago<sup>21</sup>.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See <<http://www.camminodisantomaso.org/il-progetto/>> [Accessed 31 January 2018]. Translation by the author.

<sup>2</sup> <[www.camminiditalia.it](http://www.camminiditalia.it)> [Accessed 31 January 2018].

<sup>3</sup> After examining them, the portal of Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism provides the proposals made by each region to restore a slow mobility network, with a view to "environmental-landscape integration, with the agricultural, handcraft and cultural-touristic activities of the National System, as indicated in the Strategic Tourism Plan 2017-2022". See <[http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MIBAC/sito-MIBAC/Contenuti/visualizza\\_asset.html\\_1679619835.html](http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MIBAC/sito-MIBAC/Contenuti/visualizza_asset.html_1679619835.html)> [Accessed 31 January 2018].

<sup>4</sup> See <<http://www.tesoridabruzzo.com/la-storia-dabruzzo-nellatlante-dei-cammini-ditalia/#st-hash.VPP6b5hJ.dpbs>> [Accessed 31 January 2018].

<sup>5</sup> Such interests meet "a high point of merger in the mysterious and turbulent Fucine Lake, linked to the grandiose Roman structures of Claudius's drainage

tunnel and the solid ruins of Alba Fucens" (Ciranna 2003: 253); in Italian in the original text.

<sup>6</sup> De Salis Marschlins 1988, translation by the author. Accompanied by the *Abate* Giuseppe Lolli, and by two engineers commissioned by the Royal Family to inspect Claudius's drainage tunnel, Salis Marschlins thus describes the lake basin: "It is certainly not common to find a lake with a circumference of more than twenty miles in the midst of such arid mountains, and this sweet and smooth stretch of waters is rendered even more beneficent by the innumerable villages, scattered all around like an amphitheatre on the well-farmed plain, or emerging above elevations green with bushes; and, as a background to this very beautiful picture, a circle of superb mountains, amongst which the Velino, the Gran Sasso d'Italia and the Maiella" (De Salis Marschlins 1988: 23). He describes the lake as cut off from the rest of the world, except towards the west, where it joins the Papal States along the Salto, the Cefolina valley and Tagliacozzo, the valley of Roveto through the Campi Palentini; two routes passing through high mountains connect Celano with Aquila and Pescara

with Sulmona to the north-east, the others being mere tracks. The quotation has been translated from the Italian.

<sup>7</sup> Keppel Craven 1837. He reached L'Aquila from Celano, passing through Ovindoli where he was the guest of the Marquis Torres Dragonetti. Like many other travellers, he was fascinated by the Roman and medieval ruins of Alba Fucens, of which he describes the church of San Pietro, and the beauty of the Fucine Lake, seen in 1826 and 1831 during the restoration works on the drainage tunnel.

<sup>8</sup> On the figure of Simelli, see Ciranna 2016. For his itinerary, the explorer-draftsman used the 1783 map of Abruzzo Ulteriore e Citeriore, included in the third tome of the *Atlante Nuovissimo* published by Antonio Zatta in Venice in 1784. He visited the fortified town of Ocre, which dominates the Aterno valley and the access to the plateau of le Rocche, the village of San Panfilo and the ruins of Santo Spirito d'Ocre.

<sup>9</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (BIASA), Giuseppe Simelli ms. Lanciani Antichità Pelasgiche, XI, 66, 1810-1815, f. 20; in Italian in the original manuscript, translation by the author.

<sup>10</sup> MacDonell 2004. The following quotation has been translated by the Italian edition.

<sup>11</sup> A list is provided in *La Carta dei Tratturi* updated by the Commissario per la reintegra dei Tratturi di Foggia in 1959 on the previous 1911 edition, published in accordance with Act n° 746 dated 20 December 1908 and Art.1 of Regulation n° 197 dated 5 January 1911 (see <<http://www.regione.puglia.it/web/demanio-patrimonio/la-carta-dei-tratturi>> [Accessed 31 January 2018]).

<sup>12</sup> The Apulian sanctuary of San Michele at Monte Sant'Angelo in the Gargano is the epicentre of devotion to the Archangel Michael, thaumaturge and patron of waters. Shepherds visit this venue at the beginning and end of their stay in Apulia, probably repeating a similar rite at the Abruzzo shrine of San Vittorino at Amiternum, a major transhumance centre. See Colapietra 1981.

<sup>13</sup> On places of worship along this sheep track, see Tranquilla Neri, Grassi 2008. Such devotional practices hark back to the eleventh century, their hub being the Crowned Madonna of Foggia, widespread in Abruzzo, especially along the sheep trail routes. An important example is the Crowned Madonna worshipped at Pescasseroli, the point of departure of the sheep trail leading to Candela (FG). At Pescasseroli, the origin of the cult dates back to 8 September 1283, when Charles of Anjou granted the institution of a cattle fair, on which day falls the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. See D'Agostino 2011.

<sup>14</sup> We should note the 'Fiera del Ponte' which takes place at the monastery of San Clemente at

Casauria, close to the Centurelle-Montesecco sheep trail branch which, from Santa Maria di Centurelle near Caporciano leaves the L'Aquila-Foggia sheep trail.

<sup>15</sup> At L'Aquila, the shepherds' journey was presided over by the sanctuary of Santa Maria of Roio, whose foundation miracle unites Roio with the Apulian territories. Apparitions of the Madonna starting from the thirteenth century triggered a proliferation throughout Abruzzo of shrines dedicated to the Virgin and to her various attributes, more or less important in their sphere of attraction. Worship of the Madonna of Roio is popular and widespread and, like the cult of Celestine, includes the ritual of pardon, purification and thanksgiving to the Virgin by the shepherds on their return from Apulia. See Aglietti 2003: 271.

<sup>16</sup> Marucci 2000. In this text, the index edited by Di Renzo, Salvatore 2000 is of particular interest.

<sup>17</sup> On Vallepietra, see Maresca 1999. The subsequent quotations are translations from the Italian.

<sup>18</sup> Translation by the author. On their return, the pilgrims procured 'tokens' to testify to their pilgrimage. These included "*la verga d'avellana*, the stick (which often had three branches on top, a clear symbol of the divine triad), large tree branches, or even their entire trunks. These were left for days in front of chapels dedicated to the Trinity found in every town from which the pilgrimage to the Santissima started" (Maresca 1999: 64).

<sup>19</sup> Burri 2007, particularly pp. 72-83. Valid, for example, are pilgrimages undertaken: the first, on the first Sunday in September to the sanctuary of Santa Colomba at Pretara (TE), on the Teramo side of the Gran Sasso, where the pilgrim inserts his/her head into a cavity beside the altar to cure or prevent headache; the other, on 12 June to the Celestine hermitage of S. Onofrio at Sulmona, where, by rubbing the body on the rocky wall, the believer invokes the healing of arthritic pains. See Di Renzo 2002; Di Renzo, Salvatore 2000.

<sup>20</sup> On sheep tracks, numerous sites are devoted to their rediscovery, including for example <<http://www.tratturumagno.it>> <http://www.leviedetratturi.com>> [Accessed 31 January 2018].

<sup>21</sup> For example, the said Way of San Tommaso at Ortona "is inspired by the concept of experiential tourism, 'slow tourism', in which the traveller lives a unique and personal experience, its rhythms punctuated by a personal planning of the journey, selecting the best times and ways to stay in the proposed locations. The Way of St Thomas is made even more special by the *Carta del Pellegrino*, a document certifying the presence of the pilgrim-traveller on the paths of the Way". See Note 1.

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## PRESERVATION IN THE ERA OF TOURIST PRESSURE. FROM THE WAY OF ST. JAMES TO THE RIALTO BRIDGE AREA IN VENICE: SOME THOUGHTS ON UNSUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION OF HERITAGE

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*It is worth to be seen what must be seen*

Enzensberger 1965: 88

As an outsider looking in, it is not easy to appreciate the deeper meanings of a route that actually embodies both the cultural and spiritual sphere of strongly heterogeneous communities. If one limits himself to only one part of the route – a ‘part for the whole’ along a Way that for many is not a material Way – it is practically impossible to clearly recognise the power of the experience, its values, its fragilities.

The segment of the Camino de Santiago (or the Way of St. James) – which I visited during the days of the sixth EAAE Thematic Network on Conservation workshop dedicated to surveying – was made up of a stretch of the French Way between the village of Leboreiro and Melide.

In the *Codex Calixtinus* (twelfth century), the area of Leboreiro is indicated as *campus leoprarius*, the field of hares. Today, only small parts of the walls of the refuge for pilgrims remain, with the coat of arms of the noble house still visible. The refuge was built in the twelfth century and was altered in the fifteenth century by Vasco de Ulloa. In these locations we find the first *cabeceiro* (raised granary), built of wood and intertwining branches. It is just one of the many that are still scattered around the village.

Today’s hamlet of Leboreiro has been largely abandoned, with the inhabitants moving closer to the towns and cities. It is made up of low (mainly single-floor) buildings, many of which are in a state of disrepair while others have been greatly (and inappropriately) transformed (Figs. 1-2). The small Church of Santa Maria in Leboreiro, which hosts many pilgrims even during the off-season, houses a collection of religious sculptures of various epochs. The church, the remaining dwellings and the granaries bear witness to the peasant life of this hamlet, which has seen its population decline over the last three decades. With fewer inhabitants, the influx of many pilgrims has infused life into the site while also deeply modifying the area’s quality, in order to meet the needs of the many visitors.

After the Magdalena Bridge on the Rio Seco, on the road to Disicabo, the route leads on to Furelos and lastly Melide, a small town of 7,500 inhabitants, reached via recently developed, largely urbanised, areas.

The connotations of these 5.4 kilometres vary rapidly, with interruptions consisting of elements that do not harmonise, bearing witness to the uncontrolled transformation of the territory in the vicinity of the route itself.

The first aspect to consider regards the absence of mitigating elements positioned along the Camino. At various stages, the route taken by the pilgrims runs parallel to the



FIG. 1. The rural village of Leboreiro (2017).

FIG. 2. Leboreiro. Wrong interventions on the building's façades (2017).

FIGS. 3-4. Wide industrial and commercial areas along the Way of St. James (2017).



N-547 State road. There are no natural or artificial barriers to experientially set the pilgrims apart, buffering them from the busy road traffic and from elements that are extraneous to the route and not at all conducive to concentration, the experience of silence or an appreciation of the landscape (which, just a few metres before, featured the rural settings of villages).

The variability of the landscapes as viewed along the Camino is not always to be considered a boon. Rural landscapes and flagstone-paved routes alternate with alienating industrial areas in which the route is less clearly delineated. The stone paving or dusty tracks cede ground to gravel or asphalt. Nearly halfway along the route, the Camino traverses a large industrial and commercial zone, this probably representing the most problematic part of the segment that we visited (Figs. 3-5). Here, the encounter between tradition and

FIG. 5. Vandalism and decay on the Way of St. James' traces and symbols (2017).

FIGS. 6-7. Spontaneous trade destined for the pilgrims (2017).

progress seems to have come about in a totally un-governed manner: the clearly visible beaten-earth path suddenly disappears and the pilgrims must walk across a shopping-mall car park, with only the vaguest of indications to guide them back to where the beaten-earth path continues.

A further, vital issue that the visit revealed concerns the tangible signs of the importance of the economy – and microeconomy – catering to the needs of pilgrims.

Trade linked to tourism, and also to the brandisation of locations and of religious symbols, is very busy, and it has perhaps not been adequately



regulated in regard to the issue of invasiveness in the manner with which these activities manifest themselves. Souvenir shops, even in the towns and cities, are gradually replacing the shops linked to the day-to-day lives and spontaneity of the inhabitants (Figs. 6-7). The danger is that the commodification of symbols will downgrade physical assets, reflecting experiential intensity, in the direction instead of experiences of low-cost fetishes.

To reach Melide, visitors cross the medieval hamlet of Furelos, itself reached via a five-arched medieval stone bridge over the river (Fig. 8). Nature, the sound of the water







FIG. 8. Stone bridge in the medieval village of Furelos (2017).

FIGS. 9-10. Melide. Free house-museum for the pilgrims (2017).



and the granaries re-align visitors to the fullness of experience of this route (which, in any case, features scattered shops and small museums aimed much more toward tourism than pilgrimage) (Figs. 9- 10).

### **The – not thin – line between pilgrimage and mass tourism**

As is widely known, on 23 October 1987, the Council of Europe acknowledged the symbolic importance of Europe's routes of religious and cultural significance that lead to Santiago de Compostela, by declaring that the Santiago route is a European Cultural Route<sup>1</sup>, while providing funds for initiatives capable of appropriately enhancing the Camino. This acknowledgement stresses the historical and cultural character of the route. Today the Camino has been identified as one of the key drivers of the marked upturn in numbers of visitors to these locations from the 1990s on. The increase includes visitors arriving for reasons not linked to religious observance and, year after year, of visitors who are not Spanish<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the theme of pilgrimages and Ways as a metaphor for the rediscovery

of Europe's roots constitutes a key point of the Declaration of 1987 (Council of Europe 1987). Progress in this regard climaxed in 1993 when the Spanish portion of the Camino was acknowledged by UNESCO as a World Heritage site.

The Camino de Santiago thus pioneered a revival for the routes taken by pilgrims. We note that the Ways leading to Rome, such as the via Francigena, the Way of St. Olav in northern Europe, and the Way of St. Michael are currently a part of Europe's cultural routes.

So, who are the people who come to the Camino? Over the last decade, an increasingly variegated set of visitors has been noted, among which are: "sportspeople, mystics,

TABLE 1. The increasing number of pilgrims on the Way of St. James (by <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas>> [Accessed 29 January 2017]).

Totale Pellegrini				
MESE	2014	2015	2016	2017
GEN.	906	1.217	1.304	1.355
FEB.	970	1.544	1.733	1.696
MAR.	3.150	5.080	11.067	5.176
APR.	17.348	17.722	15.103	26.925
MAG.	27.354	31.078	32.782	35.346
GIU.	33.004	35.364	39.079	41.619
LUG.	39.581	44.799	45.483	47.470
AGO.	51.219	54.795	53.714	57.680
SET.	34.458	37.432	40.159	42.189
OTT.	23.205	25.575	28.231	31.341
NOV.	4.803	5.229	6.394	7.346
DIC.	1.870	2.062	2.864	2.893
<b>Tot.</b>	<b>237.983</b>	<b>262.516</b>	<b>277.913</b>	<b>301.036</b>

n° totale dei pellegrini di Santiago				
2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
215.810	237.868	262.516	277.913	301.036
+12,1%	+10,2%	+10,3%	+5,87%	+8,32%

people with an interest in history and nature, cyclists, religious and tourists as such. In their guides, printed in tens of languages, this immaterial site – an 800-km stretch from the Pyrenees to the tomb of the apostle – is always included among the must-see places in Spain"<sup>3</sup> (Ardito 2005: 25). In 1997, slightly more than 25,000 pilgrims frequented the Camino; in 2017, more than 301,000 pilgrims came to Santiago. Only three years earlier, in 2014, it is reckoned that there were about 70,000 visitors less<sup>4</sup> (Table 1).

While, on the one hand, the number of visitors has encouragingly revived interest in this site (a 12-fold growth in numbers in 20 years), on the other the pressure of the tourism generated by this increase raises evident issues linked to sustainable management of an inevitable 'consumption' caused precisely by tourism's impact on emblematic heritage sites. The instances of preservation in the era of pressure of tourism thus point

to a process that must look into the factors and mechanisms of severe physical deterioration of cultural assets. The primary meaning of the word 'consumption' is "using up a resource"<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, according to the dictionary, 'consumption' also means "Subject to usury. Wasting, wear and tear. A disease that determines a gradual loss of body weight, a deterioration of trophism and of fundamental functions. A consequence of various diseases: acute and chronic infections (tuberculosis, malaria), malignant tumours, chronic intoxication, certain nervous and mental diseases" (McCarthy, O'Dell 2002: 113). Does this mean that tourism is a 'disease' afflicting such sites? Materially speaking, this is the case. However, there is more to this issue than just that. Touristic consumption of sites of cultural interest, resulting from a failure to manage – or to efficiently manage – visitor flows and numbers, does not mean a re-semantisation of places but rather a gradual obfuscation of these places' identities and traits.

The appropriation of the places by massive tourist flows produces radical changes in the system of values referred to the sites themselves and causes processes of deseman-ticisation even if preserving their apparent physical integrity. The erosion of cultural val-

ues of places is perhaps a more insidious phenomenon than the physical consumption of cultural and environmental resources because less evident. The debasement of meanings involves the transformation of the territories crossed by tourist flows into mere containers, subject to the excessive power of their image and to phenomena of progressive theatricalisation. The touristic function offers to consumers a fiction of a lost or ideal world that, generally, does not exist.

When considering the process of subjecting one's heritage to the rules of the marketplace, Salvatore Settis surprisingly accuses the inhabitants themselves: "A city can die in three ways: when a brutal foe destroys it (...); when foreigners settle there by force of arms, evicting the natives and their gods (...); or, lastly, when the inhabitants forget who they are and, even unawares, become foreigners to, and enemies of, themselves"<sup>6</sup>. The path pinpointed by the scholar does not represent an unexpected phenomenon. It is instead part of a slow-moving, relentless process, which, however, seems not to be unstoppable. Settis in fact underlines the role of participation in the care of places kept alive by the inhabitants themselves: "The shadows of lost memories do not suddenly darken communities. These shadows arrive slowly and uncertainly, like a theatre curtain being cautiously dropped. For this curtain to be dropped to the floor, turning all into darkest night, there is no need for complicity. All you need is indifference" (Settis 2014: 50-55).

Today, the Santiago Camino – which is a most ancient cultural route of the traditions of pilgrimage – seems to have been transformed into a hugely popular collection of routes, leading us away from the concept of the 'pilgrim' to that of the 'tourist'. Paradoxically, the popularity of this heritage asset, and promotion of the same, may adversely affect real prospects for transmission of that same heritage to future generations. Hence, one of the vital concerns of preservation consists in the cultural and social need to arrive at strategies for governing use and 'consumption' of our historic fabric, which fabric must be safeguarded against the dangers of deterioration and decay.

In order to govern the impact of marketing and marketplaces through management and protection of sites of historical, artistic and cultural interest with considerable tourist appeal, we may ask whether the required countermeasures are available today. Furthermore, what is the role of education in fostering sustainable use of these places?

### **The Rialto Bridge area: an Italian site, some common issues**

Anyone who deals with conservation/restoration knows that preserving architecture and sites necessarily entails granting site use and/or accessibility. At the same time, use causes the deterioration of materials, potentially shortening the building's lifespan. An essential issue in the conservation field is constantly seeking a balance between use and the cultural imperative to preserve monuments for future generations.

The 21st century is facing a new emergency: the recent fragilities shown both by monuments and historical sites highlight a significant difference between careful use and commercial exploitation of heritage.

Due to its inherent characteristics, the city of Venice represents a clear example of this phenomenon (in particular the Rialto Bridge, which underwent restoration between 2015 and 2017).



In terms of a place's character and meanings, the Rialto bridge area represents a deeply different case-study from the Way of St. James. Venice is a well-contained historical urban context; the small perimeter is limited within a main island characterised by a high concentration of museums and monuments. In the absence of a real coordination between local administrators and operators, the alternatives to the tourist use of the historic centre is becoming gradually less present; this fact is creating frequent episodes of conflict between residents and guests.

Probably the Old Town of Santiago de Compostela and in particular its main square represents the site which shows more similarities with the Italian case: common issues lie in the incredible pressure of tourism and the consequent consumption of the same few places within the city.

In Venice, the 'hyper-use' of the historic centre generates an imbalance between costs and benefits for the site and its inhabitants. The pressure of mass tourism has reached levels that are incompatible with maintaining the residents' quality of life and perhaps with the city's own survival. An estimated 30 million tourists a year flock to the city (54,000 inhabitants), mainly concentrated between the two poles of attraction, St. Mark's Square and the Rialto Bridge area: "Eight million tourists and 34 million presences occupy the streets and canals of Venice, while the maximum 'load-bearing capacity' comes to 12 million (Tattara 2014): in other words, for each person who lives in Venice on a regular basis, there are about 600 transient visitors. This devastating lack of proportion [between inhabitants and tourists, *editor's note*] acts like a bomb: it deeply changes the demographics and economy. Nowadays, there is a predominant monoculture of tourism that sends the natives into exile, and that ties the very survival of those who remain in the city practically solely to their desire to serve others"<sup>7</sup>.

The Rialto Bridge as we see it today is the product of the process of transformations, care and 'repairs' which, for 400 years, has enriched the architecture of signs recorded and interpreted in the restoration project documentation. The surveys carried out at the Rialto Bridge prior to the recent restoration work showed that physiological phenomena of decay of building materials are significantly less impacting than the deterioration caused by the pressure of tourism, improper uses and vandalism (Figs. 11-13). Consumption, damage, graffiti and also the occupation of public land aggravated by the decreasing quality of the local shops are the prices that the monument is paying in the face of such phenomena.

Alongside acts of sheer vandalism, such as graffiti or illegal billposting, facilitated by inadequate controls of the site (particularly at night), we note that the mechanisms of abrasion, through intense flows or neglect, as well as surface deposits, and stains, cracks/fractures – and behaviours reflecting a lack of respect for our heritage – prevail over the physiological actions of time upon matter<sup>8</sup>.

A significant part of the restoration intervention and of its costs was aimed at curbing the effects of this emergency. The methodological orientations guiding the operations carried out were a response to an emergency that is anything but 'tacit': clean, consolidate, protect (Figs. 14-17), the cost of intensive use and, more significantly, the cost of misuse or abuse.

If we wish to find an educational approach, which is increasingly urgently required, we must ask 'how to travel?' – alongside the more normal 'where to travel?'. The outcomes here can only be examined in the medium-to-long term. The roots for this orientation, indeed, go back to the drafting of the International Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS







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FIG. 11. Venice. Surfaces of the Rialto bridge damaged by graffiti (2014).

FIG. 12. Intensive tourists pressure in the Rialto bridge area (2016).

FIG. 13. Decay of the exposed stone elements of the Rialto bridge's steps (2014).

FIG. 14. Pre-strengthening intervention of the stone elements of the Rialto bridge's steps (2016).

FIGS. 15-16. Conservation repair of the stone elements of the Rialto bridge's steps (2016).

FIG. 17. Cleaning tests on the Rialto bridge's stone surfaces after graffiti removal (2016).



1999): "A primary objective for managing heritage is to communicate its significance and need for its conservation to its host community and to visitors. Reasonable and well managed physical, intellectual and/or emotive access to heritage and cultural development is both a right and a privilege" (ICOMOS 1999: Introduction).

The interaction between tourism and cultural heritage is dynamic in nature, and may bring into play conflicting values. Profit-oriented values, for example, will contribute to a

commodification of highly popular sites, impacting the quality of the items marketed, which concentrate in these and neighbouring areas. Alongside processes of gentrification, these phenomena, too, will tend to rule out the day-to-day activities of the inhabitants of areas that are of cultural interest: in the area of the Rialto Bridge (as in the district around the Obradoiro Square in Santiago de Compostela) there are no shops dedicated to the needs of residents, replaced by shops catering to the needs of tourists, displaying cheapened goods, neither authentic nor local. Italy's 'cities of art' have undergone what has been termed a 'genetic mutation' (Montanari 2013: 7), with a "gradual privatisation of public goods (...) a systematic loss of historical identity in the name of a recreational homologation"<sup>9</sup>.

Tourism, which is mainly limited to visits of just a few days, is reduced to a glance at what we are already familiar with: the time limits and a lack of aptitude in respect of 'knowing how to know' has "taught many of us to prefer – and believe in – a sanitized and selective version of the past" (Huxtable 1992), thus missing out on the dense set of relations and the fabric of facts and memories, which is the stuff of our heritage.

Unlike mass tourism, this phenomenon is not recent. Mark Twain, a tourist in Paris in 1869, eloquently described such visits, which were limited to the well-known locations where one seeks what one has read about or has seen illustrated already: "We went to see the Cathedral of Notre Dame. We had heard of it before. It surprises me sometimes to think how much we do know and how intelligent we are. We recognised the brown old Gothic pile in a moment; it was like the pictures"<sup>10</sup>. The transient uniqueness of our experience of the world was also eloquently summed up by the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss: "in the centuries to come, when another traveller revisits this same place, he too may groan aloud at the disappearance of much that I should have set down, but cannot. I am a victim of a double infirmity; what I see is an affliction to me; and what I do not see, a reproach" (Lévi-Strauss 1955: 44-45).

In 2016, Italy deployed an instrument – the Piano Strategico per il Turismo, or strategic plan for tourism<sup>11</sup> – the aim of which is to foster a new approach to enjoyment of Italy's heritage, based upon renewal and a broadening out of the tourism supply-side in strategic sites, and, above all, upon upgrading new destinations and new products for enhanced economic, social and sustainable wellbeing. It is therefore more than just limiting the influx. Differentiation of the tourism supply-side for integrated enhancement of emerging resorts and less widely known locations – even when neighbouring upon the better-known places – would remove people from traditional locations or itineraries, alongside attainment of a new equilibrium among resorts and a de-seasonalisation of tourism flows.

Of course, restoration, as a discipline, cannot on its own provide an efficacious response to the problem: central policies and local actions dedicated to management and mitigation of tourism flows are only a partial response. A further vital issue, as pointed out beforehand, consists specifically in the strategies deployed to widely spread an *educazione al turismo*, in accordance with a cultural and social approach looking to training travellers, as opposed to consumers of places and images.

Maintaining a balance between tourism and sustaining other aspects and functions of the everyday life of the sites is a matter of negotiation between local culture and globalisation, each sphere characterised by competing issues and interests.

Beyond the mutual differences, a lesson from the Rialto Bridge experience may be transferred to the sites along the Camino because both places are affected by common intense dynamic fruition. In fragile places such as those mentioned, the kind of travel-

ler who must be fostered by cultural policies is not a distracted consumer of places but someone who wants to experience the sites as 'temporary citizen', contributing to the development of the realities in which he/she stays.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Cultural Routes Programme arose out of an awareness that the Council of Europe had arrived at, of the rediscovery of significant places of cultural interest, and furthermore of the role that might be played by such locations in fostering cultural acquisitions as part of one's leisure time. Hence the idea of travelling as a means of rediscovering Europe's cultural community. Within this ambit, the concept of 'landscape' closely ties in with that of the 'route'. The European Landscape Convention also furthers the values expressed by the European Council, by defining landscapes as an integral part of local identities and of Europe's collective identity. Currently, there are 31 cultural routes recognised by the Council of Europe, which represent a resource for responsible tourism and sustainable development. Various ambits were focussed upon: architecture, landscape, religious influences, cuisine, immaterial assets, and protagonists of the worlds of art, literature and music. The recognised routes must implement innovative activities and projects regarding five priority fields: cooperation in the field of research and development; enhanced knowledge and diffusion of memory of history and Europe's heritage; cultural and academic exchanges for young Europeans; contemporary cultural and artistic activities; and cultural tourism and sustainable cultural development. With this programme, the Council of Europe provides a model for transnational management of culture and tourism, while fostering the development of synergic relations among national, regional and local authorities and a vast range of socioeconomic associations and players. The European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) was set up in 1998 to implement and develop this Programme. Camino de Santiago de Compostela was the first route to join the Programme.

<sup>2</sup> See *La Peregrinación a Santiago: estadísticas*. [online] Available at: <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas>> [Accessed 29 January 2017].

<sup>3</sup> Translation by the author. According to the statistical data collected on a yearly basis by the Oficina de Acogida al Peregrino, in 2017 the reasons given for visits on the part of pilgrims were religious in 130,831 cases (43.46%); religious and cultural in 142,662 cases (47.39%); and only cultural in 27,543 cases (9.15%). See <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas>> [Accessed 29 January 2017].

<sup>4</sup> See <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas>> [Accessed 29 January 2017].

<sup>5</sup> Devoto, Oli 2003: 566. Translation by the author.

<sup>6</sup> Settis 2014: 29-33. Translation by the author.

<sup>7</sup> Settis 2014: 130-134. Translation by the author.

<sup>8</sup> On this topic see also Gasparoli, Trovò 2014: 131-133.

<sup>9</sup> Montanari 2013: 65. Translation by the author.

<sup>10</sup> Twain 1869: 91. See also d'Eramo 2017: 626-629.

<sup>11</sup> The six-year tourism plan, Piano Strategico del Turismo (PST, slated for the 2017-2022 period), was drawn up by the tourism promotion standing committee, Comitato Permanente di Promozione del Turismo with the coordination of the Direzione Generale Turismo of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo (MiBACT) (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism) as a response to the need to bring the tourism sector to centre-stage as a part of Italy's development policies. The task of drawing up the Plan was legally entrusted (art. 4 DM 8/8/14) to the Comitato Permanente di Promozione del Turismo, made up of 39 members, including representatives of the institutions, central and territorial administrations, and the most representative trade associations. The Plan sets forth the strategic ends for development of tourism in keeping with article 117 of the Constitution, acknowledging that the Regional government authorities are to play a key role in basic policy-making and implementations of the actions of the PST.

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## A REFLECTION ON MEANING AND CONTINUITY IN THE CONSERVATION OF PILGRIMAGE ROUTES

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FIG. 1. The blessing of the staffs and satchels prior to departing on pilgrimage (15th century manuscript – extract from Huchet 2015: 38).

### Introduction

Pilgrimage is a form of human activity that requires breaking with the usual routine of life in order to go on a journey, the purpose of which involves a spiritual challenge or call to transformation. Traditionally pilgrimage was undertaken as part of specific religious observance, and all of the world's religions include pilgrimage routes and places, but more recently, with the decline in traditional religious beliefs, it is increasingly being undertaken as a personal journey, often with little knowledge of the traditions or places associated with it. Pilgrimage routes are usually rich in cultural places and artefacts and therefore these journeys often take place in heritage contexts and can pose problems for conservation. This paper will seek to examine these new paradigms and assess their significance in conservation terms.

Apart from the lure of personal transformation that pilgrimage offers, in terms of their contents alone these routes contain places of great historical and cultural signifi-

cance. They are cultural routes in the fullest sense. The physical conservation of these places (the term 'place' encompassing its physical fabric too) is not the subject of this reflection however. This conservation is generally being done, and often to the highest standards, as was evidenced by our visit to the restoration works to the Portico de la Gloria of the Cathedral of Santiago during the workshop. What this paper seeks to understand is how the loss of meaning related to shifting attitudes towards the religious underpinning of these routes might affect the longer-term viability of the routes themselves as far as continuity of their meaning is concerned. As well as the obvious importance of historic fabric to conservation, continuity of meaning is an important element of why we conserve.

In keeping with the development of the workshop themes, the focus of this paper will be on the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela along the Camino Francès, or French route which enters Spain over the Pyrenees via Roncesvallès and heads west through Pamplona, Burgos and León, before ending in Santiago in Galicia.

### **The Origins of the Camino**

In order to gauge the 'levels' of continuity of meaning throughout the history of the Camino or Way it is necessary to understand the social, cultural and religious realities that led to the birth of this great pilgrimage route and have sustained it to the present day. It is also important to note that the Camino Francès, despite its 780km length, was only the last stage for many pilgrims of a much longer way, particularly for those coming from northern and eastern Europe. The Way to Santiago was the third most important pilgrimage in medieval Christianity, after Jerusalem and Rome. There is also evidence that the route itself predated Christianity and that its 'original' destination may have been the Finisterra peninsula, still visited by many pilgrims after their Compostela experience and whence are harvested the Scallop shells, the symbols of the Way of Santiago or St. James. It is curious that the Scallop shell is traditionally linked to an inland shrine such as Compostela, suggesting that this is the subversion or conversion of an older tradition. Early Christianity had a propensity for overwriting forms and customs to aid its ideological expansion, from the Basilica typology to the Cross itself. We will see more of this later when comparing this route to a now-defunct Irish example.

The pilgrimage to Santiago owes its origins to a belief in the miraculous discovery of the remains of the Apostle James, son of Zebedee, near Padrón sometime in the 820s. These were brought to Compostela by Alfonso II, who was anxious to consolidate his kingdom in northern Spain against threats from the Muslim kingdoms to the South. He built a Cathedral to house the relics and declared his city to be a sanctuary for its new patron saint, thus encouraging pilgrims to come. From this destination spread a network of routes, towns and infrastructure from Galicia, through Spain and the Basque country to France, which greatly contributed to the cultural and economic development of northern Spain and ultimately fuelled the *Reconquista*. This economic development was helped by the constant flow of funds from the pilgrims, who were expected to donate to the upkeep of the holy sites. From the sixteenth century onwards, the church in Spain began to benefit from the riches being returned from the Americas and some of this wealth was invested in pilgrim facilities such as hospitals and hostels, religious art and artefacts and many churches and monasteries at the service of pilgrims.

## Medieval pilgrimage

The great French medieval scholar, Jacques Le Goff cautions against thinking of the middle ages as a single historical period (Le Goff 2008). Despite the impression we may get from our reading of medieval history of a certain societal and cultural stasis based on monolithic Christian beliefs there were marked differences between the early and later middle ages in terms of technological advances, the ordering of societies and the development of thought. The Middle Ages in the Compostelan context started with the 'declaration' of the discovery of the Saint's remains at Iria Flavia in the early ninth-century (an 'act of the imagination' in its own right, according to Rucquoi; Rucquoi 2014) (Fig. 2). It 'ended' with the falling off in numbers of pilgrims during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century as the Reformation and Renaissance humanism took an increasing toll on traditional expressions of faith. However, during these medieval periods people generally held shared beliefs in the reality of Heaven and Hell, the power of God and the Devil, the presence of miracles in everyday life, the inseparability of the physical and spiritual worlds and the fundamental ordering of society according to principles of divine authority and enlightened kingship. People lived their faith very openly, both individually and collectively and shared expressions of devotion were the norm. It was a society without any desire to change the pre-determined divine order which in the words of Jacques Le Goff "was geared towards the expectation of the end of the world" (Le Goff 2008: 97). In this hierarchy, the individual had importance only insofar as he or she contributed to the harmony of the collective and respected the place (divinely) allotted to each in society. In this sense, medieval pilgrimage represented a rare occasion for people to leave these roles behind and to go out into the world, to briefly step outside societal structures and strictures. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* describes this coming together of different social classes and professions via the shared purpose of pilgrimage, and the exchange of experiences and ideas that this could produce (Chaucer 2003).

The legitimacy of pilgrimage was recognised by all judicial authorities at the time. The Council of León in 1114 (whose edicts applied to the Camino) guaranteed 'peace and freedom of movement' to only three categories of people; *negotiatores et peregrini et laboratores*, merchants, pilgrims and skilled workers.

Pilgrims undertook the Way for a number of reasons, most of which were connected to religious belief. Commonly, they wished to encounter the power of the relics of St. James and to pray at his shrine as an expression of Christian belief. In return, they fervently wished for indulgences which would shorten their stay in Purgatory, and certificates to this effect, usually dispensed in increments of one hundred days, could be collected at the holy sites along the Way. They also undertook pilgrimage in return for a religious



FIG. 2. Statue of St. James the Apostle (courtesy of Museo Peregrinaciones, Santiago).

intention, or in thanks for prayers already answered. Another common motivation was repentance for sins or faults, often at the behest of a confessor or spiritual authority. Less common, but no less real was pilgrimage as a form of punishment imposed by the courts. This sentence often applied to very serious crimes (such as heresy) and usually required the subject to wear chains, sometimes naked, until the destination was reached, often multiple times.

There was also ‘pilgrimage by proxy’, whereby those who were unable to undertake the pilgrimage for reasons such as infirmity, illness or professional indispensability would pay for another to do so on their behalf. Wealthier pilgrims could undertake the Route on horseback, but most walked, often in large groups. The better-organised ones were frequently accompanied by guides who could speak Latin (the common language of Christian Europe at the time) and would tell stories of the places, saints and shrines along the Way. Pilgrims usually sang or prayed as they walked. Towards the later medieval period a more profane interest in the connections of places to famous people or feats of arms became more common under the influence of texts such as *La chanson de Roland*, which took place along the Camino francés, or the *Historia Turpini* recounting the exploits of Charlemagne against the Moors. As Humanist ideals took hold, there was an increase in pilgrim accounts and observations, and a noticeable growth in observer curiosity, suggesting burgeoning recreational and cultural motivations to pilgrimage. However, pilgrimage was still at best an uncertain undertaking and at worst a fatal one. Stories abound of ferries foundering, attacks by brigands, and deaths from sickness or plague. The *Codex Calixtinus* which is the best known of the early guides to the Camino warns pilgrims that “all of the fish and the meat of cows and pigs in the whole of Spain and Galicia produces illnesses in foreigners” (Rucquoi 2014: 109) and it warns of the dangers of drinking the water too.

The medieval pilgrim, indeed medieval society itself, fervently believed in the power of miracles. So much so, that even a story as far-fetched to our ears as the arrival at Padrón of the Apostle’s body by remotely-propelled boat all the way from the Holy Land was accepted as historical fact. Miracles were a regular occurrence at all of the holy places and on all pilgrimage routes, but particularly at those harbouring the relics of saints.

While pilgrims were generally welcomed wherever they went, they were expected to be able to prove their legitimacy by producing a letter or safe-pass (the equivalent of the modern passport) issued by their home parish or church authority, to be stamped at the various stages along the Way as proof of their progression. Before departing they would have attended a special ceremony in their parish church at which their staffs and satchels were blessed and their letters of passage were signed. To these symbols of their spiritual journey would be added the scallop shell upon its completion. In a world where only the educated were expected to be able to read and write, symbols were the universal language of visual and intellectual communication. It is easy for us now to underestimate the power of these symbols.

### **The Elements of Pilgrimage**

Based on the elements of our shared human experience, there are many aspects of today’s pilgrimage which would be equally familiar to the medieval pilgrim. The body’s relationship to the physical demands of pilgrimage is the most immediate one; blisters are a universal part of the human condition. But more importantly are those shared experi-





FIG. 3. Part of the Way from Estella to Los Arcos.

ences of space and place, through the continuity of church buildings or urban forms over many centuries, or the durability of the symbols of the Way, such as icons of St James or images of the scallop shell. These values are reinforced and validated by their quality of continuity, which is an essential aspect of authenticity in conservation terms. An attempt is made here to organise some of these elements into themes for discussion.

**Idea and Imagination:** Pilgrimage requires action in space and time, both physical and spiritual, but prior to being undertaken, it requires an effort of consciousness, and as such has a genesis as an act of the imagination. Because it takes place in the mind as well as in space and time, it combines the intangible and the tangible to a high degree. In terms of this duality, the Way itself consists of both Route and Journey which the pilgrim undertakes in parallel, and which are mediated by the symbols associated with it. Just as the Camino was born of an act of the imagination, so too is (and was) every individual act of pilgrimage.

**Route and Journey:** As its tangible expression therefore, the Route is the fabric of pilgrimage (Fig. 3) and contains its artefactual elements. It includes the places and their histories, such as bridges, towns, villages, churches, cathedrals, crosses, Roman roads, and so on. It includes the treasures that these places contain, from reliquaries to stained glass and statuary, paintings etc and extends to embrace the landscapes and cultures of the places traversed. It has an objective context, with a beginning and an end; starting point and principal destination. In terms of our understanding of 'place' according to the Burra Charter, place and route are inseparable in the context of pilgrimage (ICOMOS 2013). The

‘destination’ places are merely a thickening of the route, a concentration of its essence, much like the interchangeability of matter and energy.

The Journey on the other hand is intangible and starts in the mind and at a place usually far removed from the start of the Route. While it may have a beginning as an idea it may never have an end, depending on the extent to which it marks the consciousness and life of its subject. It includes the ‘imagined’ Way and the ‘real’ Way and the nature of the encounters with people and place. The nature of the experience it produces will have a bearing on the qualities of the Pilgrim’s encounter with place. While Route can be appraised and described in objective terms, the experience of Journey is largely subjective, despite its shared human characteristics. The route and the fabric it contains has tangible physical qualities too that can get the better of even the most determined pilgrim. The body’s reaction to the route will invariably influence the pilgrim’s experience of Journey.

**Community and Place:** The medieval pilgrim was consciously part of a group and generally had no desire to live in isolation from it, even though statistically, he or she was most likely to have come from a small rural settlement, given the much smaller proportion of the population then living in towns and cities. According to Jacques Le Goff, “the people of the Middle Ages almost all existed in contradiction between two worlds: the limited horizon of the forest clearing where they lived and the distant horizons of Christendom where anyone could immediately leave England for Santiago de Compostela or Toledo” (Le Goff 2008: 112). Pilgrims therefore, despite their differences of geography, language and class and varying experiences of sociability crowded into the places provided for them along the Way.

The Nave of the Cathedral was a public space in the medieval world and pilgrims came together here in large groups, even sleeping and being fed there. From the fear of brigands on the isolated Monte d’Oca, to the joy of the crowds at Compostela on St. James feast day, the pilgrims’ world was one of extremes. Today’s pilgrim will experience many of the same contrasts; from the isolation of some of the lonelier stages, to the bustle of towns and cities, not to mention the overbooked accommodation. But even when undertaking pilgrimage ‘to get away from it all’ (a very modern preoccupation), the pilgrim is never alone. Encounters with people and place are fundamental to the meaning of pilgrimage. The presence of the local communities providing support and sustenance is another indispensable human element of pilgrimage.

**Symbol and Meaning:** The medieval pilgrim lived in a world of symbols which served as reminders of the connections between the physical and spiritual dimensions. The wood of the staff was the of same material as the wood of the Cross. The walking Pilgrim was the embodiment of St. James and of Christ in person when receiving hospitality. The Camino has retained some of this symbolic language even if its meaning is no longer fully understood. The Way’s symbols are the bridge between the tangible and the intangible, like the equivalence of St James and his staff, or the Cathedral at Compostela with his statue. These symbols both motivate and justify the Pilgrim. The staff and satchel (or their modern equivalents of walking pole and rucksack) become a physical extension of the Pilgrim’s person while the ‘credencial’ serves as legitimiser of the Pilgrim’s presence and purpose through the ‘sellos’ or stamps it contains (Fig. 4). It becomes a repository of memory when the Pilgrim returns home. These symbols encapsulate the pilgrimage’s meaning to a remarkable extent. The sello marks the occasion of the Pilgrim’s presence at a specific place and time, but as a graphic symbol in its own



FIG. 4. Some examples of typical *sellos* (waypoint stamps in the 'Pilgrim Passport' or 'credencial')

right (many unchanged since medieval times) connects the Pilgrim in some way to the experience of all the other Pilgrims both before and after that point. The scallop shell and wooden staff represent previously-living things that have died and undergone a re-birth of sorts in order to serve a greater purpose, in the tradition of Christian semiology. The Scallop shell too represents the destination at Santiago and at Finisterra, as well as being a constant reminder of the presence of St. James himself, both as an element of route, when it appears as a wayfinding image, and as an accessory on hats and rucksacks, advertising the presence of fellow-pilgrims. A more recent addition to this lexicon is the ubiquitous yellow arrow, both directing and encouraging the pilgrim; a secular evolution of the symbols of the Way, every bit as present as the scallop shell, in keeping with current ideas of movement and purpose.

### What the Charters say

The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes specifically mentions the Route to Santiago but in the same context as The Silk Road *inter alia*, assimilating it to a 'cultural route' (ICOMOS 2008). However, pilgrimage is more than a cultural route as argued above, and a recognition of its 'special' status would make a positive contribution to its conservation. For example, the fact that it includes a spiritual dimension gives it a universal human quality that transcends specific cultural contexts. Most conservation sites or experiences contain a spiritual dimension, at least as one aspect of their intangible qualities. In the case of a church or cathedral the link is obvious, for a secular site or monument perhaps less so. However, a recognition of a spiritual aspect to a place's qualities of interest could be an important path to a better understanding of continuity and the genesis of place. The spir-

itual impetus has been a constituent of conservation ever since the first 'primitive hut' metamorphosed into the first temple.

The text of the charter also refers to 'the vital fluid of culture' as a quality of cultural routes, which is an interesting concept and is in keeping with the kinetic aspects of pilgrimage.

The NARA document on Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994) has some interesting ideas which are applicable in a more general way. It speaks of "the legitimacy of cultural values" and that "the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all" (diversity is also a theme of the document). It states the importance of balancing these cultural values with other cultural communities. It promotes 'authenticity' (without defining it) which it links to the values we attribute to our heritage. Pilgrimage sits comfortably within all of these registers as a dynamic cultural value whose authenticity is also evolutive and community-inspired.

The ICOMOS Principles on Managing Tourism at Places of Cultural Heritage (ICOMOS 1999) includes a recognition of the relationship between visitors and 'host communities' under Principle 4 that "Host communities and indigenous peoples should be involved in planning for conservation and cultural tourism" and Principle 5; "Tourism and conservation activities should benefit the host community". The 'host communities' in the Camino context are different entities to the 'indigenous communities' of the Charter's context. They are more than tourism service-providers. The relationship between pilgrim and host is very different to that of the tourist and tour-guide, or hotel-owner for example. For one thing, the pilgrim-host relationship is historic, and the host-communities have their own narrative of pilgrimage to tell, as well as their own culture of custodianship, and this relationship has had many centuries of interactions to achieve a balance of sorts. It is a cultural relationship as much as a commercial one, and it is eminently sustainable, as its longevity attests. Another layer to this 'hosting' is the presence of the *hospitalero* tradition, consisting of associations of volunteers who provide hospitality services to pilgrims at certain hostels along the Way. These associations are international in extent and generally staffed by former pilgrims. In many cases, they derive from medieval orders and confraternities created specifically to provide these services, such as the Confraternity of St James, or the Knights Hospitallers, both remarkable examples of the relevance of these organisations to the infrastructure of pilgrimage since their inception in twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Unlike the forms of cultural tourism which the Charter seeks to address, the pilgrim does not 'live' among the host community with a view to acquiring a better understanding of its language and culture etc. The primary purpose of the host is to provide assistance to the pilgrim's progress. The pilgrim to host relationship is a transient, even fleeting one with no particular demands being placed by one on the other, and the time spent in each other's company is relatively short. However, it is never one of hostility or indifference, and again, this delicate balance owes its equilibrium to practices that have been honed over long periods of time.

### **Pilgrimage Route versus Cultural Route**

To illustrate the difference between a pilgrimage route and a cultural one, we need look no further than some of the historic pilgrimage routes of Ireland. Because of the anti-Catholic nature of the Irish reformation, many ancient pilgrimage routes were either actively sup-

FIG. 5. Kimalkeadar church and standing stone, along the Cosán na Naomh route, Ireland.

FIG. 6. Former pilgrim facilities along Cosán na Naomh, Dingle Peninsula, Ireland.



pressed by the authorities or fell into disuse as the upkeep of their religious infrastructure became legally impossible. Most of these routes survived through continued local patronage in some form until the mid-nineteenth century, with the only major one still in active practice; St Patrick's purgatory in Lough Derg, Co. Donegal, owing its current popularity to a conscious revival in the late nineteenth-century. An interesting example of a surviving route is the Way of the Saints (Cosán na Naomh) on the Dingle peninsula in South-west Ireland (Figs. 5-6). It was an important early Christian pilgrimage site, starting from Ventry harbour on the southern side of the peninsula and culminating at the summit of Mount Brandon; about 25 kilometres distant. It contains the ruins of structures of early Christian origin, probably for the accommodation of pilgrims, including much older artefacts such as 'Christianised' standing stones and 'bulllaun' stones which are slabs of great antiquity with sculpted indents, associated with pilgrimage ritual but whose exact purpose is no longer known. The most important structure is a mid-twelfth-century church, Kimalkeadar (the prefix kil- or cill signifying an early Christian foundation) whose originator, Saint MaolChéadair, died in 635 AD. The current mid-twelfth-century structure probably replaced an earlier wooden one, suggesting an establishment that had become wealthy enough to afford a major rebuilding, suggesting in turn significant income from pilgrim numbers at that time.

Today, the *cosán* or route still exists, and is comparable to the nature of the Camino in places, i.e. a designated path between fields, often bordered by mature hedgerows and in places lower than the surrounding ground levels from centuries of use. However, one walks it as a tourist now, with a map to help locate some of the sites most of which are national monuments. The church is roofless, as is the corbelled (or 'beehive hut') former accommodation block, which interestingly bears many structural resemblances to the corbelled building traditions of O'Cebreiro and eastern Galicia, which are still visible along the Camino. It can only now be imagined as a pilgrimage route since its meanings relating to continuity, place and people have been discontinued. It still exists as a route containing cultural fabric but is primarily of historic value.



### Pilgrimage as a Total Work of Art

Route alone therefore is not enough to qualify as a pilgrimage. It must include Journey, and journey can only happen in the minds and via the persons of pilgrims. There must also be continuity, which is the quintessential quality for a conservation requirement, for without continuity of use, there is only fabric to conserve, and fabric is only one part of a place's meaning.

The duality of the tangible and intangible as qualities of pilgrimage has parallels in the theory of art, and more specifically in Brandi's philosophy of restoration through the idea of the unity of object and image (Brandi 2001). His notion of *unità* suggests that we cannot separate matter from meaning when attempting to explain an artefact and that this meaning in any case cannot ever be fully ascertained. Brandi was only concerned with meaning insofar as it justified intervention on the physical supports of the *oeuvre*, which we as building conservationists would support. Brandi's theory also proposes that there are three stages in the life of every work of art; first its genesis, which is the product of the period of its creation and the mind of its creator; then its 'duration' which is essentially its age and any changes that have occurred over time, and finally, our apprehension of it when, via a movement in time and place, we encounter it in an 'epiphanous' way for the first time. Pilgrims, of course, are no strangers to epiphanous encounters.

In terms of genesis, the Camino does not have a single moment of origin, unlike a painting or piece of sculpture but rather a multitude of origins if one considers the chronology of all of its places and content. This reflects its complexity as a work of art, and its much greater scale than most other art forms. These places and their extensions as route are also repositories for different kinds of artworks, from free-standing sculpture to devotional statuary and gilt reredoses, for example. Each place can also have a number of distinct origins via the addition of extensions, or the overwriting of earlier states in the traditional conservation sense.

The Camino is equally rich in terms of duration, i.e. the time it has taken for the artwork since its genesis to encounter the visitor, and the additions or alterations that have accompanied this time-lapse. As with all artefacts that are continuously used because they remain relevant to human activity, this journey through time confers patina and the certainty of change. But these artefacts are both glorified and diminished by through their use. These places have been sustained since their inception by the continuous flow of people and by their active contributions towards their upkeep and development, particularly by the financial contributions of generations of pilgrims. At the same time, they bear the marks of these visits through the traces of many contacts between 'flesh and stone' – the contact of innumerable hands and lips with the base of statues, the polishing of flagstones by countless feet. Unlike Brandi's painting however, this art is not precious; it wears the marks of its human contact proudly and is legitimised and validated by each encounter. The fabric becomes the living evidence of the acts of imagination that inspired these countless visits, as well as the reality of its fleeting contact with countless lives. It is tempting to imagine that the stones of these places now vibrate in sympathetic resonance with all of the prayers and aspirations invested in them since their construction.

Pilgrimage therefore can be regarded as a collective work of art, the product of ideas, artefacts, effort and imagination by countless contributors, of all disciplines and abilities, both historic and contemporary, sacred and profane, uniting countries and cultures over huge distances, both spatial and historic. Moreover, this is a work of art in constant

progress: as the Journey changes and transforms the Pilgrim, so too the Pilgrim changes and transforms the Route, through a multitude of interactions with people and place. The accumulation of all these individual interactions through time and force of numbers is part of a symbiotic dynamic that creates and nurtures a cultural and spiritual eco-system. This system therefore has no known previous state in the singular, but an almost infinite number of previous states. It exists in a continuous presence that has been sustained by human effort since for over a thousand years (Fig. 7).



FIG. 7. *Botafumeiro* cense ritual being prepared; Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

### The universal experience of pilgrimage

While every pilgrim experiences the Way uniquely, there are certain qualities that we can assume to have universal value when we compare the traditional and recent experiences of pilgrimage, despite the huge changes to societies and cultural values over the many centuries of the history of the Way. These qualities could be considered as ‘elements of meaning’ of pilgrimage when considering how it might be appraised under the discipline of conservation. An attempt is made here to list and describe some of these qualities.

**Diversity:** Pilgrimage is, and always has been open to all. Since its origins as an international, pan-European phenomenon it has been providing a context for the spread of ideas, cultural values and the growth of solidarity.

**Imagination:** Pilgrimage provides an intensity of experience that few other cultural or spiritual encounters can match. It starts in the mind and is lived through a series of anticipative encounters with people and place. Its goal, in many instances, is an encounter in place and time with the object of the journey; A person (Saint James) and a place (Santiago de Compostela).

**Association:** Pilgrimage brings people together in a shared purpose and fosters solidarity between them. In this sense it is an important contributor to the advancement of civilisation and the values of conservation.

**Epiphany:** Pilgrimage is generally undertaken for very personal reasons, which are sometimes ineffable. The experience can be an enlightening one through personal discovery or conversion (intangible) and a very physical one through exposure to the environment and the body’s qualities of endurance (tangible). In this sense it provides the opportunity for a balanced approach to encountering places while considering their meaning.

**Continuity:** Pilgrimage depends on the pilgrim’s knowing that he or she is walking in the footsteps of countless previous pilgrims as well those currently undertaking it. Even if the pilgrim is not always aware of this, there is a sense (intangible) that the efforts of all of the previous walkers of the Way are providing moral support at least, much as the bridges and hostels provide very tangible support.

**Custodianship:** Pilgrimage requires the goodwill and support of the local populations in order for it to take place. They are the custodians of the values of pilgrimage and are

essential to the continuation of its culture and traditions. Their relationship to the pilgrims is much more than one of simple 'service-providers'. They support and encourage them, care for them when they are ill and still look after their corporal and spiritual needs.

Universality: Pilgrimage is a universal human value since it is a part of all cultures and religions. It is as relevant to the human experience today as it was during medieval times, even if for many the primary motivators have changed. It is an important and popular means of safeguarding heritage without devaluing or trivialising it. Since there is a multiplicity of users and places along pilgrimage routes, the imposition of any one reading or interpretation of place is impossible. Pilgrimage therefore contributes to a better appreciation of heritage, as well as to its continuous reuse, and does not lend itself to any one narrative.

## Conclusion

Pilgrimage is a unique phenomenon that links the artefact to the necessity of our engagement with it. It relies on the interaction of people and place, both current and historical. In many ways pilgrimage represents the quintessential 'conservation' experience because it provides a balance of tangible and intangible qualities and experiences, including a spiritual dimension, against a backdrop of cultural artefacts of great age and value. It challenges the pilgrim or visitor to authentic cultural encounters in an egalitarian way which reinforce bonds of shared human purpose and mutual respect. As such it is a nett contributor to the onward march of civilisation and a valuable tool for increasing our understanding of conservation theory and practice.

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## TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE IN CONSERVATION: FRIENDS, FALSE FRIENDS OR ALIENS? SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CAMINO DE SANTIAGO AS CULTURAL HERITAGE

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The idea that conservation has to deal with tangible and intangible aspects of culture is connected with the growth of interest about this topic within the international charters of Restoration. The issue was at first addressed in Burra (1979) and was definitively consecrated in Paris with the *Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel*<sup>1</sup> (UNESCO 2003).

The presence of cultures more connected with rites and traditional ceremonies than with the appreciation of physical objects gave more strength to the Burra document, thanks to the reconsideration of traditions and religions of indigenous civilisations. However, the idea to extend conservation practices from the objects of artistic and historical interest – the focus of conservation in the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe – to an immaterial concept of heritage was in the genes of the Anglo-Saxon culture, especially the American one. Effectively, conservation in the United States was born from the celebration of the historical sites that hosted important events in the history of nation. Already in 1964, during the meeting concluded with the elaboration of the Charter of Venice, James Marston Fitch, one of the main scholars of the history of conservation in the United States in the 20th century, had clearly expressed the American sensibility for the immaterial aspects of heritage (Fitch 1971). Actually, he suggested – without success – the insertion into the international charter of some references to the preservation of immaterial elements such as dance or food. At that time, the European conservation culture was strictly connected to a material conception of artistic and historical heritage, above all rooted in the Italian position.

During the last fifty years, this position has deeply changed, even somewhere reversed. This is probably due to diverse causes. One of these maybe the dominance of the English speaking culture in these last two or three decades – mainly due to the universal use of this language in the globalised world. Then we may consider the decline of the cultural European leadership in the world and the success of the apparently democratic idea to associate every kind of cultural sensibility in a syncretic vision of worldwide cultural heritage. Today the immaterial aspects of conservation have become more and more important, thereby obscuring the original role of the material contents of heritage.

In a previous essay, we tried to explain the effects of this change of viewpoint in terms of object in question, methodology and aim of conservation (Fiorani 2014). The extension of the conservation field has progressively moved the main interest from the cultural object to the cultural subject, namely the human being who gives significance to cultural heritage. At the same time, development of technology has introduced new more and more sophisticated instruments to manage preservation. These hide the underlying system they work with, creating a new subtle distance between the object and the observer; the latter being less and less able to manage with freedom his personal experience with

the cultural heritage, both in terms of working with it and enjoying it. Finally, the aim of conservation appears to be more focussed on current fruition rather than on future persistence of the historical objects<sup>2</sup>. The force of these changes in the sensibility toward heritage is so strong that it threatens completely to modify the way in which we consider and deal with conservation. If we do not clarify the dynamic relationship between tangible and intangible aspects of cultures, dematerialisation and loss of concrete substance of heritage probably will be the end product of this change of sensibility.

An example of this phenomenon is the gradual disappearance of debate about the topic of reconstruction: by now, quick proposals for reconstruction follow every traumatic loss of historical architecture (earthquakes, wars, etc.), without deepening evaluations of the opportunity and, more importantly, on the possibility of maintaining historical architectural remains. The idea of the persistence of the intangible aspects in some way encourages the weakening of interest for material authenticity of heritage: the reiteration, through the reconstruction of historical building traditions, social practices, and abstract cultural significances minimises the feeling of loss of the concrete original artefact. Of course, this idea is not the direct expression of the intents of the international charters; nevertheless, it constitutes a sort of misunderstanding of the correct relationship between tangible and intangible heritage that we need to control.

We can try to go deeper into these considerations about tangible and intangible aspects of conservation looking at the case offered by the cultural routes, particularly at one of the better known and recently most successful path among them: the Camino of Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 1).

The Camino is the result of the medieval organisation of a route that connected, in the North of Spain and France, significant sites with a special spiritual link, in a period in which the Islamic people occupied a great part of the Iberian peninsula. This Camino took over many significances: it offered, with the routes to Rome and Jerusalem, the possibility of reaching places that conserved holy relics; it was the sign of the resistance against a diverse and enemy religious culture; it has been the expression of the interaction of European people united under the common Christian faith. The route for the *Peregrinatio ad limina Sancti Jacobi* has been documented since the 9th century<sup>3</sup>. During the 12th to 13th centuries, the path reached its greatest success as a way to get in touch with sanctity: from 200.000 to 500.000 pilgrims a year walked through the combination of footpaths composing the route in Spain from France (Fig. 2), England and Portugal and further afield. The phenomenon decreased in the 15th and 16th centuries, initially for religious issues (Christian reformations, decline of the interest in the figure of St James) and then because of the drop in religious devotion<sup>4</sup>.

As artistic and historic literature narrates, the pilgrimage routes from the Middle Age to the 19th century represent a good example of the evident relationship between material and immaterial contents of a religious/cultural entity. Pilgrims moved “from one end to another of the Christian world in search of a holy place as a hierophany, full of particular holiness. The divine power has chosen to exhibit in this miraculous site through extraordinary signs, where the divine grace is more profuse than elsewhere. Pilgrims can feel the contact with God in this place, where they desire to find their reconciliation: they can see, admire and touch the precious reliquary with the deadly remains of the saint at the end of an exhausting travel”. In other terms, “Pilgrimage is premised on the idea that the sacred is not entirely immaterial ... [it] unites belief with action, thinking with doing,



FIG. 1. Pilgrims travelling through the Camino in Galicia.

FIG. 2. The starting point of one of the four branches of the Camino of Santiago di Compostela in France, at the Beauport Abbey. The total length of this path is 1800 km.



and it makes sense that this harmony is achieved when the sacred has material presence and location”<sup>5</sup>.

‘Materialisation’ of spirituality in the Christian age had begun, at the architectural scale, with the cult of Christ’s sepulchre and the construction of the connected sacred buildings. In the Camino, the embodiment of the Christian apostle St James in his relics ‘discovered’ in the *Campus stellae* was accompanied by the creation of ‘pilgrimage churches’ – monumental churches with ambulatory and radial chapels containing relics for veneration – and small buildings for local religious rites. At the landscape scale, connecting different sacral foci toward the same goal, had led to the raising up of many buildings on the route, monasteries and simple houses, small villages and towns, for pilgrims’ rest and care (Fig. 3). This was a typical expression of the medieval vision of spiritual travel: a personal experience motivated by superior values made by a final devotional goal and mediated by several stages, conquered with sacrifices and physical strength. This vision of travel is different from that of later periods, such as the cultural ‘Grand Tour’, in the 18th/19th centuries. At that latter time, the subjectivity of the traveller’s experience became more interested on the intellectual aspects, trying to frame with historical and figurative objectiveness the visited countries. In contrast, in Medieval Spain, the subject-traveller, his feelings and aspirations are absolutely at the centre of the event, and the existential state to ‘move toward’ represents the very focus of pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

In fact, tangible and intangible have been strong ‘friends’ in the constitution of the Camino. While the routes to Rome and Jerusalem were mainly long paths toward two enormous, stratified urban polarities, already constituted in their historical material entities, the Spanish and French routes were an uninterrupted connection between different micro-sites. Many of these sites were created with the footpath, others came later; a few were more important than others; all of them lined toward the final destination of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 4). Materiality, in this latter case, grew up and structured the



FIG. 3. Stoppage in the Camino: the town of Burgos with its cathedral.

Next page:

FIG. 4. Inner of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

FIG. 5. Museum of the Cathedral in Pamplona.

FIG. 6. Restaurant in Plaza Mayor in Leon.

immateriality of a religious purpose as a 'territorial infrastructure of communication and services' through an historical 'complex process of accumulation' (Mora 2007).

Apparently, tangible and intangible prove to be 'friends' also from the conservation viewpoint. The decline of pilgrimage to Compostela in the 20th century is also demonstrated by the very low number of pilgrims registered in the 1970's<sup>6</sup>. These numbers could not motivate the maintenance of churches, hostels, small villages that were born to support pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, some medieval buildings related to ages of strong religious impulse, lay abandoned and ruined during the 20th century, as in the case of the church and the monastery of Santo Domingo in Estella<sup>7</sup> (Navarra). This was one of the monuments restored, five years before the declaration of the Council of Europe established the Camino de Santiago as the first European Cultural Itinerary (1987, October 23). This declaration caused the relaunch of the Camino through different measures spreading from the identification of landmarks and disposition of signage on the route to the restoration of cultural heritage and landscape. In 1993 and 1998, UNESCO inscribed the Camino, with its around 1800 km of path between Spain and France<sup>8</sup>, in the World List<sup>9</sup>.

The resurgence in pilgrimage stimulated by these initiatives has been impressive, with a mass of people going along the route to Santiago de Compostela at least for 100 km, not



much less than the crowd that populated the Camino during the Middle Age. More than a thousand years ago, the immaterial religious/cultural feeling of western Christianity asked for the presence of physical elements and concrete goals to support pilgrimage; in contemporary times, the historical tangible reality needs to find new intangible endorsements to survive. The certainty that 'traditional' religious feeling was no longer as strong as in the past and able to support by itself the rise of the new pilgrimage has promoted research into other triggers. New special significances had to justify the revitalisation of the territory around the route from a social and economic point of view, allowing the maintenance and the persistence of 'light' and compatible functions and the preservation of landscapes and buildings (Figs. 5-6).

Among the new focuses added to the past motivations, the historical and geographical idea of European identity connecting different nations became the main cultural justification. Actually, a wide spectrum of intentions motivates the new vital flux of people, from a pure adhesion to the Christian faith to the most commercial forms of tourism.

We wonder if we can consider religious or cultural feelings as an 'intangible heritage' in themselves, or if they are rather 'values' we recognise in relation to the Camino. Some texts and the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes (2008) use the concepts of 'intangible heritage' and 'values' attributed to heritage with a certain ambiguity. Actually, these two concepts show important differences, because 'values', as products of interpretation, are contemporary entities. After the important lesson of Alois Riegl, historians and restorers have always properly considered values as categories assigned by the subject and not expressed by the object to be conserved.



The Declaration of Paris is much clearer about the definition of ‘intangible cultural heritage’ (art. 2, subsection 1): it “means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge (...) that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity”. The list of these activities follows (art. 2, subsection 1): “a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; b) performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; c) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; d) traditional craftsmanship”<sup>10</sup>.

Hence, considering the definition of Paris, the real intangible heritage of the Camino is in the act of ‘walking toward’ – recognised as ritual – which has allowed the transformation of an activity expressing shared religious or cultural identity into an individual and social physical effort. Struggle, sacrifice, slow time, silence, meditation, ideal connection with history and rituals of past, projection of contemporary needs and feelings are fundamental ingredients of this travelling, which contributes to transforming a physical challenge into an existential experience. In a certain way, travelling is the ‘use’ that gives sense to the landscape, the path, the buildings and the towns crossed by the route.

Taking care of this ‘intangible’ dimension – or ‘use’ – surely helps to conserve the composite physical structure of the Camino. As we have said, the main character of the route

FIG. 7. A crux of the Camino.



is its ‘granularity’, consisting in a continuum of different elements, most of them at the same level of importance. Few monuments, mainly in the bigger towns, are associated with a range of other artefacts in a series of different landscapes. The greater part of the artefacts comprise small architectures and sculptures: there are walls, fences, crosses, shelters, warehouses, stables, farms, bridges, ancient hospitals and hostels, vernacular houses, small churches, monasteries, small rural towns (Figs. 7-8). These elements, built and transformed from the Romanesque period – when the first structural organisation of the path occurred – until today, share similar characters: polycentrism, fragmentary nature and singularities that we recognise traveling along the footpath. In the same way, the landscape shows an endless sequence of perspectives from hills, mountains, woods and meadows, along rivers and small lakes, in which changes and developments elude any possibility of synthesis<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 9).

The equilibrium among these various material elements and their maintenance represents the core of the conservation issues; it needs both studies/intervention on architectures and landscape and managing of activities related to the whole system. The overall results will be more successful if these tasks become shared practices rather than ‘once-off’ events. Continuity and granularity have to



FIG. 8. A medieval bridge along the Camino.



FIG. 9. Landscape of the Camino.

characterise the strategy of conservation in itself, and the systemic character of the issue asks for a wider conception of heritage. The intangible heritage of ‘walking toward’ connects the tangible heritage of the Camino as a whole, allowing the protection of its every component. Contemporary pilgrims, crossing the Camino, directly or indirectly maintain a stabilised path in the countryside and over the hills, efficient hostels and churches, populated houses and living small towns. People do that because they are convinced of the importance of their action; their aim is not material conservation in itself but living their personal experience in connection with a precise tradition of past and a clear vision of future.

However, we can consider the relationship between tangible and intangible components of the Camino also in a different way, especially if we look back to the real dimension of the ‘pilgrimage’ phenomenon of these last years.

The enormous increase in the numbers of people who crossed the northern route of Santiago in last three decades is the effect of a specific expression of mass culture in which the religious aim of pilgrimage melds with globalised tourism. From Edgar Morin (1962) to Marco d’Eramo (2017), sociologists and anthropologists have considered tourism as a sort of spectacular translation of experiences from the real life to the imaginary. The protagonist of these experiences is a special audience that is not only ‘present’, but participates and ‘acts’ the performance. This means that the experience of the Camino can be not only the product of an individual answer to an interior question, but also the result of a global adhesion to a general programme negotiated by a cultural industry. In this sense, a wider spectrum of new activities has opened up: riding or biking accompany ‘traditional’ walking; buses carry groups of people from one point to another allowing people to walk just along short sections of the route; the commercial rites of visits, of taking and showing photos, of buying souvenirs aim at substituting the ancient religious devotional behaviour.

Everything is similar and everything is different with this new attitude: people reach through the same path the same destination, but every intent is upside down when we pass from a religious aim to a touristic one. The real pilgrim wants to live his current experience as a tribute to his eternal faith without any other need to justify his actions, merging the authenticity of his feelings with that of the historical artefacts he meets (an approach not so different from that of men and women in search of interior answers). The tourist wants to match narratives with the physical evidence of sites, to document his





FIG. 10. Tourists around the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, in Plaza das Praterías.

FIG. 11. 'Pilgrims' of the archaeology along the Hadrian wall in the North of England.



presence with material proofs which are taken or bought and, mainly, with photographs, which are more and more present in the current digital era. Generally, his relationship with local people and local artefacts is not casual and spontaneous, but negotiated by the organisation of groups, or simply by the prescription of guides. Tourism prefers celebrations, exhibitions, documentation; by doing so, it focuses on events more than on granularity. Tourism concentrates fluxes and condenses time and experiences; by doing so, it generates physical consumption of the sites. Tourism follows and encourages the representation of more or less true traditions; by doing so, it reduces the value of the intrinsic authenticity of places (Fig. 10).

Therefore, we can assert that the immaterial heritage carried on by people moving along the route can become a 'false friend' for the material conservation of the system. Within the old towns, we can observe the usual phenomena, such as growing up of touristic shops, substitution of the normal services for residents with episodic stores, adaptation of ancient buildings to new commercial uses, occupation of the central streets of historical towns by rowdy and short-lived meeting points. Along the route, the passage of people risks damage to paths and ancient buildings. This is quite evident in another famous itinerary, spontaneously born in England along the 'Hadrian's wall' (Fig. 11), that for many years has been the subject of warnings by the National Trust<sup>12</sup>. The whole archaeological-natural character of the long roman fortification provides evidence of anthropic consumption in a way that is clearer than what we observe in the composite Spanish landscape, but many issues are similar in both cases and similarly difficult to manage.

Even some 'politically correct' needs deriving from visitors to the Camino could trigger threats for the conservation of the material authenticity of the route, such as through the

solutions for wider accessibility to the paths and to the adjacent old buildings. We can distinguish some of the serious consequences generated by an unbalanced attention carried out to the immaterial and material components of the Camino de Santiago. Among them, we recognise changes of use with the insertion of incompatible functions, heavy modification of paths to create easier and surer passages through woods and countryside, intense commercial exploitation of the activities along the route, excessive crowding of towns over short periods, physical erosion of historical streets and buildings.

As we have seen, the relationships between tangible and intangible are not as easy to manage as are conservation issues. Maintenance of material and immaterial contents may have different aims and may require different tools. Why do we presume to hold them together?

We can consider the two contents as being 'alien' for a moment. It is not so difficult: it means to go back three or four decades and to find again the terms that articulated the debate on conservation during that period, especially – but not only – in Italy. Artistic and historical values were the main points around which specialists – art historians, restorers, and architects – had to organise their decisions within the field of conservation. Function was just a tool among others to help the survival of the material heritage. Mass culture was still sectorial: it worked in television, popular music, fashion, while experts were orienting historic and art narratives within 'high' cultural standards; websites, digital representations, social networks did not yet exist. The majority of the non-western cultures had spontaneous relationships with their own cultural objects and phenomena, considering these as everyday life presences. Specialists tried to carry on their studies with objectivity, working on the materiality and concreteness of historical objects and documentation. Nevertheless, their efforts were unable to address the subjectivity of people's motivations. Historical centres and buildings often remained abandoned to decay and destruction; archaeological sites were covered by vegetation; few people were truly interested in ancient heritage.

Not so oddly, this was nearly the same period in which the Camino was vanishing away from the mass awareness. The immaterial trigger still guided the spiritual aspiration of the few pilgrims walking toward Santiago, but people's expectations were far from those of the buildings, lands, and paths of the route. Individual aspirations of the human soul inspired the former, casual political decisions or the availability of economic resources conditioned the latter. Generally, conservation was mainly a matter of monuments still in the 1980's; this is the period of the restoration of the cathedrals of Santiago and Burgos (respectively by Antón Capitel and Marcos Rico Santamaría) and of the contemporary abandonment of smaller churches, vernacular buildings and monasteries. Restoration and communication activities were far from the sensibility of common people; the deep meaning of experience of walking along the route to Santiago was an individual inner condition related to a spiritual vision of life.

As we have said, the introduction of a special focus on the 'intangible' aspects in the field of conservation helped to enlarge the range of conservation from monuments to shared historical architecture and landscape. The political level ratified in the UNESCO World List needed the creation of a narrative to switch on effectively the rebirth of the Camino. Guides<sup>13</sup>, exhibitions<sup>14</sup>, novels<sup>15</sup>, movies<sup>16</sup>, media programmes, maps, signage, graphic symbols, word of mouth, and, at a later time, web sites have all become useful tools in the strengthening of the intangible heritage constituted by 'walking toward' Santiago de Compostela.

The act of 'walking toward' began to place side by side the current cultural targets with the traditional religious motivations. Together with people walking to satisfy their spiritual aspiration to God or, simply, to pursue an inner peace, a new army of persons started to acknowledge many other meanings to the route. Many persons wanted to recover a collective identity, others their own need to be in contact with nature, or the appreciation for historical architectures and landscapes, or a way to face with a physical challenge and so on<sup>17</sup>.

From the previous considerations, we can infer the following conclusions:

1. We cannot consider 'values' as 'intangible heritage' in themselves, being the product of contemporary acknowledgment or the projection of a current mentality on the culture of the past. More correctly, 'intangible heritage' deals with human activities in some way connected with 'tangible heritage'; they have been generated in the past by acknowledged values and they have continued until today with similar or different meanings. In the Camino de Santiago, the act of 'walking toward' the tomb of the Saint James connects the cultural/spiritual significance of the route with human enterprise, the natural world, the historical architectures and artefacts.

2. If we accept the act of 'walking toward' a goal with a spiritual motivation as the 'intangible heritage' of the Camino, we cannot say that this is alien to the 'tangible heritage' of the route itself. However, we have also observed that the relationship between intangible and tangible heritage can easily move from the state of 'friend' to that of 'false friend' within conservation, because the reasons, the way and the intensity with which people walk along the footpath completely change the final impact of the same activity on the historical heritage and landscape.

3. The UNESCO ratification of the Camino in 1994, as the previous declaration about the importance of the 'cultural itinerary' and the following actions that have encouraged people to walking along the path have stimulated the growth of interest for this site. We can hardly consider these initiatives such as exercise of conservation in itself, rather they constitute political boosts that help and orient the future activities, as it happens in many social and cultural settings.

4. Actually, the international and Spanish task did not totally maintain the intangible heritage of 'walking toward' Santiago de Compostela; rather, it changed it, introducing new wider motivations to the original spiritual aim. Modification and not conservation of this 'heritage' allowed the act of 'walking toward' to continue. As much as the tangible heritage, sometime intangible heritage needs modifications to survive too.

5. The reality of conservation asks for choices and these choices need clear hierarchies and precise tools. If the rhetoric of 'intangible' helps gathering people to the cause of conservation, the concourse of diverse competences and narratives is welcome. However, if tangible and intangible aspects of heritage enter into conflict for any reason (too many people visiting and consummating sites, heavy distortion of the usual way to enjoy the landscape, too many commercial interferences, etc.) we have to clarify which is our priority and how we want to pursue it. As architects, we have to take care of architecture and landscape; as restorers, we acknowledge the fundamental importance of historical sites. Therefore, in the case of conflict, our choice between tangible and intangible is quite easy, at least from the theoretical viewpoint: we have to secure the material conservation of heritage.

6. From a certain point of view, we can see the integration of the concepts of tangible and intangible heritage for historical sites as the result of a sort of theoretical reductionism in conservation. We cannot consider the conservation of the intangible as a simple extension of the material conservation of the Camino de Santiago: intangible heritage shows its own peculiar issues, sometimes congruent with, sometimes in opposition to the needs of the material elements of the route. Considering material and immaterial components as similar aspects of heritage without any specific and preventive case-by-case clarification does not help to optimise the strategy of conservation and it risks frustrating the effort to manage better the transmission of heritage itself.

We conserve matter and we transmit traditions. These tasks have to develop in parallel with similar intentions and different tools, in the awareness of their peculiarities and their own irreducible specificity. The multidisciplinary effort that we need makes every specialist more responsible and respectful of others' competences. In any event, the architect-restorer must never forget that human activity can always work to revive a tradition but can never bring back to life the material authenticity of heritage.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The last version of the Burra Charter is dated 2013 (ICOMOS 2013).

<sup>2</sup> We can interpret in this key the contemporary emphasis on the topics of the 'use' and the 'enhancement' of heritage, which often obscures, at least in the popular feeling, the 'traditional' acknowledgment of its historical and artistic nature. This form of acknowledgment rather promotes the enjoyment of cultural values, the preservation and the transmission of the heritage itself, supporting the study of the past and an ideal investment in the future.

<sup>3</sup> The first description of routes, landscapes, hospices and churches related to the Camino is in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (or the *Pilgrim's Guide* in the *Codex Calixtinus*), written by Aymeric Picaud in the XII century (Chélini, Branthomme 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Among the many books on the pilgrimage through the Camino we remember Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa 1948-49; Caucci von Saucken 1989.

<sup>5</sup> Both quotes derive from Solnit 2005: 56. Translation by the author.

<sup>6</sup> See <<http://www.camminando.eu/wordpress/dati-statistici-pellegrini-giunti-a-compostela-dal-1970-a-oggi/>> and <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/>> [Accessed 20 December 2017].

<sup>7</sup> See <<https://www.sasua.net/estella/articulo.asp?f=santodomingo&n=Santo%20Domingo>> [Accessed 20 December 2017].

<sup>8</sup> A detailed description of the Camino and its problems of management in Spain and France is respectively in de Manuel 2011, Mora 2007 and Mayol 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Ballester 2007; see also <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>> [Accessed 20 December 2017].

<sup>10</sup> See <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>> [Accessed 27 December 2017].

<sup>11</sup> Alfonso Álvarez Mora distinguishes six kinds of heritage: 1) engineering infrastructure for walking (bridges, springs, mills, dams, etc.); 2) services infrastructure (churches, monasteries, hospices, inns, taverns, etc.); 3) symbolic milestones (symbolic signage (*piedras guías*), crux (*cruces*), symbolic elements (*rollos*); 4) architectural monuments; 5) urban heritage (the main towns and the interesting 'linear towns' along the route); 6) landscape (Mora 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Among the last, see: Knapton 2017, which describes the insertion of 35 tonnes of stone carried by helicopter to repair the 250ft section of the Wall at Caw Gap, eroded by foot traffic. The Hadrian's Wall is a World Heritage Site (WHS), inscribed with the Spanish branch of the Camino on the UNESCO List in 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Among the modern guides, see Caucci von Saucken 1989.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance *Santiago de Compostela* 1985.

<sup>15</sup> One of the luckiest novel about this subject is *O Diário de Um Mago*, written in 1987 by the Brazilian writer Paulo Coelho mixing the topics of Christian faith with magic suggestions.

<sup>16</sup> The change of culture in these last decades is clear comparing two movies respectively from 1969 (*The milky way*, directed by Luis Buñuel) and 2010 (*The way*, directed by Emilio Estevez). The former deals with the conceptual ideal of faith expressed by a group of pilgrims, the latter focuses on the psy-

chological individual drama of a father who has lost his son.

<sup>17</sup> Religious and temporal aims are not always so harmonious, as the pilgrim Prieto underlines (Wallis 2003). Actually, he distinguishes the religious scope by the other 'bad reasons', such as cultural curiosity, love for nature, interest for meeting people (p. 24).

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“As 2016 was the national year of walking routes, 2017 the national year of villages and 2018 the year of Italian food, 2019 will be the year of slow tourism”. So said Dario Franceschini, the Italian Minister for Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism at the end of 2017 during a presentation of the Digital Atlas of Walking Routes. This is the Ministry's new portal for tourists who want to travel across Italy at a slow pace.

“2019 year of slow tourism will be an additional way” – said the Minister – “to enhance the areas of Italy that are still unknown to international travellers and relaunch them in a sustainable way, promoting innovative travel experiences, from historical trains with panoramic views to cultural itineraries, walking routes, cycle paths and horse riding. Investing in sustainable tourism is a development strategy that has the purpose of protecting and relaunching in an innovative way the places, memories, knowledge and craftsmanship that make our country a unique place: a virtuous beauty circle that is incredibly widespread across its territory and throughout the centuries. It is a key strategy to control the growth of the expected tourist flows in the next few years”<sup>1</sup>.

The emphasis placed on the word ‘slow’ in press releases and on the web, as a defining feature of a new type of ‘sustainable’ tourism as opposed to the logics of today's high-speed society, doesn't only evoke an escape from an often unsustainable pace of life. Walking down a route slowly, reclaiming space as a main factor in social relationships, can take on a deeper and more complex meaning. The route is not just a line marked on the map in the portal, with a starting point, some intermediate stops and a final destination; ‘slow’ walking is a way of moving, a ‘vehicle’ (a medium, as were the cars and roads in the early 20th century) that can greatly affect not only the meanings and messages it aims to deliver, but also and above all the recipients of the message itself (Mc Luhan 2015: 29-41). The value of walking is not so much in its final destination, but above all in what comes during and through the journey itself. Many months spent along the same roads to the Cathedral of Santiago have historically allowed for a fruitful exchange of relationships, information, knowledge and ideas, not just among pilgrims, but also with the local people. Historically speaking, a pilgrim is also a man who is curious and attentive to everything around him, participating in the local life, in the construction of the cathedral, offering his labour in exchange for food and lodging, reaching beyond Santiago to the beaches in Finisterre, to the limits of the known world, and collecting shells as proof of his journey. As a witness and interpreter, the pilgrim unknowingly becomes a cultural operator who weaves a dense warp of information between a city and another and between a country and another (Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 41).

The website [www.camminiditalia.it](http://www.camminiditalia.it), the official digital map of Italy's routes, is a container of paths and itineraries designed to make about 6600 km of routes (and the areas around them) across the country accessible and known to travellers, promoting a new

kind of tourism, as if they were some sort of an intermodal 'green way' infrastructure. The portal contains more than 40 different routes: some pilgrimage paths (Franciscan, Benedictine and Lauretano's paths), brigands' trails (across Aspromonte), Dante's journey (the places of his exile, where he wrote the Divine Comedy), the path of Peace (places and memories of the First World War), the Appian Way, the Way of the Gods, the Romea Germanica Way and many more. Among these, the Via Francigena is clearly the one that provides the greatest wealth of information.

The Italian State, Regions, Municipalities, local entities and public and private operators have worked together to create this map of Routes and the local resources connected to them – a widespread heritage of art, landscape, spirituality and food – which also meets the need to promote the economy of lesser known local areas, by proposing new additions to the portal based on some predetermined criteria.

The launch of the *Cammini d'Italia* network is certainly an effort to re-balance the local tourist pressure, characterised by unsustainable peaks in the most extreme and known cases, where public administrations have been incapable to find any alternative solutions to reduce the intensity of access (Venice, Florence among the cities of art, Limone del Garda, the Cinque Terre National Park, to mention the most famous and controversial destinations).

The launch of the *Cammini d'Italia* network is also a way to develop the productivity of some parts of our cultural heritage, and the surrounding settlements, which are unaffected by tourist pressure, underused, marginalised, perhaps even depressed, but still capable of triggering synergistic and regenerative processes.

But, more generally, the launch of *Cammini d'Italia*, seen as a local tourist promotion strategy, embodies "the art of adding value"<sup>2</sup>, as a necessary action to safeguard, protect, maintain and manage the cultural heritage that abounds in this Country.

The identification of the Routes and their conscious and sustainable use by tourists can't however be limited to the mere identification of a theme, a track, some intermediate stops and the supporting resorts and facilities<sup>3</sup>. For now, these are the details contained in the portal for most of the routes, and the criteria based on which local bodies, together with the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, have selected such routes. The contents of the portal, with some rare exceptions, are still rather sketchy and most of them still need to be 'built' and communicated.

In the process of creating such a network, it becomes essential to know how to interpret the current or potential values and meanings, the expression of the growth of a civilisation, "using every fragment of the visible and every written or oral memory to give substance to what the material contains only potentially"<sup>4</sup>. We need to hone the ability to grasp and identify relationships that are still alive, and turn them into a story, or invent new ones, reconnecting a context network where the relationships established between the parties are more significant than a catalogue or a list of the parties themselves. We need to rediscover and then be able to restore the diachronic nature of a land, the intertwining of practices and collective representations, the evidence of social stratification (Olmo 2010: XVII).

We need to be able to recognise, and avoid, the ambiguities and risks inherent in the mass tourism industry, as well as their detrimental impact on the protection of cultural heritage, identifying and putting into practice the most suitable ways and tools for revit-

alisation without contradicting the principles of active protection, or distorting the nature of the places and communities that inhabit them.

For the development of the extensive project of *Cammini d'Italia* – an opportunity to regenerate and enhance the local cultural heritage – the experience of the pilgrimages to the tomb of St. James the Apostle, “an interior legacy, permanently fixed in western cultural and spiritual heritage by a thousand years of uninterrupted, authentic, suffered pilgrimage made by millions of people”<sup>5</sup>, may suggest a paradigmatic change of perspective.

### **Cultural industry and consumption. Learning from Santiago, the first ‘cultural itinerary in Europe’**

In recent decades, we have seen the flourishing of the cultural tourism industry, linked to a new leisure society. With it, we have seen the gradual expansion of the type of objects that are now considered as heritage, involving buildings that are increasingly recent and diversified. This heritage expansion process, which some compare to the ‘Noah complex’ (Choay 1992), brings with it some ambiguity, which hampers the preservation of the cultural heritage that we intend to pass on to future generations.

Back in 1947, Horkheimer and Adorno used the definition of ‘cultural tourism’ to denounce the process of downgrading culture to consumer goods, an expression of the ambiguous complexity of the capitalist mindset that has caused – in their opinion – fetishism and a reduction in the critical capacity of culture itself, by making it easily available to anyone for the mere purpose of amusement and pleasure (‘Amusement, leisure, easy listening’) (Horkheimer, Adorno 1947).

The transformation of the ‘historical monument’ into an economic product, sometimes using the ‘world heritage’ label, has therefore led to a significant increase in tourist pressure, which in the long term has become unsustainable for the survival of these places, which have been degraded, damaged and exposed to anthropogenic risks, among others. The marketing of monuments and cultural sites can therefore contrast conservation and enhancement, two words that are more and more often united but not necessarily convergent or complementary. Similarly, phenomena like ‘gentrification’ or ‘merchandising’ can distort the places themselves, causing changes in social and economic conditions, which are reflected in their conservation and future transformation.

Even within international entities, there is no shortage of experiences and reflections aimed at defining the problems linked to cultural tourism, assessing their impact on sites and social groups, organising operational models, and providing examples of good practice (UNESCO 1982).

There is also much to learn from the thousand-year history of the Camino de Santiago (Vásquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa 1948-49; Santiago de Compostela 1985) and from the actions following the impulse provided by the Council of Europe in 1987 to guide public authorities, institutions and local communities to strengthen, promote and enhance the first cultural itinerary in Europe, identifying a coordinated action plan<sup>6</sup>.

Today as in the past, people walk the Camino de Santiago for a variety of reasons, devotional and others as well, in search of a spatial and temporal dimension unlike any other slow, conscious and sustainable cultural tourism experience. The uniqueness of this journey, which has continued uninterrupted for ten centuries, leads us to look at the word ‘consumption’ not only as a loss of testimonial values and material goods, exploited and



FIG. 1. The stairs to the relics of the Apostle Saint James (Cathedral of Santiago), consumed by the descending pilgrims' step.

damaged by mass tourism, but also as a condition that is inextricably linked to the stratification of history, to the value of memory.

When the tomb of James the Apostle was discovered at the western end of the world more than a thousand years ago, a devotional phenomenon began which greatly affected the formation of Western civilisation and perhaps European knowledge as well; this space has been able to build a collective memory through a network of paths and routes that go beyond distances, borders and language barriers. From the 11th to the 21st century, the history of the Camino embodied a submerged tradition that is still strongly rooted in Western European culture. "In the late 11th century, the pilgrimage to Santiago started to be documented in all Christian countries, together with its impact on the customs, art and the spiritual life of these countries; it is a peculiar presence that will be reflected, with a specific and recognisable language, in the foundation of churches, hospitals, confraternities, in the drafting of guides, in

travel literature, in painting, sculpture, music, in the spread of traditions and legends that are typically linked to St. James"<sup>7</sup>.

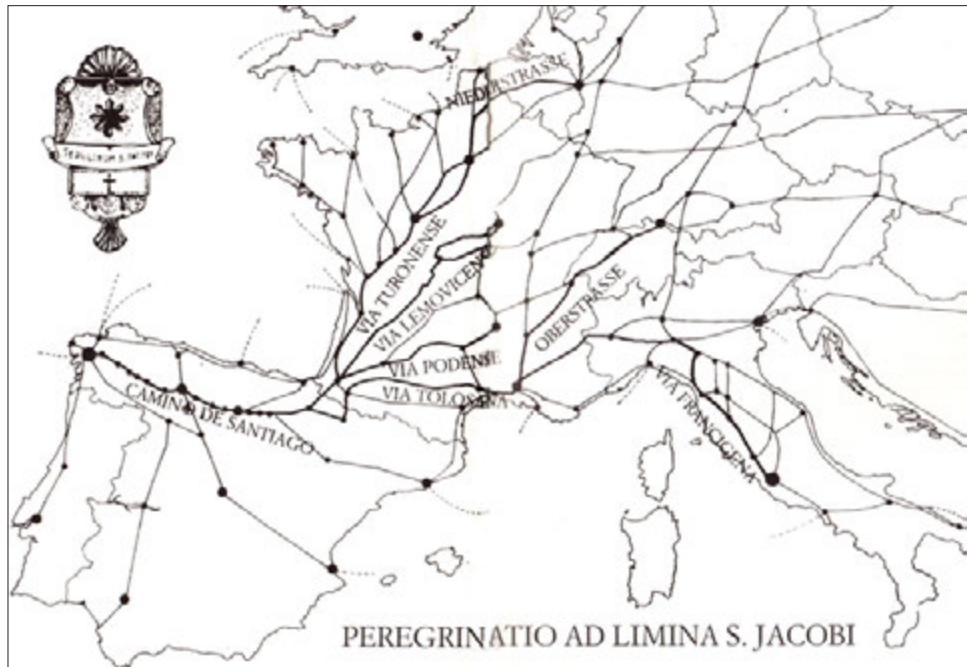
The worn pavements and steps leading to the relics of the Apostle, furrowed by the walk of pilgrims for a thousand years, are an indelible mark of time (Fig. 1); time is history and history is memory (Le Goff 1977).

### **Physical space and sacred time, stratification of collective memory**

Passing through ten centuries of history, the value, the meaning and the emblem of the Camino de Santiago transcend physical space and its material form, the changes or the significant transformations that occurred in the network of routes as well as in the neighbouring countries – now very different from the Romanesque period – over the centuries. Indeed, it is the destination of the pilgrimage that motivated the construction of the Camino; it is the ultimate goal (the veneration of the Apostle's grave) that gives Camino a spiritual dimension, beyond time. The departure, with its ritual detachment from everyday life, leads the pilgrim into a sacred space and time characterised by new rhythms, steps, needs, knowledge and experience. By definition, a pilgrim is someone who does not belong to the lands that they cross. It is this sense of alienation that creates a strong sense of identity in those who travel the same road and share the same destiny. They become part of a supranational society, eradicated from the land of origin but linked by similarities, identifying marks, common interests and needs. The construction of a collective memory was also founded on this balance of immaterial and material values, which has allowed the Santiago pilgrimage to be recognised as the ultimate Camino, capable of bringing

FIG. 2. Historical map of pilgrims' routes (Caucci Von Saucken 1889).

FIG. 3. Signs and brand along the path: the giant shell.



together and uniting the lives of entire communities. The values perceivable during the Camino have remained almost unaltered during the thousand years of pilgrimage in Santiago de Compostela, “as evidenced by the travel stories that, despite the centuries that separate them, reveal the same feelings, the same emotions, the same behaviours”<sup>8</sup>.

Space is established and built around the idea of pilgrimage, and not vice versa: on a road network that, from the Romanesque period onwards, has changed due to political situations and the danger of its paths (in physical and social terms), with the construction of countless buildings for worship and hospitality, churches, chapels, hospitals, confraternities, which we see as an expression of a common, ‘European’ language. Starting from those Roman routes, the paths have changed; they do not stay the same over time in contrast to the ideas, the values and feelings of pilgrims. As the Camino de Santiago is consolidated in the collective mem-





ory over time, the number of paths increases, they diversify, they vary, they branch out into smaller networks, they split into alternative ways<sup>9</sup> (Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 12). The conviction of belonging to a bigger homeland is reinforced along the routes, based on the ethical and social values of Christianity (charity, solidarity, sharing), on the formation of a specific culture – that is the European culture – a culture that was born, grown and learned along the Way of St. James (Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 65) (Fig. 2).

The collective memory is structured and consolidated not only along the paths and the buildings that dot them, but also and above all around symbols, legends and traditions: the scallop shell (the ultimate sign of the pilgrimage, the *testimonium* that certifies the completion of the pilgrimage and, at the same time, a welcoming symbol), the saddlebag, the staff. They also help to reinforce the meaning and value of the journey, even now that their use is hugely emphasised<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 3).

### **From the concept of Heritage to the Local Capital. The role of local communities in participatory processes**

The pilgrimage towards Santiago, the network of paths that now makes it available to an impressive number of pilgrims or tourists, the many landscapes covered but also the organisation of local communities and the associations that stemmed from the walk, lead to further reflection that could be useful for the future development of the *Cammini d'Italia* network. In the relations between the pilgrims walking to St. James' tomb and the community that hosts them along their long journey or, dealing with current events, in the role of the local communities that live around and for the pilgrimage to Santiago, we can find another key factor, not only for economic growth, but also and above all for social and cultural development.

First of all, our focus shifts from cultural heritage to the concept of Local Capital, as a set of material and immaterial elements available to a local area, which represent its richness and the specific features to be enhanced.

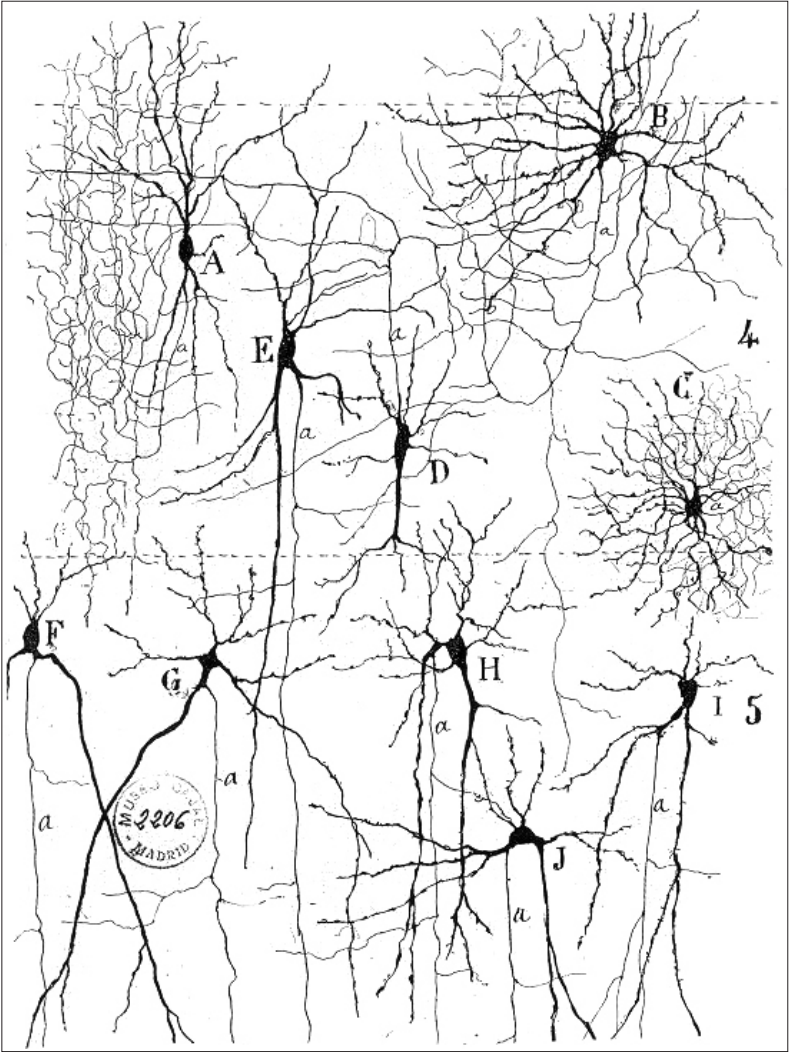
The list of factors that define a Local Capital drawn up by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development includes non-economic interdependence, conventions, traditions, the informal rules that allow local players to work together, the associations and the solidarity networks that can work together to develop and support new ideas (OECD 2001).

These provide the basis for sustainable local development, which can certainly be based on the recognition of cultural heritage as a resource, but which also requires active community participation and cannot rely solely on the fact that places are accessible to external users (De Varine 2002; Council of Europe 2005). Albeit responsible and sustainable, tourism is one of the variables of local development, but not necessarily the most important.

Local communities can therefore have a key role in the process of regenerating the physical and social fabric, especially in urban and non-urban spaces used by everyone and located in prestigious cultural historical contexts; public authorities alone are not always able to enhance and revitalise these common public goods, nor to satisfy the needs of the local inhabitants.

In spaces like this, thanks to their historical and cultural value, the significance of community can play an essential role in terms of regeneration. We need to develop and implement revitalisation strategies that actively involve local inhabitants as well (resi-

FIG. 4. Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934). *Texture of the Nervous System of Man and the Vertebrates*, 1898 (by <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cajal\\_actx\\_inter.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cajal_actx_inter.jpg)> accessed 21 June 2019). “The most effective way to think of a context is to compare it to the mind. Just as in the brain an unbelievable number of neurons and synapses that connect them controls bodily, emotional and intellectual functions, so in every context cultivations, buildings, objects, people and relationships between them are equally innumerable, and it is this incalculable density of achievements, information and processing to characterise a landscape” (Carandini 2017: 79).



dents, city users, tourists) so that, as consumers, they return to lead the construction of the ‘meaning’ of that place. The possibility of establishing a Heritage Community introduces a change of perspective in the management of the built environment through the recognition of individual and collective responsibility towards cultural heritage, with the opportunity to create socio-economic value in a perspective of tourism enhancement as well.

The strategies, methods and tools we need to implement to create and ‘launch’ the Italian routes that are not yet well-known should aim at a full recovery, a collective use and understanding of the areas covered, including through the active participation of local inhabitants and the enhancement of local businesses, creating opportunities for social and economic development, also in the form of a social enterprise (Magnaghi 2010). Perhaps this will make it possible to overcome the contrast between conservation and enhancement, relying again on local communities, as was done in the past, for the care, the management, the implementation of safety measures and the improvement of public use over time (Fig. 4).

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Rome, November 4, 2017, Press Office of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. Translation by the author.
- <sup>2</sup> Carandini 2017: 144. Translation by the author.
- <sup>3</sup> At the moment, this is the information available on the portal for most of the identified routes and the criteria based on which the Local authorities, in agreement with the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, have selected such routes.
- <sup>4</sup> Carandini 2017: 145. Translation by the author.
- <sup>5</sup> Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 25. Translation by the author.
- <sup>6</sup> The impulse to undertake the Camino has been triggered consistently with a framework of actions such as: a system to signpost the key points along the route, using the scallop shell symbol; a coordinated project to recover the natural and artistic heritage nearby; cultural activity programmes to enhance the historical, literary, musical and artistic heritage created by pilgrimages to Santiago; cultural exchanges between cities and regions located along the routes of the Camino.
- <sup>7</sup> Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 10-11. Translation by the author.
- <sup>8</sup> Caucci Von Saucken 1989: 40. Translation by the author.
- <sup>9</sup> Creating a safe and secure itinerary became a priority for the organisers of pilgrimages on the Way of St. James. It was necessary to cross the whole territory beyond the Pyrenees, to face all kinds of risks, to travel along an area bordering the Muslim world, often unsafe and in some parts inhabited by hostile, inhospitable populations, as noted by the Guide.
- <sup>10</sup> The reference is to the giant shell found along the way and used as a landmark, questionable if taken out of context, but understandable in the spirit of the Camino.

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## **AUTHENTIC, TANGIBLE, INTANGIBLE: TOURIST VS. HERITAGE? REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON THE CONSERVATION OF SITES**

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### **The Camino de Santiago as a departure point**

The Camino de Santiago provides a context in which to examine many of the features that exemplify the controversial relationship between tourism and heritage conservation. In terms of cultural heritage that faces the twin aspects of tourism development – as possible threat and as opportunity – a complex heritage constituted by different and multiple single elements can be a case study of great interest.

Analysing the characteristics of the Camino de Santiago from a cultural asset perspective, can therefore be an opportunity not only to better understand the costs and benefits of a combination that seems increasingly inseparable, but also to examine the implications of this combination in the so-called emerging countries where cultural legacies are somewhat more fragile and at risk, thus making them more vulnerable to tourism ‘development’.

The Camino de Santiago is a good synthesis of many of the critical aspects and potentials, which have been delved into to analyse the cultural tourism phenomenon.

Rediscovered at the end of the 1970’s thanks to the work of don Elías Valiña Sampedro who published its first guides and somehow ‘invented’, tracing it, the first yellow arrow signage (Valiña Sampedro 1992), in thirty years the Camino experienced an exponential increase in the number of pilgrims ‘provided with credentials in good standing’ (Fig. 1). They grew from a few hundred during the 1980s to the 260,000 that have crossed the holy door of the cathedral of Santiago in 2015<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, those who travel short distances or come to Santiago directly must be added to these figures.

Listed as World Heritage three decades ago (Santiago de Compostela in 1985 and the Camino in 1993) the Camino includes in its path ‘monuments’ and also a widespread and fragile heritage: the inscription in the World Heritage List (WHL) might have contributed to the abovementioned rise of tourism in the site. Built heritage along the Camino has a strong relationship with the surrounding cultural and rural landscape; it represents an exemplary synthesis of material and immaterial heritage, being it a spiritual path, as well as the physical one (Fig. 2).

Despite the fact that the tourism pressure is felt more strongly in some portions of the itinerary, witnessed notably through a more aggressive branding and merchandising of the route as well as through consumption and waste management, the Camino does not appear to suffer excessively from the effects of tourism, i.e. the commercialisation of the cultural asset.

The population maintains a close relationship with the territory and the agricultural activities. It does not seem to be in conflict with visitors and exploits, more often than not, the economic benefits that hosting visitors can provide with light and non-invasive structures. The soft mobility that is intrinsic to the Camino seems, then, to have given



FIG. 1. The cross of Foncebadón (photo by S. Pistidda).

FIG. 2. Travellers in the section of Camino between San Bol and Montanas (photo by S. Pistidda).

Next page:

FIG. 3. The typical signage of Camino. In the background, the agricultural landscape between San Bol and Montanas (photo by S. Pistidda).

FIG. 4. The agricultural landscape and rural architecture along the Camino between Vendas de Narón and A Eirexe.

a right direction towards the development of sustainable tourism for the entire journey (Fig. 3).

Peculiarities, positive aspects (Fig. 4) and criticalities described constitute the themes through which the Camino will be compared with two cases study in emerging countries. The cases are representative of many situations faced in such countries and share some characteristics with the Camino, starting from a common ground: they are inscribed on the WHL, which brings lights and shadows of being a 'recognised' heritage, acknowledged 'universally' and targets of a newer attention from 'tourists'.

### **The 'heritage of humanity-tourism' relationship. The 'consumption' of cultural heritage in the years of sustainable tourism**

The inscription of an asset in the WHL, whether it is a trans-territorial asset such as the Camino, a single building or a natural area, is a complex phenomenon that has been the object of in-depth analysis by numerous scholars belonging to different fields of research in the past few years. What does the inclusion of an asset in the WHL entail and what are the reasons for applying to the WHL?

Recent studies (Pettenati 2012) highlight how among the incentives for applying to the WHL, conservation of the given cultural asset by various stakeholders involved (scholars, population and local authorities), is often just a marginal reason for promoting the candidacy. The diversity of the entities involved is reflected in the variety of expectations: greater effectiveness of protection tools and access to new sources of funding for site con-





servation; economic repercussions in general, and development of the tourism sector in particular. From the local communities' perspective the economic consequences that the increase in tourist flows could entail are certainly among the main reasons for promoting the candidacy, despite the fact that in some cases it is precisely that population that often pays the highest price in terms of expropriation from one's own property and exclusion from one's own territory.

Additionally the expectation of visitors, certainly higher for WHL listed sites than those that are not, needs to be taken into account. The 'nomination' of a hitherto little known site outside the national borders, implies an increase in the interest of the media that elevates it to international prominence and, consequently, to the increase in international tourist flows (Gravari-Barbas, Jacquot 2008).

It is widely recognised that the pressure of tourist flows gives rise to some critical issues not only for the conservation of heritage but also for local communities. Each site has its own carrying capacity or can bear a maximum number of visitors without irreparably damaging its cultural and natural heritage and causing deterioration rather than improvement in the quality of life of the resident population whose needs are, to some extent, in conflict with those of visitors.

Which strategies will be needed so as to not threaten the authenticity of this cultural heritage and the living conditions of its inhabitants, due to the policies of tourism valorisation?

Can reducing the flow of visitors through the imposition of 'limited number' be an option? Or guiding tourists through a diversification of the visit experiences to extend their itinerary, so as to ease the pressure on certain places and at the same time spread the possible economic benefits to larger areas? Or realising exemplary restoration interventions? Or formulating asset management plans that predict the effects of long-term tourism impact? Or even, raising awareness of inhabitants' rights-duties towards cultural heritage, maybe providing them with guidelines that will guide the processes of preserving heritage and help them to face the effects of cultural tourism with awareness and preparation?

These are just few of the possible strategies needed to minimise the negative consequences of tourism, and to ensure that its effects do not have only a negatively impact on cultural heritage and resident communities.

In emerging countries the tourism-heritage relationship is approaching a crisis point, specially where the economic benefits of a respectful and sustainable touristic model would be fundamental for the micro-economies of people living there<sup>2</sup>.

In fact tourism tends to substitute traditional productive activities, modify the living environment and increase the consumption of scarce resources such as water and energy. In contrast, the economic benefits are captured by a reduced number of operators, frequently corporate, and often financed by foreign capital.

Residents find themselves constrained to face important changes to their territory that is somewhat adapted to the industry's requirements. Furthermore, in addition to the above, residents also witness a decrease in their already meagre purchasing power due to cost increases as a result of the consumption standards of tourists arriving from richer countries.

This makes it necessary to develop measures to minimise the impacts of such risks that have a direct effect on the inhabitants by involving local communities in the decision-making processes pertaining to tourism development (UNWTO 2013).

### **Conservation, tourism and use of material and immaterial heritage. Two case studies as examples of the situations in emerging countries**

The impact of tourism in emerging countries is, therefore, particularly significant. The fragility of the cultural heritage-tourism-resident population balance is evident, just as is the pressure that cultural heritage often suffers when tourism flows grow as a result of their inclusion in the WHL: a 'quality label' that is not always effective in defending integrity and authenticity.

Two case studies – Luxor and the 'new' Sphinx Alley and Geghard in Armenia, one of the most visited monasteries in the small caucasian republic – can exemplify what has been described so far and can be useful to evaluate how the effects of cultural heritage perceived as a commodity can be disruptive and how in these sites tourism development can prevail over the conservation of the heritage generating it. The Camino, in those sections which are not overwhelmed by the branding of the route, and where the local communities are important stakeholders in conservation might offer useful exemplars for these two sites.

What do these two sites share with the Camino, so as to allow a comparison?

The first is for sure one of the most visited places in Egypt and is part of a path (as is the Camino) that connects, along a fluvial route, complex and individual heritage sites. The Sphinx Alley is itself a sacred path. The most important difference is the cancellation of the relationship between material and immaterial heritage, completely denied by the new intervention that recreates the sacred path.

The second case study might be compared with monasteries and sacred buildings along the Camino, but also with the Santiago de Compostela Cathedral, in its double role of spiritual place and touristic site. If at the moment Geghard still preserves an important role in local spirituality, in the near future this place might lose its authenticity aspects in material and immaterial terms. Due to some interventions developed by local authorities for the purpose of promoting tourism, because of the proximity of the monastery to the capital, it could become only a simulacrum of an Armenian monastery for the benefit of tourists.

The site of Ancient Thebes and its necropolis' was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979. The site includes the two temples of Luxor and Karnak and the necropolis of

the Valleys of the Kings and Queens. The buffer zone is drawn along the village of Luxor on the East bank of the Nile; and the village of Gurna, on the West bank of the Nile. One of the major tourist destinations of the country, the site witnessed remarkable tourist flows until 2011. In addition to creating serious problems for conservation of the archaeological heritage, especially the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, these intensive masses have to some extent transformed the landscape (for example, through the system of convoys that took visitors to the tombs of the Valley of the Kings to minimise walking and to ensure easy access) (Fig. 5).

From the first report compiled by UNESCO in 1998 (WHC 1998) it is clear how the archaeological discovery, but probably also the opportunity to attract an even greater number of tourists, was given priority over centuries old topsoil stratification. The village of Gurna, an interesting example of traditional mud architecture, was partially destroyed and the Egyptian authorities began resettling its population to New Gurna, designed by architect Hassan Fathy in 1949 and completed in 1952<sup>3</sup>. The population, comprised almost exclusively of archaeological excavations labourers, tried to oppose the resettlement, but it continues. In so doing, local authorities argue that the waste produced by the inhabitants endangers the conservation of archaeological finds.

A few years later, the city of Luxor was victim to a similar fate when its central part was demolished to make room for the excavation works of the Avenue of the Sphinxes, partially discovered near the temple of Luxor in 1949, the sacred street that once connected the temple of Luxor to that of Karnak (Boraik 2018).

By 2013 the finished excavations had completely destroyed the urban fabric that covered the presumed route of the avenue and involved the removal of the very poor inhabitants who based their livelihood on small spontaneous activities linked to tourist flows (Fig. 6).

The numerous UNESCO reports<sup>4</sup>, underlining the dangers that such interventions could have caused to the site<sup>5</sup>, to the Egyptian Government and the Supreme Council of Antiquities were not successful, so much so that the works, as we said, were concluded in 2013. At this time moreover, tourism in the region had already recorded a considerable



FIG. 5. The system of convoys that take visitors to the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, Egypt (photo by R. Gabaglio).

FIG. 6. One of the demolished areas of Luxor (2008).





decline in visitor flows due to the increasing instability of the area and the terrorist attacks that took place.

The results of the works, which were not limited to the archaeological excavation but which also addressed the opening of new roads to better ensure the flow of tourist buses and the connection with the Nile, from which the cruise ships depart, were in the opinion of the author<sup>6</sup>, very debatable in many respects.

The excavation of the Avenue of the Sphinxes – of which only a few and uncertain traces have been found – created a gash in the town of Luxor which is now divided into two distinct parts with only two connecting bridges. The population was not in any way made a participant in the decision-making process and, as mentioned, forcibly removed from the area in which it had been living for some time. As a result, it was deprived of its main source of income: small trade with tourists. In the case of Luxor the ‘competition’ between tourists and residents for the use of resources is striking and obviously has been decided in favour of the visitors.

When not completely destroyed to make room for the archaeological excavation, the scattered historical construction was in no way considered as an asset to preserve and enhance. It could have been enhanced through the creation of a respectful area where contacts between the population and tourists could be minimised. Similarly, there were no incentives for the development of tourism-related micro-economies that could bring



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FIG. 7. A village near Sphynxes Avenue at risk of demolition (2008).

FIG. 8. The Sphynxes Avenue (2008).

FIG. 9. Historic buildings in adobe near the Sphynxes Avenue.

some benefits to the difficult economic conditions of the inhabitants (Fig. 7). Ancient Thebes seems to be for the use and consumption of tourists and the local population is marginalised. At best the latter can provide low-cost services in national and international capital-driven large structures strictly created to accommodate visitors.

The new road construction, of no modest size, which connects the airport to the *corniche*, has also gutted the ancient and stratified city cemetery. The operation had no happier results in terms of 'archaeological restoration'. The sacred road has been rebuilt based on questionable evidence. The sphinxes that now crown the avenue, reassembled with finds from elsewhere, are unlikely to have been placed there originally. The avenue is now enclosed between two high concrete walls (Figs. 8-9).

The city of Luxor and the system of temples and the avenue, as reconfigured by the intervention, also leads us to reflect on the theme of authenticity beyond the definition of the Nara document (ICOMOS 1994); on the veracity of the architectural fabric, the relationship between the built 'layers', the relationship between archaeological finds and the palimpsest-city. Moreover, it also begs thinking about the meaning of 'immaterial heritage', of which the most 'authentic' and inclusive testimony is probably the daily life of the population. As such the latter would command some respect.

Diverging from Luxor, which shows the negative effects of a heightened tourism exploitation that alters the cultural heritage and the territories that host them, the current situation of the Monastery of Geghard and the Upper Azat Valley site in Armenia stands in striking contrast (Fig. 10).

It is a monastic complex with large underground chambers that rises at the end of a narrow valley enclosed by rugged mountains. At a few kilometres' distance from the Armenian capital and included in the WHL in 2000, Geghard is the starting point of every tourist itinerary in Armenia. Hence, the number of visitors is quite high, and is expected to increase in the near future given the success that Armenia has had in recent years as a travel destination. Additionally, Geghard is popular among Armenians who visit the site both for religious purposes and for leisure activities in the surrounding natural environment during the weekend.





FIG. 10. View of Geghard Monastery and the surrounding landscape.



FIG. 11. The spontaneous market in Geghard.

Similarly to what was noted for the Camino, and quite differently from Luxor, the site<sup>7</sup> maintains its authenticity mostly through a synergy with the harsh surrounding landscape despite the presence of some conservation problems (especially in hypogeal parts due to the rainwater infiltration and the change of microclimate caused by the increase in tourist flows). Regrettably Geghard has been the object of several restoration and reconstruction interventions that did not resolve the problems of degradation and are certainly not exemplary of a correct conservative practice.

It is accessed by a road that runs through the valley and arrives at a small parking lot at the base of the monastery. The road runs through a still wild natural landscape and does not cross built-up areas that remain, upstream the village of Geghard, or downstream the settlement of Goght, both excluded from the tourist flows.

A small and spontaneous market selling local products, traditional sweets and dried fruit, organised by the local elderly has been present for over some decades. It represents the only micro economy derived from tourism that benefits the local population (Fig. 11).

The tourism enhancement of the site encouraged by the local authorities, envisages more important visitor welcoming facilities, the construction of a parking lot for large vehicles near the complex, the creation of organised spaces for the sale of souvenirs and the removal of the small spontaneous market that is emblematic to the site.

Unless formulated with effective planning tools, these interventions could profoundly change the site and alienate, even more than is currently the case, the resident population from the decision-making process and from the economic benefits that tourism could bring. Unless controlled through effective planning tools, the territory could undergo a profound transformation. The construction of large tourism infrastructure, which is already rising along the access road, would have the double effect of upsetting the authenticity of the site that exemplifies a symbiotic relationship between 'monument' and the surrounding landscape; while it would not bring any improvements to the rather difficult economic conditions of the inhabitants of the two villages of Goght and Geghard. Instead, they could be constructively involved in the strategies of tourism development either through the provision of accommodation perhaps using a model of hospitality in the homes of residents, or through enhancement related to the knowledge of the place (museum, visitor centre, etc.).

## Concluding reflections

The two briefly described case studies, interwoven with what can be learned from the case of the Camino de Santiago, lead to some provisional considerations with regards to the impacts of improperly planned tourism development on cultural heritage. A particularly heavy impact is experienced in cases where the authenticity of a place is linked to its 'live' nature and inhabited by a population underpinned by its traditions.

Branding and marketing, which in themselves are not absolutely negative factors, when aggressive and pervasive, can distort a site and transform it under a false image that has the sole purpose of being sold to tourists. Cultural heritage should be analysed in the context of the deep relationships it has with the territory, the resident population and its immaterial heritage, so as to outline complex conservation strategies that highlight the potentiality and challenges of a place and its problems of physical degradation. At the same time these strategies will have to minimise the physical impact of tourism, while maximising the benefits for the resident population, particularly in those areas where income is at the limits of the poverty line. In this sense, tourism today should only be developed with a view to sustainability or as "Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNEP, UNWTO 2005).

Each process of touristic valorisation should consider as the starting point a series of strategic objectives that could assure long-term sustainability. Among these, the fundamentals in the opinion of the author are: respect for hosting communities, their traditions and uses; the rational use of environmental resources so as to avoid excessive consumption at the expense of the resident population; the involvement of the inhabitants in the decision-making processes in such a way that there is an equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits, the assessment of the economic, social and environmental repercussions of the physical interventions that are carried out. These milestones, articulated in multidisciplinary provisions, could outline a sort of check list that can guide the process especially in those places where tourism as an economic resource is starting to take its first steps.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See <<http://www.famigliacristiana.it/scheda-rubrica/santiago-de-compostela-il-cammino-che-conduce-al-perdono.aspx>> [Accessed 13 May 2019].

<sup>2</sup> "Tourism must consider its effects on cultural heritage and traditional elements, activities and dynamics of each local community. Recognition of the traditional elements and activities of each local community and support for its identity, culture and interests must at all times play a central role in the formulation of tourism strategies, particularly in developing countries" (UNESCO, UNWTO et al. 1995: Art. 3).

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that at present the village is in a state of decay. Already in 2010 a Scientific Committee was created to meet on safeguarding New Gourni Village, part of the Ancient Thebes World Heritage site.

<sup>4</sup> See <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/87/documents/>> for the contents of various reports [Accessed 13 May 2019].

<sup>5</sup> The various recent projects undertaken and planned by the State Party (removal of nearly all of Gurnah, development of the Avenue of the sphinxes, development of the plaza at Karnak, cruise boat landing stage) all threaten the outstanding universal value of the property and in particular its authenticity and integrity. The criteria chosen for inscription in 1979 (in particular criterion VI), emphasise the need to see the site as reflective of developments from the Pharaonic period through the early Christian period. But moreover, all of these archaeological monuments and archaeological sites lie within a compelling and fundamentally important physical, historic and socio-cultural context, which is being permanently undermined by these changes. These

modifications directly impair the authenticity of the setting and, in recreating elements such as the Avenue of the sphinxes without their former historic context, falsify the site with reconstruction work cautioned against in the Operational Guidelines. As well, the loss of Gurnah impairs the historical integrity and continuity of landscape use and occupation highlighted a decade ago by the World Heritage Bureau. Overall, the impairment of the existing historically evolved relations between features of the site, constitute a significant loss of integrity, as described in the *Operational Guidelines* in WHC 2008.

<sup>6</sup> The PhD in Architecture, Urban Planning, Conservation of Places of Living and Landscape (Polytechnic of Milan, Department of Architectural Design, active until 2015, coordinator Maria Grazia Folli), of which the writer was a part signed an agreement with the Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities to study and propose urban project solutions for the areas around the new Avenue of the Sphinxes in 2007. A multidisciplinary team, made up of professors and PhD students, worked for about a year with repeated on-site missions. The project proposal as a whole aimed to mend the torn fabric from the opening of the sacred way through the creation of connections and new polarities. A part of the research was devoted to studying the widespread historical construction not yet destroyed and to propose strategies for conservation and enhancement that would also allow greater inclusion of the resident population in the economic benefits that tourism could entail.

<sup>7</sup> What is reported refers to the work done for World Bank in 2015 'Master plans for the World Heritage Sites: (1) Monasteries of Haghpata and Sanahin, and (2) Monastery of Geghard and the Upper Azat Valley, Armenia'. The consultancy was designed to address the strategies of conservation and the valorisation of the three monasteries and their surrounding territory. World bank Task team leader: Guido Licciardi, Senior Urban Development Specialist. Work team: Mariacristina Giamb Bruno, Maurizio Boriani, Gaiané Casnati, Lorenza Petrini, Vincenzo Petrini with Raffaella Simonelli, Sonia Pistidda, Roberta Mastropirro, Rosamaria Rombolà, Lucio Specca, Rossana Gabaglio, Francesca Vigotti, Vassilis Mpampatsikos, Nanar Kalantaryan, Lilit Vardanyan, Artur Petrosyan, Siuneh Arakelyan, Gohar Hovakimyan, Kristina Hakobyan.

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## SENSING PLACES. WALKING ALONG THE CAMINO DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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### Introduction

Over the last decades, the idea of the emotional connection between people and place has taken on a key role in environmental psychology research. More specifically, studies have shown that the environment influences individual behaviour in social and spatial settings. It also determines people's psychological conditions. Concepts such as 'place identity', 'place memory', 'place attachment', and 'sense of place' have developed around these issues; all refer to the relationships that humans establish with places.

Thus far, scholars in the field of architecture have approached environmental psychology by focusing on a number of different aspects, albeit non-systematically. For example, Kevin Lynch and Christian Norberg-Schulz focused on the city while Alois Riegl and Roberto Pane concentrated on historic architectural heritage. So the idea of exploring this discipline – along with sociology, anthropology and psychology – arises from the lack of constant and effective interaction, and from the belief in the utility of an interdisciplinary approach.

Currently, studies in the field of environmental psychology are linked principally to natural, urban and architectural contexts, in some cases investigating historic environments with their symbolic, spiritual and memory-related meanings. Research on religious itineraries is not very extensive, although it could be very fruitful since the pilgrimage is a highly charged emotional experience. In particular, the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, with its spiritual content, represents an emblematic case. It might, therefore, be worthy of study when exploring the bonds between human emotions and places. Since it is a crowded place visited by different kinds of people and for different reasons that are often not very spiritual at all, it might be useful to try to understand why believers were and are attracted to this experience.

Starting from some of the existing scholarship, as well as through direct experience with the Camino de Santiago and other similar settings, this paper intends to investigate the spiritual and memory values of such contexts along with their collective perceptions and the different concepts of people-place bonds. Moreover, it will reflect upon the consequences of mass pilgrimages on the physical heritage itself as well as the emotional relationships between people and places.

### The value of place

Environmental psychology has much to offer to the study of places and buildings, particularly those with historical connotations. Indeed, the field underscores the fact that the environment contributes to activating human identity, which, in turn, affects behaviour toward social and spatial settings. This appears to be highly important in terms of their appreciation and preservation.

The importance of the empathic component in the relationship between people and space was already highlighted as early as the 19th century, demonstrated by the concept of *Einfühlung*. It was also explored by preservation experts who understood the fact that certain factors influence the perception of places and, as a result, the connections between people and the places they inhabit. As we shall see, these elements are central to environmental psychology research.

First among these experts was John Ruskin. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1880, he focused on beauty, stating that it depends on nature as the result of divine creation, which humankind contemplates to achieve a sense of inner calm (Ruskin 1990). In Aphorism 20, he stated that what “is most ‘natural’ is most easily and ordinarily seen”<sup>1</sup> defining a close link between ‘Frequency’ and ‘Beauty’, meaning that the places most frequented by a person appear more beautiful in his or her eyes. In Aphorism 27, when speaking of memory in specific reference to historic architecture, he stressed the importance of its protection as “the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages”<sup>2</sup>, recognising an essential component of life.

Interesting and innovative ideas were also proposed by Alois Riegl who, in his 1903 volume, *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, theorised the existence of the different values – historic-artistic, novelty, antiquity, functional – that characterise a monument (Riegl 1990). Indeed, as we know, people define values in relationship to a given artefact. In terms of testimonial values, the Austrian historian noted that a fundamental peculiarity of the value of antiquity lay in the fact that it is an ecumenical value that does not require specific historic-artistic skills insofar as it manifests itself immediately to the beholder through the most superficial perceptions, meaning the senses (optical); then it can speak immediately to the emotions (Riegl 1990: 48). By taking hold of observers this value also determines their particular attachment to places.

Another scholar who underscored the inseparable relationship between people and architecture was Roberto Pane who, in line with Jungian archetypes, introduced psychological aspects into the mix (Pane 1971; Pane 1975-77; Pane 1978; Giannattasio 2010; Giannattasio 2017). He asserted that people hold stratified memories, which are mirrored in the architecture of the past. Such emotional reactions are determined not by beauty but by the evocative power of space. In other words, places of identity (monuments, historic cities, places of worship, natural and cultural landscapes), in line with recent studies, are distinguished by the positive involvement of communities; they can stimulate a feeling of collective belonging and identification. The values of memory, as Pane noted, can be essential to the governance of progress and the management of design.

Research carried out by environmental psychologists focuses on some essential concepts such as ‘place identity’, ‘place memory’, ‘place attachment’, and ‘sense of place’, which will be discussed in the next section. Considering the differences between the individual and the social domains, this research has proven that socio-cultural connotations can directly or indirectly influence an individual’s perception of a context and his or her attachment to it, and to its preservation. As the Polish scholar Lewicka has highlighted, such research has great potential both in cognitive and operational terms, but at the present time, a solid theory does not correspond to adequate experimentation in the field of cultural heritage (Lewicka 2010: 208). In this sense, the goal of the paper is to disseminate knowledge of such insights into the field of architecture and restoration, and to promote studies based on interdisciplinary work, at least among architects and environmental psy-



chologists. The aim is also to reflect upon a series of issues relating to the identification of and contemporary respect for values manifested in the past, considering the specific and particularly fragile case of pilgrimage itineraries. Indeed, they stimulate strong interest in terms of tourism, activating processes that accentuate a number of contradictions both in material and immaterial terms.

### **Place perception and the concepts of 'place attachment', 'place identity', 'place memory' and 'sense of place'**

Studies since the 1970s have shown that the individual moves from simple adaptive behaviours to the production of interpretive processes. These are mainly based on meanings ascribed to existential space as the integration of cognitive and emotional aspects and individual and collective uses. In other words, "the set of psychological functions that allow the body to acquire information about the state and the changes of environment through the senses"<sup>3</sup> stimulates different emotional responses in which sentiments, places, time, and context are interconnected (Iaconesi 2015: 2).

As Korpela asserts, the perception of certain environmental characteristics can automatically or very quickly trigger emotional responses that then influence the cognitive assessment of the environment along with human feelings and behaviour. In essence, the research shows that environmental characteristics can activate unconscious processes to determine a good deal of our emotions, motivations, judgments, and daily actions (Korpela 2012: 150).

In this sense, numerous authors have explored 'place theory' and the related 'place identity' concepts. According to these theories, part of the individual self identifies with a place with which a person lastingly and intensely interacts over the course of a lifetime (as Ruskin also stated). Moreover, such studies recognise the fundamental role of the socio-cultural context.

Thus, the concept of 'place' and the people-place relationship is of growing interest in many fields. In architecture, it achieved greater significance in the conception of human space, defining something that goes beyond the physical, as Norberg-Schulz expressed in his concept of *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz 1971). This viewpoint also concerns the relationship between people and places. In fact, referring to the 'person-in-place' as a unit is essential in design to take into account the intangible features of a place based on its careful analysis.

In 1979, Yi-Fu Tuan pointed out that place is more than a simple location in space, putting the geographer's view in touch with that of the sociologist whose concept of place is a status, like "one's position in society". Moreover, monuments, artworks and cities have taken on meaning for people and communities, building strong relationships that recognise them as meaningful places and objects that become the centres of people's own worlds (Tuan 1979: 411).

'Place identity', 'place attachment', 'sense of place', and 'place dependence' are examples of people's bonds with a place (Florek 2011: 347). The word 'identity' means 'sameness' (continuity) and 'distinctiveness' (uniqueness), and therefore the term 'place identity' should incorporate both aspects (Lewicka 2008: 211). Susan Clayton focuses on the concept of 'identity' interpreted as the descriptive way in which an individual is placed within a social context. She underlines the importance of the natural environment

in defining identity. The scholar wonders why the natural environment would make a significant contribution to identity and suggests a variety of reasons: a) it is a resource of great psychological value; b) it satisfies central motivations that are very important on the personal level; c) it has a socio-political meaning – partly due to its role of generating attention, evaluation and action – that can be strengthened by external factors. Thus, the environment encourages the construction and activation of identity, which in turn influences the behaviour of individuals toward their social and spatial environments (Clayton 2012; Clayton, Saunders 2012).

The first definition of ‘place attachment’ appeared almost 30 years ago (Lewicka 2010: 207) when, in 1992, Altman and Low published their influential milestone book in which they defined ‘place attachment’ as “the positive emotional bond established between individuals and their environment”, a bond made up of affective, cognitive and behavioural components (Lewicka 2008: 211). ‘Place attachment’ is often related to ‘place identity’ but they are not the same. Indeed, one person might be attached to a place but not identify with it, and vice versa (Hernandez et al. 2007: 311).

‘Place memory’, like ‘place identity’, has two meanings that refer to people’s memories but also to the defining features of a place. Places have ‘memory’ attributed to them by humans and are manifested in monuments, architectural styles, inscriptions on walls, etc. People who live in those places remember and share collective memory thanks to these “urban reminders” and “mnemonic aids” (Lewicka 2008: 214).

Another crucial concept is ‘sense of place’. Although it is quite vague (Shamai 1991: 347) and has multiple definitions, ‘sense of place’ usually refers to the experience of a place (Soini et al. 2012). People gain knowledge of the world through their senses. Vision is explicit knowing, “I see the church on the hill, I know it is there, and it is a place for me” (Tuan 1979: 411). People also sense places through touch, smell or sound. Depending on different personal identities and capacities, ‘sense of place’ is not purely individually or collectively constructed. Just as people change over time, so places are dynamic and develop in parallel with human history. Therefore ‘sense of place’ is not a stable emotional bond. People gain it through their experience, “the totality of means by which we come to know the world: we know the world through sensation (feeling), perception, and conception” (Tuan 1979: 388).

Scholars have emphasised and agreed upon the fact that ‘place attachment’, ‘place identity’, ‘place memory’, and ‘sense of place’ are important prerequisites for the psychological balance of a community or place (town, neighbourhood, etc.). This balance helps “overcome identity crises and gives people the sense of stability they need in the ever changing world, that it may facilitate involvement in local activities, and that no matter how mobile a person may be, some form of attachment to places is always present in our life”. Furthermore, “awareness of the place history intensifies place attachment, however, probably also the reverse holds true” so in order to preserve cultural heritage, knowledge is the first step in historic preservation (Lewicka 2008: 211).

Based on these assumptions, when one intervenes in a place, as Pane also emphasised, taking the relationship of people with that place into account becomes essential for shaping positive effects on the quality of design and for community acceptance. Based on experiments conducted in the field of neuroscience, Mallgrave, an American researcher who focused his studies on the empathy of space, maintains that design should put the people-in-places at its heart, thus reaching the same conclusions as Lewicka, transcending

the formal and stylistic upon which, as Juhani Pallasma notes, the architectural project is today, unfortunately, founded (Mallgrave 2015).

In terms of pilgrimages, these studies can be very useful in investigating the perception of local residents and visitor pilgrims to take into account the effects that mass pilgrimages can produce on the emotional relationships between humans and the environment and, consequently, on cultural heritage.

### **Religious and lay walkers: different meanings of a pilgrimage**

As we know, the pilgrimage is one of the most significant types of faith-travel, an important branch of tourism. In the last few decades the sector has grown significantly “with numbers increasing by twenty times in post war years and European pilgrimage centres such as Fatima, Santiago and Lourdes all attracting between 4-5 million visitors per year” (Maddrell 2011: 18).

The Collins English dictionary (Collins 2014) defines a pilgrimage as “a journey to a shrine or other sacred place”, and “a journey or long search made for exalted or sentimental reasons” extending the meaning to non-religious purposes. Therefore, as Maddrell also underlines, “faith belief is not a prerequisite for completing a pilgrimage” (Maddrell 2011: 15).

Whether one can clearly distinguish between the religious and tourism dimensions of the pilgrimage is still an open question since some scholars argue that they are quite different phenomena (Palmer et al. 2012).

Even if religious intentions are the most common motivations for this kind of walking challenge, a significant number of pilgrims have other reasons for their undertaking. Studying the Celtic pilgrimages on the Isle of Man, where spiritual journeys through a network of tiny medieval chapels known as ‘keeills’ are in resurgence, Maddrell and Scriven interviewed people about the reasons for their visits (Maddrell, Scriven 2016: 312). One man considered the landscape, and not the sacred place, as a source of spiritual inspiration and the core of the experience, while a non-believing woman with a keen interest in history explained, “the poetry of the Celtic prayers evoked an emotional response”. This survey highlighted the value of landscape, heritage and identity so that “the Celtic narratives, theologies and practices were used to facilitate a personal and landscape-centred relationship to the divine” (Maddrell, Scriven 2016: 315).

Religious pilgrimages are certainly predominant even when practised by non-believers but the role of social events and memorials motivates non-religious pilgrimages to places of collective memory. In the past, memorials were promoted by fascist regimes as pilgrimage sites; one such example is the ossuary of Redipuglia in the period between the two wars as strong nationalistic propaganda for patriotic celebration “facilitated by gathering a remarkable quantity of remains into few vast ossuaries” in order to transform them into spiritual and sacred places (Malone 2017: 9). Along these lines, the Muranów neighbourhood in Warsaw, the Jewish ghetto destroyed after the uprising against the Nazis, has today become a pilgrimage site for young Jews creating a “unique situation where Muranów inhabitants were confronted almost daily by representatives of the Jewish community and were thus starkly reminded of the Jewish history of their district” (Wójcik et al. 2010: 198).

Other examples are gatherings of fans at the death or burial places of celebrities, interpreted by some scholars as a new form of secular pilgrimage. An example is the Dakota

Building in New York where John Lennon was shot and killed. Today, along with the nearby Strawberry Fields in Central Park, it has become a pilgrimage destination for fans who want to commemorate his death (Kruse 2003).

Other motives such as sport, travel or spiritual experiences in foreign lands influence people to undertake routes of hundreds of kilometres. The fascination with pilgrimages leads many walkers to face a spatial and emotional experience in close contact with different environments; given today's unrelenting urban growth, such experiences become opportunities to get back in touch with nature. Today, pilgrims are similar to back packers seeking "to evade the daily routine and the societal pressure to find a different kind of living" (Amaro et al. 2018: 278). Furthermore, pilgrimage routes are inspired, on the one hand, by the emotional motivations of their visitors, such as the desire to escape and relax and the need for spiritual introspection. On the other hand they are inspired by the characteristics of the destinations and itineraries, such as the appeal of local sites, cultural attractions and infrastructure (Balestrieri, Congiu 2017: 1).

### **Emotional bonds crossing the Camino de Santiago de Compostela**

The Camino de Santiago, as we know, is a historic pilgrimage dating to the Middle Ages; the itinerary begins in many parts of Europe and terminates at the Cathedral of Santiago (Fig. 1). Even if sporadic, the popularity of the route for more than a millennium has contributed to the region's development with the construction of hostels, churches, and towns along the way (Figs. 2-3). Today travellers can enjoy the artistic, historic and cultural heritage accrued over time (Castro Fernández et al. 2016: 282). This cultural role merges with the spiritual experience so that pilgrims can re-define it and "open it-up to embrace all forms of spiritual belief" (Nilsson, Tesfahuney 2016: 27). Indeed, the pilgrimage is an act, rich in symbolic references making the Camino de Santiago a significant place of memory (Castro Fernández et al. 2016: 283). Because of the myriad origins of the travellers, we might argue that this kind of memory is an example of a 'cosmopolitan' collective experience even if different rituals and spiritual beliefs have been reconfigured, as already noted. Collective memory along with the outstanding natural landscape and tangible and intangible heritage was what led to the designation of the Camino de Santiago as the First European Cultural Route in 1987 and a World Heritage UNESCO site in 1993 (limited to the French Itinerary and the Routes of Northern Spain). These acts followed the 1985 UNESCO designation of the city of Santiago de Compostela (UNESCO 1985: 10).

In this light, according to the analysis of concepts relating to the perception of places, and focusing on the significance of pilgrimages and the motivations that compel people to engage in such experiences, it seems useful to reflect upon the psychological aspects as perceived by travellers, both in individual and environmental terms, using the Way of St. James as an example. It also seems important to think about the risks of such phenomena for the tangible and intangible heritage that distinguishes these routes.

### **Travellers and psychological issues**

First, it should be noted that theorising psychological aspects in a case like the Camino de Santiago (and the extension of that process to other cases) presents evident difficulties due to a number of factors. The first is of a physical nature; the routes cannot really be

FIG. 1. Santiago de Compostela, historical centre (2017).

FIG. 2. Camino of Santiago de Compostela, San Xulian do Camino parish (2017).

FIG. 3 Camino of Santiago de Compostela, tombstone (2017).



defined as 'places' in the strict sense of the term. In this regard, Tuan defines a place as "the compelling focus of a field" arguing that it is the node upon which activities converge (Tuan 1979: 411); so a route is not commonly defined as a place. However, drawing upon geometry, which defines a line as the union of infinite points, we might affirm that a path leading to a sacred place can be considered a sequence of a great number of places. The second factor lies in identifying people who are living in similar contexts and enjoying similar experiences; in other words, evaluating the emotional bonds in relation to specific identities such as residents and travellers, who are certainly characterised by different degrees of attachment to places. Today, very little literature is dedicated to the 'place identity' of tourists or travellers. It has been argued that 'place attachment' and 'place identity' "behave similarly in the case of natives born and raised in the same place but differently in the case of non-natives" who first develop 'place attachment' and then 'place identity' (Hernandez et al. 2007: 317). This statement, however, concerns places where there is some residential stability. In the case of pilgrimage routes, sequences of places experienced for a short time by travellers, 'place identity' and 'place attachment' depend on impermanence so the emotional bonds, upon which it would be interesting to carry out empirical studies, might be considered ephemeral. Many scholars agree upon the fact that travel, including pilgrimages, increases awareness, not only of foreign lands but also of home as people's own place, strengthening the per-



sonal 'place identity' of travellers who meet and interact with other people, languages, cultures, rituals, nature, thus encouraging them to reflect upon their own personal worlds (Barna 2015: 108; Tuan 1979: 411). Consequently, emotional bonds are involved during a journey. 'Place identity' and 'place attachment' can be reinforced both in visitors and in residents. Places manifest their memories through the historic layering of heritage and the natural landscape. 'Sense of place' has people interact through the experience of their surroundings.

### **Pilgrimage and risks**

In this light, it might be useful to underline that the potential benefits associated with emotional bonds oppose the dangers connected with their loss or reduction. The danger of pilgrimages like Santiago being negatively transformed is especially pertinent when considering mass tourism. Potentially negative effects can affect individuals, travellers, residents, or places. Some of these effects on Santiago have already been studied. As far as inhabitants are concerned, along the route residents can change their place identities if groups, institutions and individuals act to commodify resources for tourism like the local environment or heritage (Kneafsey 1998). This is already happening in Santiago where public space and heritage have been depreciated, first of all because places are transformed into tourist itineraries and secondly because standardisation of the supply distorts local identities transforming them into tourist and cultural attractions. Moreover, in the case of overcrowded places, residents modify their behaviour and habits, as well as their attachments, to avoid visitor overcrowding (Castro Fernandez et al. 2016: 289).

Regarding visitor behaviour, a place without character and authenticity, adapted to the rules of mass tourism, fosters the formation of different identities that can be ephemeral: the tourist, the passenger, the client, etc. (Minca 1996). Therefore, the visitor can become a danger. While on the one hand, the visitor can be moved by the need to render symbols and places sacred, on the other hand he or she may be motivated by a desire for transgression or the search for superficial and novel experiences (Mura 2011: 374).

In addition, potential dangers for cultural heritage and authenticity must be considered. Stubbs & Makaš argued that, after UNESCO designation and the development of a general plan in 1988 and a supplemental plan in 1997, Santiago has been a positive example for heritage cities with its significant economic success and improvement of social life in its historic centre. Indeed, the authors also pointed out that efforts have even been overly successful in some respects due to the fact that some of the legendary pilgrimage routes have also been threatened by subsequent uncontrolled development (Stubbs, Makaš 2011).

### **Conclusion**

Santiago de Compostela is today predominantly a social and tourist product, sacrificing its sacredness and spirituality. The heritage legacy, in its network of symbols and allusions, maintains links with the past to defend its identity and community. In addition to material heritage, there is also the intangible heritage made up of rituals and traditions. In this sacred, historic and tourism context, the stage is shared by the different social behaviours mentioned earlier, renewing and enriching the very meaning of space. They are part of

the urban setting, helping people to understand its origin and current use and, consequently, opening a sacred place to other uses. This post-modern secularisation of such places transforms the sacred into a tourist attraction (Castro Fernandez et al. 2016).

In light of the above, and as already anticipated, it should be beneficial to treat such questions with a shared vision among architects, environmental psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists in order to best leverage the knowledge of all such figures. This could help redefine actions to protect the natural and built environment with its tangible and intangible meanings, in particular the ones most threatened by the risks associated with the phenomenon of mass tourism. With the view that these contexts can respond in a controlled way to transformation processes, such actions might be able to guarantee balanced emotional bonds between people and places whether residents or extemporaneous users.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Ruskin 1990: 140. Translation by the author.
- <sup>2</sup> Ruskin 1990: 211. Translation by the author.
- <sup>3</sup> Galimberti 2011: s.v. "Perception". Translation by the author.

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## CONSERVATION AND CULTURAL TOURISM: CONFLICTS AND SOLUTIONS

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In order to conserve and protect the values and authenticity of cultural property we must first recognise; “that the management of complex systems demands attention not to one variable but to many, and that there will always be uncertainty about how changes in one variable will affect the whole” (Brown 2005).

The conflict between mass cultural tourism, economic growth, increasing visitor access and conservation creates an awkward tension between keeping the vitality of places while conserving vulnerable historic fabric and immaterial heritage, which is subject to decay, and degradation.

The economic benefits of cultural heritage tourism as a resource are undeniable. In the UK in 2017, inbound tourism to the UK experienced a sustained period of growth, with record numbers of overseas visitors (23.1m) for the January-July period, up 8% on 2016 and up 9% in volume terms. Heritage tourism generated £16.4 billion in spending by domestic and international visitors; repair and maintenance of historic buildings directly generated £9.6 billion in construction sector output, and provided employment for 278,000 people<sup>1</sup>. The influx has particularly been felt among the must-see tourist attractions around the UK, with Stonehenge experiencing a strong uplift in visitors driven by overseas tourists<sup>2</sup>, with total visitor numbers to Stonehenge in 2017 reaching a peak at approximately 1.58 million visits<sup>2</sup>.

However, there are severe environmental impacts on tangible and intangible cultural inheritance at many sites to the extent that emerging evidence indicates that ever-increasing visitor numbers threaten historic monuments and important cultural landscapes.

The National Trust and English Heritage, the UK's largest conservation charities experience visitor numbers in excess of 227 million visits per year to cultural heritage sites<sup>3</sup>. The conflicting core remit of conservation and access increasingly compromises the aesthetic and historic integrity of the cultural inheritance they manage. National Trust membership has risen year-on-year to over 5.2 million with annually c.26.6 million visitors to pay-for-entry properties and c.200 million to the countryside in 2017 (National Trust 2018). English Heritage, which cares for over 400 historic monuments, buildings and places saw numbers rise by 10% in 2017 alone to more than 10 million visitors (Historic England 2017).

As foremost custodians of heritage places in the UK, the National Trust and English Heritage commit to protecting, restoring, enhancing and managing the cultural assets in their care, and in 2017 National Trust spent £138m on conservation, including a record £100m on its historic houses and gardens and English Heritage over 16 million during 2016-17 (National Trust 2018). However, a commercial remit to generate income from membership and pay-for-entry visits is essential to maintain levels of conservation, maintenance and staffing for the long-term, and there are risks associated with managing this success and increasing access generally, principally at vulnerable sites and historic cultur-

al landscapes, particularly where new infrastructure is proposed to service the needs of increasing visitor numbers. The inherent conflict between income generation, increased access and conservation creates a near-impossible tension for these charities and those who manage World Heritage and other cultural sites whose primary responsibility is to protect the historic environment. Failure to find a balance between commercial viability and managing visitor numbers is now a major challenge facing heritage sites.

As long ago as 1991 the English Tourist Board warned that “There is a danger that as numbers grow so too do resulting impacts on the heritage property and the surrounding area. In the case of short-term success of the attraction in achieving greater numbers (this) might turn into long term failure as the heritage assets that serve to promote visitations become damaged or degraded” (English Tourist Board 1991: 9).

A comparative analysis of the sustainable future for the significant iconic pilgrimage sites of Stonehenge, and Avebury, UK, with El Camino de Santiago, Spain as both are processional pilgrimage sites, have monument destinations within extensive landscape settings and have spiritual value for some. There is now “general archaeological consensus that this entire part of Wiltshire, from the huge earthworks at Avebury and Silbury Hill, stretching down the Avon to Woodhenge and Durrington Walls, and taking in the strange features known as the cursus and the Stonehenge Avenue (parallel earthwork ridges running for several kilometres) as well as scores of barrows (or burial mounds) constituted an integrated ‘sacred landscape’” (Self 2014).

This comparison will enable critical reflection and analysis of mitigation strategies for alleviating threats to the transmission of material and immaterial heritage, including an exploration of conservation and traditional practice, interpretation and education strategies, and branding and marketing approaches. The methodologies developed for visitor management and sustainable tourism challenges and opportunities are addressed by specific objectives in both the Stonehenge and Avebury Management Plans and can be applicable to other cultural heritage sites, including El Camino de Santiago, responding to the contemporary challenge of achieving sustainable consumption of cultural inheritance and manageable tourist levels.

Stonehenge and Avebury are static cultural heritage sites of pilgrimage and ritual containing the most sophisticated prehistoric stone circles in the world. They also have a dense concentration of surviving related prehistoric monuments and associated Neolithic and Bronze Age ceremonial, burial and settlement landscapes<sup>4</sup>. Inscribed as a single cultural landscape World Heritage Site in 1986 they are both popular ‘must see’ tourist destinations with Stonehenge attracting around 1.58 million visitors a year and Avebury approximately 300,000, although Avebury is open access making it is difficult to accurately quantify numbers<sup>5</sup>. Both are covered by one WHS Management Plan with management of different aspects of the sites shared by English Heritage, National Trust and a number of other stakeholders.

The old town of Santiago was designated as a World Heritage site in 1985 and El Camino de Santiago, Spain was declared the first European Cultural Route by the Council of Europe in 1987. Subsequently inscribed as a serial World Heritage Site in 1993, the Routes of Santiago de Compostela, Camino Francés and Routes of Northern Spain are a network of four Christian pilgrimage routes. They include a built heritage of historical importance created to meet the needs of pilgrims, including cathedrals, churches, hospitals, hostels and even bridges. The site includes outstanding natural landscapes as well as a rich intan-



gible cultural heritage<sup>6</sup>. El Camino de Santiago is a dynamic site that before inscription in 1985 attracted 690 visitors; however since inscription the route has witnessed numbers of international 'pilgrims' rising exponentially to in-excess of 300,000 in 2017<sup>7</sup>. The entire heritage complex has become an icon of regional identity and has contributed to the Spanish Government's strategic actions of marketing tourism as one of Galicia's main economic activities.

Although World Heritage inscription is not a statutory designation there are national, regional and local levels of protection in place for cultural heritage and a Management or Masterplan for the sites to protect their key attributes, and Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is now a minimum requirement for all World Heritage sites. The OUV for the Route of Santiago de Compostela is evidenced in its authenticity and integrity as a largely intact survival of "an extensive interconnected network of pilgrimage routes in Spain whose ultimate destination is the tomb of the Apostle James the Greater in Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia. The Route has preserved the most complete material registry of all Christian pilgrimage routes, featuring ecclesiastical and secular buildings, large and small enclaves, and civil engineering structures. The wealth of cultural heritage that has emerged in association with the Camino is vast, marking the birth of Romanesque art and featuring extraordinary examples of Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque art and bears outstanding witness to the power and influence of faith among people of all social classes and origins in medieval Europe and later"<sup>8</sup>.

Despite various levels of protection and management regimes, the impact of successful tourism strategies that promote and encourage huge visitor growth at these cultural properties is challenging and threatens their tangible and intangible values and this has become a critical theme in the management of cultural sites.

The Cultural Diversity and Heritage Diversity section of the Nara Document on Authenticity, states that, "it is important to underline a fundamental principle of UNESCO, to the effect that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all" (ICOMOS 1994). The principal dilemma for heritage organisations is how to effect this principle without compromising the conservation, integrity and authenticity of the place and the visitor experience itself. There needs to be positive change through promoting sustainable tourism, satisfying visitor expectations and managing their impact without destroying cultural identity, or the aesthetic and historical value of the heritage asset that the Nara Charter sets out to protect. The International Tourism Charter, commenting on the dynamic interaction between tourism and cultural heritage states "domestic and international tourism continues to be among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange (...). It is increasingly appreciated as a positive force for natural and cultural conservation (...) when managed successfully" (ICOMOS 1999). However, if we are to halt the challenging, negative aspects of mass tourism and the devastating impact it can have on tangible and intangible heritage assets and their spirit of place we must change the tendency for tourism organisations to promote cultural artefacts as commodities to be sold and consumed. The economic benefits of cultural tourism as a driver must be replaced by an alternative positive, symbiotic and more balanced approach which changes the type of tourism to be more culturally and environmentally sympathetic and gives greater weight to the detrimental impacts of ever-increasing national and global tourism.

Managing this 'success' of attracting ever-increasing visitors relies on educating and promoting sustainable consumption of heritage to protect an historic environment under

pressure to meet contemporary conservation challenges and opportunities. This means resolving the issues between conservation and user groups that respect the range of values inherent in historic places. If we are to maintain and transmit the tangible and intangible heritage we must develop sustainable strategies to ensure that our shared cultural heritage survives the threat of rampant consumerism.

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation defines sustainable tourism simply as: "Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities"<sup>9</sup>.

### **How can this be achieved?**

Despite this well-intentioned vision statement evidence suggests that mass tourism is not currently sustainable and significantly impacts tangible and intangible heritage to the extent that ever-increasing visitor numbers threaten the future of the cultural asset and traditional lifestyles and significantly contributes to the erosion of cultural heritages. Balancing the conflicts between conservation and user groups that respect the range of values inherent in most historic places is now imperative, as it is apparent that "If the contemporary use of heritage assets results in the depletion or degradation of such resources, then they clearly cannot be passed on to future generations" (Fyall, Garrod 1998: 214).

While it could be argued that at Avebury and El Camino, the condition of the tangible heritage is generally good, it is questionable whether this can be said of Stonehenge with a national newspaper recently asking "has English Heritage ruined Stonehenge" (Self 2014). Access to the stones has been restricted since 1977 as a result of serious erosion and deterioration of the fabric as a direct result of visitor impact. Visitors are no longer able to touch the stones, but must view them from a short distance away<sup>10</sup>. The site was also criticised as being 'over-loved' and 'lacking magic' in a survey of conditions at 94 leading World Heritage Sites. The study by 400 conservation and tourism experts for National Geographic ranked Stonehenge 75th in the list of destinations and declared it to be 'in moderate trouble'. Researchers said that the 5,000-year-old monument was being degraded by large numbers of people on the site and the proximity of two busy roads. One judge wrote "Massive numbers of tourists cycle through the site on a daily basis, making for a crowded, noisy environment. Condition of the site is protected by fencing (...) but the visual sightlines are disrupted. It does not appear that local populations benefit from the tourist development of the site" (Milmo 2006).

English Heritage has introduced timed tickets in an attempt to alleviate the overcrowding issue and on a more positive note one of the offending roads has been removed and National Trust has begun a programme of grassland reversion of the sacred landscape. This will continue and be extended if the proposed tunneling of the other intrusive road goes ahead and the landscape setting returned to its original function as a pilgrimage route.

As the commentary from Will Self above and personal experience testifies (Self 2014), the intangible aspects associated with experiencing Stonehenge in particular have been significantly diminished. Historically, pilgrims to these sites would have had an authentic immersive spiritual or religious experience, emotionally engaging with the spirit of place which is inextricably linked to the built environment and the natural heritage. However,

to manage the immaterial we must preserve the authenticity and integrity of the material and these different levels of authenticity in both places have been compromised suffering a loss of significance that can be linked to marketing, presentation, interpretation and cultural use.

In the case of Stonehenge and El Camino, the requirements and expectations for different demographic groups are often in conflict, causing tension between those seeking a religious or spiritual experience in peace and tranquillity and those whose interests are purely secular and who want to visit the site for other reasons. For some of the 'pilgrims' at El Camino their sole ambition is to complete part of the pilgrimage route and have the experience by whatever available means, walking, running, car, coach or bike which have a physical and metaphysical impact on the quality of the experience and the environment. For other pilgrims the experience is more authentic, immersive and prolonged. Using a 'pilgrim's passport' for accommodation en-route they participate in walking at least 100km or 200km if using a bike, collecting a certificate of accomplishment for their pilgrimage when reaching the final destination of Santiago de Compostela. Travelling the cultural landscape route of El Camino currently appears to offer a more acceptable sustainable alternative to mass tourism attracting a wide range of travellers from diverse cultures willing to engage with 'slow tourism' and the multi-cultural phenomenon of the pilgrimage as cultural encounters connecting people and places. There are overcrowded sections of the route and there is evidence of consumption of the tangible heritage in unsuitable reuse adaptations and interventions in the architectural heritage, degradation and erosion of paths, and inappropriate transformation of parts of the cultural landscape. However, it is still possible to experience the intangible qualities of the pilgrimage, probably due to a combination of the way in which the site is promoted as an ethical pilgrimage route and the individual motivation of most of the pilgrims who demonstrate a greater appreciation of the site and its intangible values. There is however branding and commercialism along the route that at present appears to largely benefit the interests of local communities with whom travellers interact and who provide hospitality, services and sustenance on their travels.

In contrast, at Stonehenge the average visitor stay for global tourists is around 45 minutes, a mere stop-off en-route to the next iconic cultural destination. To cope with the massive influx of people at Stonehenge the new visitor infrastructure including a £27 million visitor centre with cafe, retail outlet, toilet blocks and car parking have had a devastating effect on the site's spirit of place and its landscape setting. Most of the cultural tourists arrive at the centre by coach, walk through the visitor centre, board a bus for the 2km shuttle to the monument, walk around the stone circle, and return to the visitor centre and make a purchase in the dedicated souvenir shop before boarding their coach for the next cultural destination. Stonehenge has been the victim of museumification and is a tangible manifestation of the rampant commercialisation and banalisation of cultural heritage. These practices are clearly unsustainable.

### **Issues to consider at strategic level**

While the 'pilgrim' to heritage sites may benefit from less infrastructure, the impact and degradation of monuments and their sites remain largely similar. The resulting management issues of environmental damage, accessibility, capacity to read the site and the

detrimental impact on the intangible aspects are a direct consequence of unsustainable practices such as prioritising the economic benefits of mass tourism over the preservation of precious irreplaceable heritage assets. Those responsible for conserving cultural properties must consider the notion of an ethical sustainable approach for tourists' needs without excessive infrastructure and services, the impact of which is discussed below.

Overcrowding at heritage sites not only affects the 'lived experience' but also uncontrolled over-capacity results in damage to historic fabric and unacceptable adaptation of landscape elements. Hard surfaces, widening of paths and heavily used areas have resulted in irreparable wear and tear and the creation of new routes to assist with visitor flow that are inconsistent with original routes or intention. There have been insensitive adaptations and additions to historic fabric and other compromises to meet access requirements. Signage has proliferated and obtrusive and inappropriate interpretation have all had a direct impact and harmful effect on cultural inheritance.

Increasingly, through the creation of new activities and the like, visitors to sites are being encouraged to spread into the wider landscape and while in principle this seems like a viable solution some of the activities themselves cause further damage. Distributing visitors afield inevitably leads to an increase in the overall detrimental impacts through the demand for additional infrastructure such as catering and toilet facilities and other environmental impacts. UNESCO have compiled a list of factors affecting the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage properties, consisting of a series of 14 primary factors, encompassing each a number of secondary factors, including threats posed by interpretative and visitation facilities<sup>11</sup>.

### **Possible mitigation strategies for protecting significance, integrity and authenticity of cultural property.**

Having outlined some of the key problems and concerns that face vulnerable heritage sites, several mitigating measures may be undertaken by implementing management strategies and appropriate actions. Fundamentally it is essential that those responsible recognise that cultural inheritance is a finite non-renewable resource and that sustainable tourism requires the fundamental theoretical and practical problems and issues to be resolved. This can be accomplished by adopting a value-added approach with Value not Volume as a sustainable model.

To prevent the inexorable consumption of heritage assets it is vital that every site has a Conservation Management Plan. Conservation is the careful management of change and a designed values-based approach to the conservation process through the CMP can proactively and holistically manage the whole heritage site with the aim of protecting significance. This will ensure that there is a key set of conservation principles in place that gives a clear over-arching conservation philosophical framework that everyone involved in the management of the site understands.

The understanding of significance and value is key to any CMP. What makes a site distinctive, special, rare, influential or unique underpins and informs the complex management and decision-making process and supports the policy aims, objectives and conservation philosophy to be agreed for the site. Historic England has condensed this range of values to produce a set of Conservation Principles in an attempt to explain and codify the values that underpin the significance of a place. These have been distilled into a shortlist

of four: evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal. Evidential value is defined as the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity; historical value as the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present; aesthetic value derives from the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place; and communal value is 'the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it'. The National Trust takes a similar approach to Historic England, talking about meanings and values: scientific and technical, aesthetic and spiritual (Harney 2014).

These frameworks represent a positive initiative to structure an analysis of key values so that a rationale and policy for proposed works for protection and conservation can be formulated. Value and significance is based on an understanding of the site, derived not just from research and surveys, but from consultation and a wider dialogue with those to whom a place matters. The key values attributed to a site then lead to the formulation of a Statement of Significance in which consideration will be given to threats and vulnerabilities but also to opportunities and capacity to conserve and enhance its significance and maintain those values. Views as to who values the place and why, together with issues and constraints, opportunities and capacity for change are all site-specific and all help to form a vision statement and determine the conservation approach to be taken. Any work undertaken subsequently will be designed to restore, preserve, conserve and/or enhance that significance and should respect its history and the values inherent in the site (Harney 2014).

The Nara Document on Authenticity was a watershed moment in modern conservation history in attempting to put in place a set of internationally applicable conservation principles that moved the principles enshrined in the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) from those of universal international absolutes, toward acceptance of conservation judgments as necessarily relative and contextual. The Nara document recognised that "All judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong" (ICOMOS 1994).

The Nara document on Authenticity states: "In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalisation and homogenisation, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity" (ICOMOS 1994).

In the section on *Cultural Diversity and Heritage Diversity* the document states: "Cultural diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems. In cases where cultural values appear to be in conflict, respect for cultural diversity demands acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the cultural values of all parties" (ICOMOS 1994).

In recognising these values heritage policy makers, local authorities and site managers entrusted with the governance of cultural heritage sites have a responsibility to formulate an interventionist strategic vision for future sustainable by collaborating with the tourist providers to develop plans, mitigation strategies and participative processes to resolve



the conflicts and tensions that exist between traditional life in local communities and catering for larger visitor influxes. This must involve the host community and indigenous people in planning for conservation and tourism (ICOMOS 1999). The key is to manage the cultural, social and economic aspects of the site so that tourism and conservation activities benefit the local community, including consideration of their natural and cultural context and adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to more local issues such as accessibility, accommodation and transportation to balance the expectations of users and communities (ICOMOS 1999). The strategic vision should embrace the tourist industry and develop alternative approaches to marketing, branding, interpretation and education strategies that promote the experience in more sustainable ways. It may prove difficult but long-term strategies must be developed by working together with international, national and local heritage agencies and other stakeholders responsible for managing the sites and visitors to the sites to formulate policies and implement plans to encourage the slower consumption of heritage. This may be achieved through longer stays, reducing the number of people moving through the site, exploiting the areas of interest nearby, multiplying the number of focus points to enable wider dispersal and working closely with and engaging local communities to diversify the offer without compromising identity, integrity, authenticity or harming the spirit of place.

The plan must be able to manage these tensions by sustaining and benefitting the local economy, enabling the local community to maintain their traditional buildings and way of life, while responding to the accommodation and service needs of visitors. This may be achieved through subsidising traditional practices and agricultural activity to benefit the local economy, putting legislative measures in place to control activities along the cultural route to prevent inappropriate change of use and maintain landscape character and authentic practices for aesthetic and conservation purposes. These actions will aid the retention of local identity and cultural practices and preserve the connections between places and communities. This approach has multiple benefits in protecting the heritage value and integrity of the historic environment, and preserving the spirit of place, authenticity and integrity of the experience for the resident and visitor alike.

Conservation architects and other multi-disciplinary heritage and local authority professionals and practitioners should also be at the core of developing mitigation strategies that will manage the balance between protection, preservation and management. They too can assist local communities to develop sustainable approaches to conservation practice by increasing their awareness of the value of their architectural heritage, imposing limits on transformation projects and advocating design quality for interventions and adaptations. Wherever possible professionals should encourage and enable the sustainable adaptation and reuse of existing and abandoned buildings to fulfil tourist-related functions in order to maintain the integrity and authenticity of traditional buildings. Local communities servicing visitor requirements also have a key role to play in developing sustainable cultural tourism in order to preserve traditional ways of life and sustainable agricultural and other practices. They can help prevent the loss of cultural identity and enable participation in reaping the economic benefits of a burgeoning tourist industry by preserving the material and immaterial values and significance of the place by managing the balance between the natural and built heritage through a landscape-level approach and ensuring that there is no erosion of interrelated processes such as traditional farming and other practices which can be vulnerable to rapid change. It is essential that local au-

thorities maintain dynamic control and awareness of complex, inclusive, rural, religious, agricultural, urban and industrial systems and community values.

It is not possible to stop the increase in global tourism so if we are to reduce the commodification and erosion of cultural sites this must be done through effective education and enhancing interpretation. It should be a key priority to simultaneously entertain and educate potential tourists through different marketing strategies to change the message to visitors and manage capacity issues through targeted communication. Education, interpretation strategies and targeted information in guide books and on digital platforms can improve conservation, limit the impact of visitors and improve visitor enjoyment and flow around sites. Interpretation should not be instruction, but provocation.

Most cultural travellers have a purely transient and transactional relationship with the site and have little or no concept of the incremental damage caused by their consumption of cultural heritage. The true pilgrim may be described as the 'ideal consumer' who leaves little trace of their journey, nevertheless their engagement with the cultural route is still dynamic and transient in nature. Education is a unifying concept that can be beneficial for the future of heritage through engaging and entertaining the visitor in the interpretation process. 'Edutainment' or educational entertainment has the capacity to transform experience and can be a powerful and effective communication tool that may provide solutions by transforming cultural narratives to enhance understanding and meaning in an entertaining and informative way.

Digital technology can aid the conservation, organisation and management of sites. The use of digital communication prior to visits through websites and tourist companies need to be radically improved to educate the potential visitor by enabling engagement at different levels as well as providing basic information including optimal times and other points of interest in the vicinity to diffuse tourist visits and spread the load to other cultural sites. Research to determine carrying capacity and optimum visiting times for each site should be undertaken and communicated, and this information should include when to avoid visiting, using alternative routes and all points of interest, rather than just stating opening hours.

Mitigation strategies such as extending opening hours in an attempt to spread peak visitor times and reduce overall damage to the site and increase visitor satisfaction and experience but can also exacerbate the problem by increasing the pressure on the site and staff to constantly manage and maintain to the detriment of conservation activities. Where appropriate consider opening earlier and closing later, but there is a case to be made for limiting or restricting access using different pricing structures and admission rates such as seasonal, off-peak, early bird, discounts, timed tickets and pre-booking as mechanisms for managing visitor numbers and enhancing Spirit of Place and visitor experience.

Sensitively placed, well designed, relevant interpretation and signage appropriate for the site will assist the discerning tourist on arrival, provided it is freely accessible and explains why, how, where and what to explore across the whole site rather than concentrating the visitor in recommended, high volume areas. For example visitors to the sacred landscapes around Stonehenge could be encouraged into the wider landscape to take in other areas of archaeological interest such as the cursus and avenue or be dispersed slightly further afield to the equally impressive huge earthworks at Avebury stone circle and Silbury Hill, Wiltshire. Maps can create or exacerbate conservation issues by highlight-

ing certain areas and omitting others. Good maps which direct people to the wider landscape and other accessible areas of interest, defined walks, cyclical walks with timings and degree of difficulty also facilitate wider access and use. Seasonal maps and routes offering points of interest and events that change each year enable better conservation work and improved experiences to occur by allowing certain areas to be closed, facilitating longer periods of undisturbed conservation and remedial works.

Adopting flexible approaches to how visitors spend their time to cater for individual preferences also helps to alleviate the pressure on sites. For example, different itineraries for adults or families can offer free-flow or guided specialist interest or general tours of short- or long-length duration. Different reversible routes on different days or times of year might be developed, self-guided around only the most robust areas with an electronic device.

### **Branding and Marketing**

The branding of iconic sites is a communication and marketing strategy that can have significant positive economic benefits or negative detrimental impacts. For sites such as Stonehenge and El Camino there is a need to rethink branding and other types of marketing strategies which result in the commercialisation and commodification of cultural property. The standing stone circles at Stonehenge and Avebury and the scallop shell of El Camino are ancient symbols, authentic to the sites they represent but these defining images can simultaneously represent expressions of cultural value or promote the place for purely economic benefit. As well as being immediately identifiable cultural icons they are also powerful marketing tools that may be exploited for branding and marketing purposes; indeed the scallop shell has been reinterpreted as a promotional logo for signage and way marking purposes. In promoting the identity of the site they reach global audiences which can have positive economic benefits for local communities or cynically symbolise the commodification of the site for commercial gain.

The UNESCO symbol for World Heritage Sites is a merchandising brand in itself that actively promotes the consumption of heritage and encourages global tourism. UNESCO estimates the financial benefit of World Heritage Sites (WHSs) to the UK to be £85 million per year (Historic England 2018: 35). The WHS brand is a significant marketing tool, increasing tourist numbers and spend, local employment, house prices and local economies (Historic England 2017). The act of inscription which is meant to protect the site can have positive or negative impacts depending on the severity of increased pressure in coping with increased demand and overcapacity that inscription inevitably brings. This will require developing strategies that can mitigate the damage to iconic cultural tourism destinations and balance the needs of greater access and increased visitor influx against conserving cultural heritage if we are to preserve the tangible and intangible qualities of these places for future generations.

Conservation at its most basic involves handing on to future generations what we value. Professional conservation advisors do not prevent change, but negotiate the transition from past to present in ways that minimise damage that change can cause and maximise the benefits. Conservation is thus a process which seeks both to question change and to reconcile modern needs with the significance of what we have inherited in order to safeguard the interests of future generations. Places should not be sacrosanct when capacity

for change has been identified – indeed resistance to any change or adaptation prevents new design from taking place and inhibits creativity.

However, we must address the philosophical issues associated with preserving cultural sites by identifying the aspects or constituent elements that require protection and conservation. This must take place within an understanding of cultural context and how this has evolved over time. We must ensure that we achieve the positive outcome of sustainable tourism through practical and pragmatic mitigation strategies. Sustainable tourism has been defined as “Tourism that is economically, socio culturally and environmentally sustainable. With sustainable tourism, socio cultural and environmental impacts are neither permanent nor irreversible” (UNESCO, UNEP 2012). To achieve this we need to adopt a holistic attitude to sustainable development and practices by taking an interdisciplinary or trans-disciplinary approach, considering the concept of cultural landscapes in its widest context and meaning as a series of dynamic interrelated systems encompassing economy, society, and the built and natural environment, and putting people at the centre of protection and management of these complex networks to ensure they remain viable and resilient in a rapidly changing world.

Stewardship – or temporary custodianship – is an appropriate concept for protecting and enhancing the historic environment and is at the core of conservation philosophy for conservation bodies and practitioners alike. If heritage sites are to survive, best practice is to manage their changing nature by producing plans for their conservation that help those responsible for their stewardship in the decision-making process and are able to assist in solving the curatorial and conservation dilemmas that arise, especially in deciding priority, while respecting significance and sense of place.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Historic England 2017. Heritage is a complex and multidimensional sector with multiple economic activities attracted to and embedded within it. Using a method adapted from DCMS' Creative Industries Estimates (DCMS 2015) the Heritage Economic Impact Indicator Workbook (Ortus 2017) estimates of the net economic impacts of heritage.

<sup>2</sup> See <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/586843/stonehenge-visitor-numbers-united-kingdom-uk/>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>3</sup> National Trust Visitor numbers to pay for entry properties increased to 26.6m (+8.5%), and the number of members up to 5.2m (+6.5%), and an estimated 200m to the Trust's free access countryside and coast properties. National Trust press release 7 Sep 2018. English Heritage had approximately 5.9 million visitors recorded at staffed sites in 2016-17, with approximately a further 5 million to unmanned attractions. There were 39.2 million overseas visits to the UK in 2017, up 4.3% on 2016, with these visitors spending £24.5 billion, an 8.7% increase on 2016; see <<https://www.visitbritain.org/>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>4</sup> See <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/373>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>5</sup> See <<https://www.visitbritain.org/>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>6</sup> See <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>7</sup> See <<https://www.editorialbuencamino.com/estadistica-peregrinos-del-camino-de-santiago/>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>8</sup> See <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>> [Accessed 13 October 2018].

<sup>9</sup> See <<http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5>> [Accessed 18 February 2018].

<sup>10</sup> English Heritage permits access during the summer and winter solstice, and the spring and autumn equinox and visitors are able to make special bookings to access the stones throughout the year.

<sup>11</sup> See <<https://whc.unesco.org/en/factors/>> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

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## THE WALNUT AND THE WELL. A REFLECTION ABOUT INHERITANCE AND PILGRIMAGE

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FIG. 1. Carvings on the west gable of the cathedral at Ardmore, County Waterford, Ireland.

### A perspective on conservation/consumption

The idea of the consumption of cultural heritage is not a new one: even as the popularity of the *Grand Tour* became established, voices were raised to protest against the spoliation of its treasures by those few with the resources to acquire them<sup>1</sup>. Consciousness of the value of the inheritance from the past has always led to its exploitation. Appreciation has led to acquisition, and in pursuit of added value, restoration has led to reconstruction – one might say as night follows day. The juxtaposition, ‘conservation/consumption’ evokes the association of consumption with depletion of resources, echoing the contemporary concern with ecological health and well-being. Exploring the juxtaposition of concepts ‘conservation’ and ‘consumption’ leads one into the juxtaposition of ideals and practicality, of purpose and metaphor and captures an antinomy at the heart of heritage protection at this time.

It is interesting to note that while we expect heritage management and conservation practice – as they are currently understood – to manage the interplay of two potentially conflicting agendas, cultural protection and economic development, that potential conflict is seen as reconcilable under the umbrella of sustainability<sup>2</sup>. Going deeper into that perspective, ‘heritage’ is no longer to be considered as a resource that is limited and exhaustible, but rather that the management of ‘heritage’ is seen to involve ongoing processes of production, use and interpretation as well as safeguarding (ICOMOS 2014: Clause 1). The protection of cultural assets has economic costs; cultural assets are economic drivers; the tourism industry must continue to expand to survive. The idea of ‘cultural tourism’ essentially contends that these agendas can cohabit. At the highest level of international conservation dialogue there are standards and principles that maintain this can happen

(ICOMOS 1999). One might argue that bloodless reconciliation without change is a myth, that tourism and its agents inevitably transform 'heritage' into a 'consumable product'. If one takes that perspective, the challenge for the cultural tourism sector might seem to lie in making the transformation as imperceptible as possible so as to prolong its utility. Thus far we have moved to the position where usefulness becomes part of the definition of life. The umbrella of sustainability shelters a great deal of ambiguity.

At the same time consumption is also a means to ensure survival and growth: all organisms consume nutrients, energy-supporting sustenance on a continuing basis, and the discipline of conservation has routinely evoked the idea/metaphor that individuals, societies and cultures are sustained by their experience of 'heritage', by their encounter with the environments and products and practices inherited from the past. And in that context, the antinomies above present an uncomfortable truth: not so much the emergence of unintended consequences of the democratisation of culture, but a deeper challenge to ideas about the role of evolving cultural organisation in shaping rather than reinforcing identities (Aljawabra 2017: 14).

There is no need to re-describe here the trajectory traced by the seminal international documents over the 20th century and into this one, beyond noting the progressive amplification/transformation of discourse from a focus on conservation of the material inheritance to a different understanding of heritage. This new understanding is one that encompasses the idea of the active engagement of societies and cultural groups in identifying what they consider to be 'heritage', articulating its significance and implementing its protection<sup>3</sup>. The concept of 'heritage' has come to encompass the purposes and activities that underpin signal artefacts and landscapes inherited from the past and the continuation of their material and immaterial inheritance into the future. This concept, understood as a continuing process of creation, embraces the presence of this inheritance in contemporary cultural consciousness. In so doing it raises questions about its interplay with institutional and commercial structures, future-related thinking and socio-economic expectations, and how it is in turn defined by them. One can argue that this consideration gives a particular perspective on the concept of 'heritage' as it is seen today – one that has a symbiotic relationship with the description of 'conservation' as meaning the processes of "retaining the significance of a place, including provision for its security, its maintenance and its future" (ICOMOS 2013: Article 1).

This essay is a reflection, perhaps a speculation, about some aspects of the material/immaterial dialectic that has emerged through the trajectory referred to above. At the core of the reflection is the sense that the 'heritisation' or packaging of cultural inheritance contributes to its vulnerability, in much the same way as the progression towards monocultures threatens the stability of natural systems. Juxtaposition is the instrument of choice in this essay: the juxtaposition of short intensive experiences. An experience of the Camino is juxtaposed against that of another route, located in the south-east of Ireland. The routes have little in common beyond the fact that both exist today and both are coloured by the ambiguities generated by their exploitation: there are vast differences in scale, location, international recognition, state of exploitation and perhaps in time of origin – although this could be disputed. The juxtaposition allows a speculation regarding conservation as a social imperative, exploring a gap between this and the *techné*, the means of organisation whereby a society achieves its purposes, where the practices of conservation are now embedded, whether successfully or not.

This essay is not about the significance of the Camino, the Way of St. James, nor about the challenges that its physical armature faces through its growing popularity as a contemporary experience (Fig. 2). Nor is it intended to compare the two routes in themselves, or the possible connections between them. The associations between Ireland and Galicia are ancient and enduring: there are many connections documented through history and legend, an affinity in cultural inheritance, in sea-shaped landscape and in manners. The earliest records of pilgrims from Ireland to Santiago de Compostela date from the early years of the 13th century, but the connections are longer and deeper (Cunningham 2018: 165). Instead, the essay is provoked by a clause in UNESCO's document, *Ethics and Intangible Cultural Heritage*<sup>4</sup>, and is prompted by reflection on a casual encounter on the short stretch of the route experienced during the conservation workshop in the Autumn of 2017<sup>5</sup>.

Avoidance is often the first instinct in the unexpected encounter. Moving along the route, forming fleeting connections with other walkers, aggregating and filtering as incidentals of the road ordained, the pace was momentarily slowed as the scattered grouping moved between the modest buildings of a small village. Like leaves caught in the eddy of a stream, the flotsam of walkers parted, with only a slight change in pace, to allow the passage of an elderly woman from the village. She walked slowly against the tide, hand outstretched. To those who responded she gave a walnut, taken from a collection held in her apron (Fig. 3). She moved on until lost to sight in the cluster of buildings we had left behind. No one stopped.

Clause 10 in the UNESCO document refers to the role of individuals, groups and communities in identifying threats to intangible heritage and in devising ways to counter them. The encounter above brings the obverse to mind: the role of individuals, groups and communities in maintaining the intangible cultural heritage, and the fact that for most, the exercise of that role is essentially and perhaps necessarily unconscious, an integral part of their being in the world. Behind the sympathies of manners lies a deeper connection between the resident and the stranger, one that is also seen in the provision of infrastructure



FIG. 2. Waysign on the Camino of St. James (2017).



FIG. 3. Walnut presented during a walk on the Camino.

over the centuries but whose origins lie in a recognition of the representative value of the stranger or traveller, and the acceptance of the need to sustain them. We will return to that consideration later in the essay.

### The 'Way': the whole and the parts

*Traveller there is no road; you make your own path as you walk*<sup>6</sup>.

Pilgrimage is an evocative word, naming a journey undertaken though a state of mind in which faith illuminates and gives shape to daily life. In that context the purpose behind the act of going to a sacred place is to avail of a localised opportunity where connection to God is facilitated beyond what is available at home. The sacred place is described as one where the veil between this world and the next is thin. In our time, the idea of pilgrimage has become infused with disparate meanings, more attuned to the realisation of wellbeing in this life than to the hope of fulfilment in the next. Belloc's *Path to Rome* straddles both worlds, rooted in religious conviction but with its feet firmly on the roads of France in the early 20th century (Belloc 2003). Contemporary writers continue to evoke the spiritual while mining the experience of the everyday exceptional that characterises the true traveller. In her aphorism, "for the pilgrims, walking is work", Solnit marks the essential differences that purpose makes to the activity of walking, juxtaposing the temporal and the eternal (Solnit 2001).

The authenticity of the route, the Way, is captured by its presence as an imaginative construct, related to its historic and folkloric existence, and secured through its episodic material presences. The Camino is a multiple rather than a singular phenomenon,

FIG. 4. Pilgrims on the way to Santiago: carving from the pilgrimage cross at Padron, Galicia.



centripetal routes from geographically dispersed sources, related through purpose and destination (Fig. 4). In juxtaposition there is a route known as the Way of St. Declan, whose origins date from a time when Ireland was on the edge of the known world (Macdonald 2013: 207 et seq.; Lincoln undated). Today this 'Way' is a compilation of several historic paths, each with its own legend and related folklore. The factor that ties them together is a reputed journey made by a 5th century Irish monk, from his foundation at Ardmore to the royal and ecclesiastical site at Cashel (Fig. 5). It is impossible to say at what time this journey became the focus of pilgrimage, but it is notable that in Ireland, many important early pilgrimages were related to places or events associated with the lives and burial places of saints and only later to the veneration of relics (Wycherley 2015: 36 et seq.). The geo-





FIG. 5. The reputed burial place of St. Declan at Ardmore, County Waterford, Ireland.



FIG. 6. A section of St. Declan's way over the Knockmealdown Mountains: the highpoint of Bottleneck Pass introduces a rapid descent, by way of rough roads made for forestry vehicles and carved through woodland and beside tumbling streams.

graphical context until the later medieval period was characterised by the fact that model of ecclesiastical settlement was rural rather than urban, although important ecclesiastical sites did exist as 'proto urban' settlements, Cashel among them (Whelan 2018: 3 et seq.). Later medieval times witnessed the veneration of secondary relics such as reliquaries and books, a source of reproach in the 13th century. But the practices associated with the early sites persisted: witnessed, tolerated and to an extent supported by the official church, they were manifestations of popular devotion rather than an integral part of the church calendar.

St. Declan's journey of legend went from the south-east coast, across undulating terrain and over the barrier of the Knockmealdown mountains, continuing across plains and rivers to the destination in Cashel (Fig. 6). Today, various stretches of the route retain their old designations: Bóthar na Riológ (the road of the willows), Rian Bó Phádraig (the track or way of Patrick's cow), as well as stretches that are known traditionally as St. Declan's Way<sup>7</sup>. Other stretches are less clearly established, and the actual paths must be subject to some conjecture. It was launched as a walking route in 1995 but its present-day profile owes much to the Pilgrim Paths project initiated by the Heritage Council in 1997. That project embraces seven routes which were known to be based on important early Christian or medieval pilgrimages.

The persistence of the route as an imaginative construct arcs over time and space. The route as we think of it today may or may not cover the specific pathways that were taken





FIG. 7. The way to the well of St. Declan at Toor.

Next page:

FIG. 8. St. Declan's Well at Toor: the enclosure.

by the saint(s) or their cows in the case of St. Declan's Way, or by the successive waves of pilgrims on the Way of St. James. It is emblematic of an inheritance that is primarily immaterial, embodied in places that have histories and traditions that are properly their own. But the immaterial element itself is complex, today as in the past. Its layers are and were established partly by history, but also by imagination, inspired by hearsay or the messages from associates or friends, and with the passage of time, by tradition rooted in habits of mind, customs and manners. We will return to this thought later.

There is a holy well associated with the Way of St. Declan, some distance from the route itself, in a place called Toor. A discrete signpost sends the enquirer away from the minor regional route onto a narrow country road with grass growing in its centre (Fig. 7). A further sign shows the way, through farmland, a wooded area and into a cleared space where, in one corner sits a wooden gate with glimpses through the trees of an assortment of structures: a small chapel, some statues, a pulpit, and a glazed room raised above an open enclosure<sup>8</sup>. These structures are not old. Archive photographs show that the enclosure and the new structures date from the 1950's or 1960's, and constructed as an act of

memorialisation, by a local man in memory of his wife. As it presents itself it is a place of no pretension, without self-conscious architecture, a place of faith and devotion. If one looks for an architecture of immaterial authenticity one can find it here (Fig. 8).

As an identified route, St. Declan's Way is a modern creation. The persistence of observance at the well at Toor is not. Nor is the well unique. Considering them together suggests that the 'heritage' branding of pilgrimage routes brings an a-historic specificity to localities that are historically linked through the intentions and movements of travellers, and where individual places had related connections (in terms of religious purpose) with one another that were periodic in nature. No doubt the territories adjoining the Camino are sprinkled with similar cases. We will return to this idea at the conclusion of this essay.

The imaginative connection we make today with the experiences of travellers of the past is easiest in those places where the new manifestation of the routes is least pronounced, on those stretches where streams and native woodland evoke connection with timeless landscape or traversing a rocky path that has not been improved to cater for less than agile walkers of the Camino. It is barely possible to approximate the physical discomforts of ancient pilgrimage. But even for those with a religious orientation, the immaterial heritage that comprises the world of belief could not be more different today than in 5th century Ireland or 14th century Spain. The question that persists is as much concerned with the landscape of the mind and imagination as it with the paths trodden then and now.

The essential structure of pilgrimage places has ancient roots. The propensity of pioneering Christian religious entrepreneurs of co-opting pre-existing indigenous customs and practices and sacred places has been well-established (O'Brien 2006). The Camino itself traverses the former Roman road that culminated at Finisterre. While one might be tempted to draw parallels with the conscription of religious connotations by the heritage industry in general and the tourism industry in particular, superficial association misleads. It would be wrong to consider this 'conscription' as a cynical or tactical device, rather it reflects the recognition of deep-seated human desire for transcendence, achieved through the purposeful journey.



### The pilgrimage as sustenance

At the core of pilgrimage is the undertaking of an exceptional and extended activity, away from the familiar in space and time. In the Christian tradition it was a quest, an attempt to change the future, through acquiring spiritual sustenance by a mediated encounter with the divine. The purpose of pilgrimage has always been to enhance the condition of the pilgrim in the face of the difficulties of the present life and in the Christian tradition, to enhance the prospects of the life to come. The motivation of the pilgrim was the source of grace, of additional capacity, of standing with god and men. In essence it ended, not at the source of grace, nor at the return to the place of departure, but at the arrival in the next life, since the true home of the believer was not in this life but in the next, marking a return to a relationship with the divine that had been lost in the Fall. One should not forget that historically speaking, in a world configured by belief, the decision to undertake a pilgrimage was an entirely rational one, based on a cosmology that subsumed human purpose within a divine plan for creation. The medieval mind knew that the true purpose of this life lay in the next, and that this world was an essential preparation which extended beyond death. The pilgrimage was a way to shorten this extension by reducing the time to be spent in Purgatory.

However, there is a sense in which this summation is too superficial and misses, in a fundamental way, the essential connection between physical pilgrimage and its spiritual meaning, a connection that continues to motivate in times when the tapestry of belief has unravelled.

The key element lies in the centrality of encounter with the unfamiliar: on the pilgrim journey, the sharpness of the encounter with the unfamiliar was a direct parable, an expression of the Christian encounter with the material world. In her consideration of the role of walking, Solnit cites a description of pilgrimage as a 'liminal state', where one's previous encumbered state had been abandoned in favour of the search for freedom (Solnit 2001: 51). It is sometimes portrayed that the religious encounter was one of rejection of the material world. The relationship was inevitably more complex and more fruitful. In terms of the spiritual life, the encounter with the material world was the essence of the journey of the soul, through trial and endurance certainly, but also through discovery and joy through fellowship, towards fulfilment in God. The relationship with the material world was both deeper and more subtle than the simple narrative of rejection, and has been reiterated in a way that resonates with our times: "our spiritual being is continually nourished by the countless energies of the perceptible world" (de Chardin 1960: 58). The physical context is thus both essential, since we are physical beings (with memory, imagination, belief, mosquito bites and sore feet), and also incidental, since the goal lies in the future (fitter, better, holier) and to that extent not embodied in the 'here and now'. From a teleological perspective, the shrine or holy place that was the goal of a Christian journey derived its potency in relation to the next life, while the journey in itself explicitly evoked the life of Christ, 'the way, the truth and the life'.

All journeys begin in the imagination and probably end there too. The pilgrim embarks on an interior and well as exterior journey, and the end is related to its beginning. It is an idea echoed in many forms. Chesterton, in his book, *Orthodoxy*, begins with the story of a voyage into uncertainty that ends, by accident, where it began. Yet the joy of arrival is unconfined (Fig. 9). The redemption lies in the transformation of the voyager rather than in



the discovery of the new, and what appears to be incidental can be the feature that captures the essential (Chesterton 1908).

In its early form the pilgrimage was intended to be a cycle, encompassing departure, attainment and return. This cyclical nature of pilgrimage resonates with the journey as a mythical trope, whose main characteristics were outlined by the anthropologist Joseph Campbell. His work in comparative mythology included an exploration of what he termed the 'monomyth' of the hero's journey, a myth which is found in diverse cultures (Campbell 1949). The ingredients of this journey resonate with

aspects of pilgrimage: the personal journey into the unknown inspired by some form of crisis, the encounter with a guide who provides the hero with sustenance and the means of confronting an essential threat; the reaching of the goal and the return to the origin, transformed. The gift was both sustenance and an instrument of power. The therapeutic potentials of this embeddedness in the mythic generated an interest among psychologists and psychotherapists through the latter years of the 20th century<sup>9</sup>, while the work of Eliade in exploring the interpenetration of myth and history is well known (Eliade 1989: 73, 130).

The walnut carried with it the grace of custom, manners and myth. The well embodies the potency of the spiritual as manifested in live-giving, cleansing water. The challenge for conservation as a social process lies in how such associations can be nourished without conscription, without the death of a thousand cuts that the imperative of marketing expertise may entail.

### **Reflection: the cultural route and the pilgrimage**

The 'cultural route' as a focus for conservation of cultural inheritance is relatively recent and particularly complex. As a singular concept it is predicated on many diverse examples and surfs over the disjunctions that overlie what it purports to represent. Looking at the range of cultural routes designated by the Council of Europe, one can search for commonalities beyond the fact that they have been so recognised<sup>10</sup>. Perhaps the common denominator is that designating a cultural route is a potent strategy for increasing visitor numbers in a particular region, where alternative ways of promoting economic development are challenging. The experience of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela since its first designation at European Cultural Route in 1987 underlines this aspect of the matter<sup>11</sup>.

The documents setting out aspirations for the cultural route initiative proffer a broad, inclusive understanding that embraces the idea of connections between places as well as the idea of the route 'per se'. Re-creating an awareness of connections that were once



FIG. 9. On the way over water: carving from the pilgrimage cross at Padron, Galicia.

important for reasons of trade and travel is a project that is rooted in the ideals of a common humanity, and which looks to find opportunities for people to create experiences that transcend the everyday – an appeal to culture as a homogenising factor that depends on the particularity of the unfamiliar. It also involves the recognition of a ‘product’, one whose very nature derives from the packaging of experience according to a set of desirable criteria – the encounter with nature, the sense of adventure and achievement, the fellowship with others, the evocation of a deeper order and purpose, the touch of history, and so on.

In so doing the documents homogenise the product under the banner of culture even as they embrace the specificities of the routes themselves. The designation of cultural routes captures the movements of peoples over time for both religious and secular purposes, and their selection is made for reasons rooted in the political logic of promoting harmony between peoples. Using culture in this way is a product of the history of conflict, but it opens the discussion on the idea of authenticity as it applies to those routes that have spiritual connotations as distinct from religious destinations.

The affinity of deep mythical roots with the psychological may perhaps explain the popularity of pilgrimage routes in today’s secular cultures. But the relationship between religious sensibility and conservation ethics is somewhat uneasy, nonetheless. One can argue that the inter-twining of meanings in the conscription of ‘pilgrimage’ into contemporary understandings of transcendence is unavoidable, since it represents the human condition in the face of life experience.

At the same time, the places venerated in pagan times continued to be venerated through the Christian era (O’Brien 2006: XII).

It can be argued that, as the concept of ‘heritage’ widens and extends to embrace the continuance of practices, the idea of managing change is being overtaken by the process of valorisation. At this point in time one could say that the process shows signs of having reached its limits when confronted with the realities of certain immaterial inheritances. The transformation of a tradition into ‘heritage’ is a contemporary undertaking of great complexity. When a tradition encompasses religious belief and practice the concept of ‘heritage transmission’ enters a new sphere, one that is almost unreachable if one depends on secular sensibility alone in working with formerly sacred survivals. This is because such sensibility inevitably favours the material over the immaterial, thus reversing the value system of the tradition itself – less concerned with the specifics of observance than with the potency of evocation and expression.

It may be that we are reaching the end of the religious phase in the ‘significance’ life of places, that phase being replaced for now by their being subsumed by their definition as ‘heritage’ – a concept that accords value to their ‘pastness’<sup>12</sup>, but that sets them apart from their history and deeper associations. The cathedral at Santiago, the wayside cross at Padron, the ruins at Ardmore and Cashel can endure within the secular framework. But the impetus to create a space of memory within a place of myth, or to make a roadside gesture of recognition to the stranger, is beyond the reach of the protection systems we have constructed.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> A classic case is that of the protests of Lord Byron and others at the spoliation by Lord Elgin of the sculptural elaborations of the Parthenon, and their transport to London, which became known as the Elgin Marbles. *The Curse of Minerva*, a satirical poem written by Byron in 1811, remained unpublished in England during his lifetime.

<sup>2</sup> “The trade-offs between conservation of cultural heritage and economic development must be seen as part of the notion of sustainability” (ICOMOS 2014: Clause 5).

<sup>3</sup> The seminal documents: the Athens Charter 1930, the Venice Charter 1964, the Washington Charter 1967 and the Nara Document of Authenticity 1994. In the first, the public is to be informed; in the second its involvement is important; in the third, essential and in the last, an integral component of cultural value.

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO, *Ethics and Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2015 (Decision 10.COM 15A). Clause 10: “Communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals should play a significant role in determining what constitutes threats to their intangible cultural heritage including the decontextualization, commodification and misrepresentation of it and in deciding how to prevent and mitigate such threats” (<<https://ich.unesco.org/en/ethics-and-ich-00866>> [Accessed 10 March 2019]).

<sup>5</sup> Participants walked short sections of the Camino, to ground their discussions on the issues relation to conservation of inheritance.

<sup>6</sup> Extract from a poem by Antonio Machado, *Proverbios y cantares XXIX* [Proverbs and Songs 29], Campos de Castilla 1912, translated by Mary G. Berg and Dennis Maloney: “Traveller, your footprints are the only road, nothing else. Traveller there is no road; you make your own path as you walk. As you walk, you make your own way and when you look back, you see the path you will never travel again. Traveller, there is no road, only a ship’s wake on the sea”.

<sup>7</sup> Most of the route now termed St. Declan’s Way, went under the name of Rian Bó Phádraig. The name Rian Bó Phádraig derives from the legend of St. Patrick’s cow, first committed to writing by the historian Charles Smith (*The antient and present state of the city and county of Cork*), in an address to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1903. The route was first set out by Canon Patrick Power in 1905. Various sections of St. Declan’s Way have ancient names: Bothar na Trinse; Bothar Ard, Bothar na Riolog among them. The ascription of Rian Bo Phadraig to the route is interrupted and resumes through Bothar Dheaglain, Casan na Naomh, Bothar na Naomh, after which the Rian Bo Phadraig again

resumes and continues to its destination at Cashel. Information extracted from maps drawn by Barry Dalby, published by Ardmore Enterprise Cooperative in 1994.

<sup>8</sup> St. Declan’s Well at Toor is a remarkable place. The pieces that compose it have a simplicity of construction, the composition of elements almost arbitrary, the presence of the well modest, in a stone lined trough in open ground. This water is for drinking: under a glazed shelter is a small room with a rectangular basin the floor for washing, with a simple wooden bench along one wall. In the glazed shelter the priest conducts an annual service on 24 July, the ‘pattern’ day.

<sup>9</sup> The hero’s journey cycle inspired the creation of therapeutic encounters within the ambit of *Gestalt* psychology, through protagonists such as Stanislav Grof (1931-) psychiatrist, author, researcher in transpersonal psychology and non-ordinary states of consciousness, and Paul Rebillot (1931-2010), therapist, author of a form of Gestalt therapy based on *The Hero’s Journey*.

<sup>10</sup> There are currently 34 listings under the banner of European Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, dating from the first designation in 1987 to the most recent in 2018. In addition to established routes, they include linkages between places associated with creative genius (Mozart Ways 2002, In the Footsteps of Robert Louis Stephenson 2015), related places of religious significance (European Route of Cistercian Abbeys 2010, European Route of Jewish Heritage 2004) and a range of other associations with historic figures, crafts and art.

<sup>11</sup> The designation of the Camino as a cultural route in 1987, was followed by the inscription of portion of the route on the World Heritage List in 1993, extended in 1998 and 2015. Numbers on the Camino: fewer than 2500 in 1986 to 327, 342 in 2018, the latter figure from the Pilgrimage Office in Santiago (<<https://followthecamino.com/blog/camino-de-santiago-pilgrim-statistics-2016/>>; <<https://www.caminodesantiago.me>> [Accessed 12 March 2019]).

<sup>12</sup> ‘Pastness’: “the state of being in the past; the quality of being reminiscent of the past” (Collins English Dictionary. [online] Harper Collins Publishers. Available at: <<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/pastness>> [Accessed 12 March 2019]). Here, ‘pastness’ is used in the sense – imagined as being of the past.

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## **“SE VENEZIA MUORE”: IS RESTRICTED ACCESS A FEASIBLE SOLUTION FOR EXCESS TOURISM?**

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### **Introduction**

In 2017 the traditional *Redentore* feast in Venice was celebrated as usual on July 15th with a provisional boat bridge crossing the Giudecca channel and a great pyrotechnic spectacle, but, for the first time with an important innovation: the quaysides from where the spectacle could be seen were accessible to the public only under control, up a maximum allowed number (fixed by public administration).

The reasons of ‘public security’, motivated by reference to the dramatic events of St. Carlo square in Turin<sup>1</sup>, hide an experiment that can lead to a stable solution for restricting, or keeping under control, the access of tourists also to the whole historic centre of Venice. Tourist over-crowding is felt to be one of the major reasons for the decay of the image of the city, and a real cause of damage to its fragile material, menacing eventually the survival of the city even more than the high water tides that periodically submerges vast parts of the town.

Venice can be taken as a paradigm of the difficulty in ensuring compatibility between the excess of tourism and the public enjoyment of cultural heritage: from one side, it seems unquestionable that the more renowned treasures of world heritage have to be left open to public access; from the other, it is clear that in the age of mass tourism all these precious survivals of the past have to be carefully protected from the damages that tourism itself would produce. Moreover, these damages involve not only the physical matter of cultural heritage, but also the intangible heritage, destroying what can be regarded as the ‘spirit of the place’, often the main reason for the uniqueness of some sites.

In contrast, the Camino of Santiago can be seen as an example of nearly intangible heritage, made by historic paths in the countryside, small churches and villages that are evidence of the pilgrims of the Middle Ages: the survival of the Camino is strictly connected to the ability to preserve intact the spirit of the places, without being overwhelmed by economic opportunities that the advent of tourism will offer.

### **The Camino of Santiago**

The excessive presence of tourists can affect many different situations, and is often a consequence of the popularity that some sites gain suddenly, and not necessarily related to their importance or uniqueness from historic or artistic point of view. The success of a site, and in the worst cases the overcrowding of it, is often unpredictable, and passes through word of mouth, or the resonance acquired on the press, or even the number of photos posted on the web. In some cases, it seems that the effects are no more under the control of the bodies that worked together to promote tourism, or the development of some regions, and that used the cultural asset as the main catchword or lure to attract peo-



FIG. 1. St. James as *Matamoros*, in a painting by G.B. Tiepolo, from Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (Szépművészeti Múzeum Budapest, <<http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu>>; image by <[https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Giovanni\\_Battista\\_Tiepolo\\_-\\_St\\_Jacobus\\_in\\_Budapest.jpg](https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Giovanni_Battista_Tiepolo_-_St_Jacobus_in_Budapest.jpg)> accessed 27 June 2019).

ple to certain places. Later being surprised that this sudden development causes also the disappearance of the traditional way of life, ancient works or dwellings, that constitute the character of the sites, so as to leave the place with the same international feeling, the same shops and merchandising as can be found all over the world.

Inscribed from 1985 in the World Heritage List (WHL) of UNESCO, the Way of St. James was the path that pilgrims walked since the middle age centuries to reach Campostela, where the tomb of the apostle St. James was venerated, and had the same importance as the other two main pilgrimage routes of these times, one towards Rome and the tomb of St. Peter, the other towards the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulcher.

St. James, called in Spain *matamoros*, was considered the protector and the symbol of the insurgency of the Spain against the Islamic domination starting from the 9th century, and for this reason was regarded as the defender of European religious identity (Fig. 1). But it is really extraordinary that in the 21st century, at the beginning of 3rd millennium, still people walk the 800 km and more of the Camino, often unaware of any religious connotation, in search of something that is hard to find in today's life. Certainly, the meaning of the pilgrimage has changed, but a sort of spiritual research is still the force that drives the people walking along the path. In the

time of rushed tourism, everything included in one week, this 'slow tourism' appears an invaluable resource, changing the life of small villages or hostels along the way, in a friendly atmosphere where the differences of origin disappear and people can meet one another.

The great work done in revitalising the pilgrimage way and in transforming it into a sort of recommended pedestrian route through the countryside in northern Spain has succeeded in creating an unique experience, without affecting too much, as far as we could see, the historical site of Santiago de Campostela. On the contrary, the great (but particular) flow of tourists can even support economically the carrying out of important restoration works that are under way in the cathedral.

But how can one deal with historic towns assaulted by hordes of undisciplined tourists? Many questions arise: why do these people go there? What they are searching for? Can the tourism in historic cities be still defined as 'cultural tourism', in the sense of the

Mexico Charter (ICOMOS 1999), or is it rather simply one of the forced necessities imposed by the modern society? How can one protect the intrinsic fragility of some ancient towns while at the same time keeping them open to be accessed by everybody?

### **Is restricted access a feasible solution?**

In the Introduction, the experiment carried out in 2017 on July 15th<sup>1</sup> during the celebration of the traditional *Redentore*<sup>2</sup> feast in Venice was mentioned: an important innovation was carried out in which the quaysides from where the spectacle could be seen were accessible only under control, suggesting that the experiment could lead to a stable solution for restricting, or keeping under control, the access of the tourists to the whole historic centre of Venice (Fig. 2). The experiment was replicated in 2018 for the opening of the Venice Carnival, that every year brings to the historic town thousands of people that want to live the supposed magic atmosphere of the XVIII century, when a girl (the angel) flew from the bell-tower over the crowd in St. Marco Piazza. Nevertheless, the 20,000 people limit in the Piazza was not imposed for the previous night's show on the water in Cannareggio, along the quaysides, causing a lot of problems of overcrowding and pedestrian circulation<sup>3</sup>. Later in 2018 some turnstiles were installed at the beginning of the new pedestrian bridge in Piazzale Roma, in order to count the number of tourist crossing the bridge, which is used as a gate for access to the historic centre. Immediately this solution appeared unacceptable to many citizens, the turnstile became 'experimental' and no definitive decision was taken.

The first time that the discussion of how to preserve the city from the crowd appeared in the press was in July 15th, 1989, after the famous concert of the Pink Floyd rock band

FIG. 2. The fires of the Redeemer Feast from the Piazzetta, with the crowd filling it.







FIG. 3. Aerial spherical view of the St. Marc Basin, with the bell-tower and the Piazza of St. Marc, the white roofs of Palazzo Ducale on the right, in a picture taken by the Russian team Airpano (by <[www.airpano.com](http://www.airpano.com)> accessed 10 May 2019).

on the lagoon. For various reasons, such the conflict between 'for' and 'against' parties and the limits imposed by the local monument office, nobody prepared any assistance to the participants, no public toilets, no barriers, no water or food. The free concert, on a floating stage in front of Palazzo Ducale (Fig. 3), lasted only 90 minutes and finished when the first fires of the *Redentore* feast started, with more than 200,000 people filling up every space on the quays and on the Piazzetta, hanging also from the supports for the lighting. Tons of waste were left all over the city (Figs. 4a-4c), and more than a week was needed to remove all the garbage.

This occasion revealed clearly to everybody that Venice could not sustain any more situations of this kind, due to the intrinsic fragility of the historic town, and also to the evident difficulties of organising adequate facilities in such an untouchable environment. But a very simple question arises: why do we need to do that? Is that necessary to demonstrate that this special city is still alive?

In about 30 years many things have changed, but the question is still the same, regarding, for example, the passage of the big crusade boats in the channel facing Palazzo Ducale to reach the commercial harbour (Fig. 5), where hundreds of unaware tourist are ejected for a quick one-day tour in the iconic places of the town, and shop for T-shirts or post cards on the stalls along the channel quays. Following an animated debate, a decision was taken this year to moor boats of over 90 thousand tons on the mainland, at Porto Marghera, passing through the former 'Oil Channel'. As established recently, a new limitation rule will be test, designed to take into account also the height of a boat floating in the St. Marc basin (Fig. 6). But again the problem is apparently the conflict between the supporters of this supposed great source of economic revenue for the city and those who support a different idea of future development that is more respectful of the peculiarities of the site. So many of these problems are in some way the undesired effects of an incautious policy, that does not consider the risk of permanent damage to the weak fabric of the ancient town in situations that suddenly increase visitor numbers, and do not evaluate adequately the benefit/cost ratio, in term of provisional and permanent damages.

Nevertheless, despite the countless efforts to give new life to the old town, the population resident in the city centre of Venice (that is the historic, insular part of the Venice municipality) has been dramatically decreasing over the last century, from 174,808 in 1951 to 108,426 in 1971, and to 65,695 in 2001. It has decreased further in the last 15 years. At the same time, the palaces facing the Grand Canal are transformed mainly into luxury hotels, the houses in the surrounding area into small hotels or 'bed and breakfast accommodation', or into private vacation residences; the poorer houses in the peripheral



FIG. 4a-4c. The stage of the Pink Floyd concert in the St. Marco basin, in July 15th 1989 (above) and view of the square and the quay the day after (below): the newspaper of Venice 'il Gazzettino' put the last picture in the cover with the title "Mai più così" (never again this way).



FIG. 5. A big crusade boat sorting from Giudecca channel in April 2013, between St. George bell tower and Salute dome, in a famous picture by G. Berengo Gardin© (Berengo Gardin 2015).



FIG. 6. A 'big boat' facing via Garibaldi, near the Biennale Gardens in another famous picture by G. Berengo Gardin©, from the exposition *Venice and the big boat*, 2014 (Berengo Gardin 2015).

zones are simply abandoned, until the real estate prices grow enough to make their sale convenient.

A recent book, *Se Venezia muore* (If Venice dies; Settis 2014), made a sort of reversal of the meaning of the Thomas Mann novel, *Death in Venice* (Mann 1912): in that book the lagoon, during an undeclared cholera epidemic, is the scene for unavoidable death of an old professor, subjected to the fascination of the youth and the beauty of a boy living in the same Grand Hotel on Lido island. With Settis the victim is Venice itself, killed eventually by those who believe that the town needs ordinary means to survive, and the best way for its development is to increase indefinitely the tourism.

Settis made an interesting analysis of the actual transformation of historical cities and their apparently unavoidable loss of identity, and Venice, with her uniqueness, is a paradigm: all these projects that in some way try to rescue the city from its isolation have on the contrary the effect of killing his peculiar diversity, towards an idea of standardised modernity. It worth noting that Venice remained an island (really, a group of islands) until 1846, when the railroad bridge was completed<sup>4</sup>, but nearly 90 years later only, in 1934, the vehicle and pedestrian bridge (now Ponte della Libertà, former Ponte Littorio) was realised (Fig. 7). So the 'isolation' is a constitutive character of the city, and surely not an accident.

The question is then if a different life is still possible, in Venice but also elsewhere in historic cities, with schedules ruled by slow (boat) connections, or by feet walking through the *calli*; and also with a respectful, 'slow' tourism, accepting these unusual dimensions, and not devastating the still living body of the city. According to Settis<sup>5</sup>, there are three ways for a city to die: the first two are a voluntary destruction by an enemy army or abandonment after a disaster; the last, and maybe the worst, is when the city loses completely its identity, its reason for being, and becomes an empty portrait of what it has been. From a different point of view, the same fear about the loss of identity was expressed about the beloved mountains by the Italian writer Cognetti, in a book that is also an appeal against the abandonment of the hard and tough wild-life in the Alps environment (Cognetti 2016). Recently, an astonishing decision was taken by the city council of Chamonix: only 200 people per day will be allowed in the future to reach the top of the Mont Blanc along the 'normal way', in order to have a strong reduction to the mountain consumption and waste production and accumulation in a supposed wild environment.





FIG. 7. The Littorio Bridge (now della Libertà) under construction in 1932, from IUAV, Archivio Progetti, Fondo Eugenio Miozzi (Cosmai, Sorteni 2001).

FIG. 8. A rowing boat with the four oarsman standing up (Venetian style rowing) quietly floating near Torcello Island at sunset, facing the Venice skyline.

The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism (ICOMOS 1999), or Mexico Charter, tries to fix some useful standards for the management of cultural sites, but unfortunately in many cases, the inclusion of a site in the World Heritage List can be one of the reasons for a sudden, unsustainable increase in tourism and for quick consumption of the site, or for its transformation into a false image of the past, reinvented and put on stage for the tourists (like for example the Carnival in Venice).

Although the Mexico Charter states in the preamble that, for the natural and cultural heritage, “excessive or poorly-managed tourism and tourism related development can threaten their physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics”, this idea has been referred mainly to the cultural tourism of developing countries, with the goal of preserving material and immaterial cultural heritage and managing tourism resources in a way that can benefit the majority of the host community (ICOMOS 1999: Principle 5). But the Mexico Charter also alerts us to the fact that “the interaction between heritage resources or values and tourism is dynamic and ever changing, generating both opportunities and challenges, as well as potential conflicts” (ICOMOS 1999: Principle 2.2). In fact, in our ‘developed’ countries, the tourism exploitation of historic cities can reach some unexpected levels: some days ago, four Japanese hosts were requested to pay an incredible bill (more than 1,000 euros!) for a steak in an inn just behind St. Marc Square. The inn was finally fined for that action, and it was discovered then that the manager was Chinese. So the historic city has become a sort of gold mine, where everybody tries to gain the maximum with minimum effort, despite all the appreciable studies to achieve conservation of the historic fabric together with sustainable life in the city.

### Possible solutions?

Really, the strong and deep transformation of this unique city into a folkloristic tourist attraction is a long lasting process, and indeed many Venetian inhabitants has taken economic advantages from this trend, from the income for the real estate to the smallest souvenir shops or stands. The passage of the big crusade ships in front of Palazzo Ducale and St. Mark Square to reach the Naval station demonstrates that this transformation is almost complete. But incredibly, ‘normal life’ in a town like Venice is still possible, and many stubborn people persist in going to work, accompanying children to school, shop-

ping in marketplaces, going to hospital, everything by foot or by boat, despite the huge crowds that overrun the city from spring to fall. Maybe this enduring resistance of the last surviving form of citizenship will preserve Venice from dying, avoiding the final loss of its own soul (Fig. 8).

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In 2017, June 3rd, during a public play of the Champions League final match between Juventus and Real Madrid, the crowd that filled up the St. Carlo square suddenly moved for a panic attack, leaving more than 1,500 people blessed and one death.

<sup>2</sup> The Redeemer feast, celebrated every year on July 15th, with a boat bridge across the Giudecca channel reaching the Redeemer Church.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth to notice that the Carnival was reintroduced only in 1979 in order to recall people in Venice during the winter, a season that traditionally is not appreciated by tourists that prefer more pleasant climatic conditions, and that usually has a lack of cultural exhibitions.

<sup>4</sup> The bridge, made by 222 masonry arches, was designed first by G. Meduna, as reported by Cattaneo 1836.

<sup>5</sup> Settis 2014: 4. "In tre modi muoiono le città: quando le distrugge un nemico spietato (...); quando un popolo straniero vi si insedia con la forza, scacciando gli autoc-toni e i loro dei (...); o, infine, quando gli abitanti perdono la memoria di sé, e senza nemmeno accorgersene diventano stranieri a se stessi, nemici di se stessi".

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## THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE DISCOURSE IN THE PRESENT: REFLECTIONS STARTING FROM WORLD HERITAGE SITE CAMINO DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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Reflecting on conserving Camino de Santiago de Compostela means reflecting on the fate of cultural heritage. It means reflecting on the role which might be played in the contemporary world by intellectuals and scientists, i.e. those who built the public discourse on these themes until a few decades ago and now play a subordinate role whilst continuing to contribute to research in the various fields of conservation and heritage protection. To achieve this target we must leave the material nature of the Camino to one side. There are certainly route and architecture conservation problems to be faced alongside regulating numbers of people and safeguarding the authenticity of the experience (Figs. 1-5). Visitor-local people relationships might be improved; the problems facing the landscape must be faced.

What I think is important here, however, is reflecting critically on the way the cultural heritage is interpreted in the contemporary world and reiterating the need to look after not just heritage's material nature but also the discourse surrounding it. Who constructs the heritage public debate today? UNESCO and ICOMOS have always played a leading role. Their mission "is to promote the conservation, protection, use and enhancement of monuments, building complexes and sites"; both "participate in the development of doctrine and the evolution and distribution of ideas, and conduct advocacy"<sup>1</sup>. The array of charters, resolutions and declarations have ended up building towards a globalised theory of contemporary heritage protection. To this should be added a certain resignation, which leads us to reiterate the adage 'there is no alternative' in this context too. There are no



FIGS. 1-2. Camino de Santiago. Rural buildings.

FIGS. 3-5 Camino de Santiago. It is evident that there are problems of conservation of the authenticity of architecture.



alternatives to heritage commodification, its extreme enhancement and the marketing that transforms it into products like any other, changing the visitors into customers.

How did this happen? The cultural heritage restoration/conservation debate saw 19th and 20th century centre-stage players constantly at odds. Debates rarely led to shared viewpoints and overall this clash, instead of enriching the discipline weakened the sector. From time to time doubt was cast on definitions of the legacy of the past, ways of identifying it and the action to be taken: restoration, rebuilding or protection? This wealth of approaches was admissible and tolerated as long as the world of conservation was of interest to the few. Until the 1980s-1990s it was the business of art historians, architects, archaeologists, restoration chemists, restorers and experts. Whilst there was already mass tourism it had not as yet generated changes. In museums, which were still designed for experts, there were very few explanations and simply information giving dates and limited descriptions requiring independent and specific knowledge in language for those in the know and with very little attention paid to presentation. But at a certain point this world was swept away and in the last decades of the 20th century the market took stock of the fact that cultural heritage could also be a big business. It was an ultra-rapid process because the time was ripe. In ideological terms the debate had stalled, undermined by a crisis in its founding values which mirrored a parallel upheaval generated by postmodern thought (Orbasli 2017:162).

As Baudrillard wrote in these same years, at a certain point the world was turned upside down into a *transesthétique* world (Baudrillard 1990), characterised by a “fractal stage of value” in which “the reference points no longer exist, values radiate out in all directions, into all the gaps with no reference to anything, for pure contiguity”<sup>2</sup>. It was a world undergoing an increasingly total aestheticising of the real, a “generalisation of aesthetic strategies to commercial ends in all sectors of the consumer industry”<sup>3</sup>.

In this scenario, heritage changed its role<sup>4</sup> becoming an essential and incontrovertible cog in the national economic development wheel (Choay 2009; Settis 2002). Once the many theories, considerations and studies (which had remained an intellectual preserve) had been swept away, ‘heritage storytelling’ focusing on certain themes emerged: enhancement, tourism, economic sustainability, exaltation of emotional experience.

Replacing conservation with enhancement meant shifting attention from citizens – the direct heirs of heritage – to tourists, thanks to whom the economic energy invested was to be repaid. It was a role change which was most visible in those contexts in which conservation had been entirely a state prerogative: the emergence of a full-blown cultural/tourist industry marginalised a state whose decisions were no longer autonomous. The tourism industry set the agenda as a new powerful force capable of organising into lobbies<sup>5</sup>.

If we want to avoid getting entirely tangled up in ‘heritage storytelling’ this has to be analysed in depth and contextualised. However a systematic alternative needs to be thought up.

### From Pilgrim to Tourist

How have the subjects benefiting from cultural heritage protection changed over time? The idea of Historical Monument conservation began in France at the peak of the Revolution to safeguard the sources needed to build a new story to be juxtaposed to that of the *ancien régime*. On this subject Felix de Vicq d’Azyr wrote: “L’éducation nationale a besoin de s’appuyer sur des bases entièrement nouvelles. (...) Les objets qui doivent servir à l’instruction (...) méritent toute l’attention des vrais amis de la patrie: on les trouvera dans les bibliothèques, dans les musées, dans les cabinets, (...) dans les palais et dans les temples (...) dans tous les lieux où des monuments retracent ce que furent les hommes et les peuples”<sup>6</sup> (de Vicq d’Azyr 1793: 2).

Historical Monuments helped to define the meaning of citizenship (Choay, 1995: 79). In Italy, in the middle of the 19th century, monument restoration and the parallel construction of ‘History of the Country’ was one of the tools used by the new-born unified State to legitimise its status. This relationship between material testimonies and their direct inheritors, the bond between citizens and heritage conservation, was reinforced in the 20th century and, after the fall of the Fascist dictatorship and World War II when the Italian Republic incorporated landscape and monument safeguards into its Constitution<sup>7</sup>. In fact, the 19th and 20th century’s idea of preservation was a bourgeois construct used to legitimate itself and its power. For this reason, it was supported with public funds or donations to private institutions taking care of it. The end of the 20th century marked the end of this idea. It began, initially imperceptibly, by bringing in words borrowed from economics in a semi ingenuous way, like a rhetorical artifice, to modernise the conservation debate with the demand/supply framework. Thirty years ago, the intellectuals believed that it was possible to manage and guide this process<sup>8</sup>. We now know that it did not go

like this. It is an epochal change that requires new reflections about why and for whom we preserve. In the case of Camino, do we preserve for those who live along the road and therefore consider it part of their identity? Or do we keep it for those who travel it? Moreover, are the modern travellers pilgrims or tourists? It is not the same thing. In 1996, in the same years in which the Camino was inscribed on the World Heritage List, Zygmunt Bauman published an essay entitled *From Pilgrim to Tourist*, which dealt with modern and post-modern identities. Modernity was a matter of building identity and keeping it solid and stable. In postmodernity, by contrast, the focus was on avoiding rigidities of any sort and leaving all options open. Pilgrims are symbols of modernity as for them the truth, the destination, is always elsewhere. They are always chasing their goals in forward movement, shifting attention away from the present towards the future. "For the pilgrim, only streets make sense, not the houses - houses tempt one to rest and relax, to forget about the destination" (Bauman 1996: 20). Tourists, by contrast, are metaphors for people whose existence is based on 'an entirety' of precarious relationships linked to short-lived projects (Boltanski, Chiapello 2014:165-188). The tourist's purpose is "new experience; the tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience, of a new and different experience, of the experience of difference and novelty" (Bauman 1996: 29). Whilst pilgrims daily battle difficulties and setbacks, tourists expect not to have to face these. Tourists buy experiences from intermediaries who take on all the risk and offer tourists a simplified experience. Experiences must have clear frameworks, be preceded by careful narration and be setback free, as the bulk of the satisfaction is harmony between expectations and actual experiences.

Experiences must be saleable globally, and this prompts the culture industry to use emotions and feelings as its basis, as these are not limited to a single culture but are universal.

"The tourists want to immerse themselves in a strange and bizarre element (a pleasant feeling, a tickling and rejuvenating feeling, like letting oneself be buffeted by sea waves) on condition, though, that it will not stick to the skin and thus can be shaken off whenever they wish. They choose the elements to jump into according to how strange, but also how innocuous, they are; you recognise the favourite tourist haunts by their blatant, ostentatious (if painstakingly groomed) oddity, but also by the profusion of safety cushions and well-marked escape routes" (Bauman 1996: 29).

The shift from pilgrim to tourist, with its simplifications, designed to appeal to universal emotions (universal value), casts doubt on authenticity: that of experiences and thus that of places.

### **From specialist concern to shared heritage: identification of values**

In these same years in which Bauman identified tourists as the emblematic figures of postmodern life, ICOMOS issued its International Cultural Tourism Charter<sup>9</sup>. The charter recognised that tourism is "an essential part of many national and regional economies" and expressed an optimistic belief that tourism can "capture the economic characteristics of the heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy" and ultimately become "an important factor of development when managed successfully". One of the Charter's objectives was "to facilitate and encourage the tourism industry to promote and manage tourism in way that respects



and enhances the heritage and living cultures of host communities”, with the objective being to “facilitate and encourage a dialogue between conservation interests and the tourism industry” (ICOMOS 1999).

ICOMOS frequently referred to the need to go ahead with the task of disseminating and interpreting. To this end, in 2002, the International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites was set up and the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites was ratified and issued in 2008<sup>10</sup>.

The second charter principle focused on involving as many people as possible in the process of the construction of the meaning of cultural heritage sites. We read that “Interpretation and presentation should be based on evidence gathered through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural tradition” (ICOMOS 2008). The dissemination task, whilst based on the traditional sources of historiographical, anthropological and ethnographic work, must open up to other traditions, new values whose bearers are new subject groups. UNESCO’s need to identify univocal criteria valid for radically different cultures from those of the West, too, as the basis for World Heritage status recognition inevitably cast doubt on an already significantly weakened traditional conservation culture.

The 1994 Nara Declaration, and to an even greater extent Nara + 20, highlighted this situation (ICOMOS 1994, ICOMOS 2014). The theme was authenticity, which has not stood up to the “challenges to the conservation and appreciation of cultural heritage resulting from globalization, urbanization, demographic changes and new technologies” (ICOMOS 2014). The charter even goes to the extent of asserting that “the identification of values and the determination of authenticity [is] based on periodic reviews that accommodate changes over time in perceptions and attitudes, rather than on a single assessment” (ICOMOS 2014). The shift is from authenticity to plural, fragmented authenticities resulting from the juxtaposition of stakeholder demands, expressions of diverse community interests. The new institutional task will above all be a matter of studying ways of getting the community involved. These demands are on the same plane as, and frequently conflict with, others to the extent of requiring the introduction of the “consensus-building methods” cited in article 4. The impression given is that certain striking cases of sites ‘contested’ between different states, ethnic groups and religions, bearers of different interpretations, have necessitated a linguistic and methodological compromise tightrope. ICOMOS’ inclusive intention of giving dignity to interpretations and sources diverging from traditional historiography is clear. This is especially important and problematical in extra-European contexts: “It is believed that certain artefacts in the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum in New Zealand lose their spiritual power if placed alongside foods (...); in the south-west United States certain masks are regularly ‘fed’ with wheat pollen and flour; the Museum of New Mexico conserves objects considered by Indians to be living organisms which should thus be kept in open spaces in contact with fresh air while others should be ritually fumigated”<sup>11</sup>.

Transferred to Europe, this attitude has a different effect which limits the role of specialists: “technical questions exist which require specific skills: a layman has no right to decide the formulation of an adhesive for relining (...) but does have the right to express an opinion on other aspects of work such as the result of the relining (...)”<sup>12</sup>.

The educational sphere has begun training new professionals with the skills required by the market: project managers, heritage economists, marketing and communication experts, tourist system planning experts, experiential itinerary experts.



### Heritage and storytelling: from reason to emotion

Now, let us take a look at how the ways in which heritage is communicated have changed. Doing so requires taking an additional step in the direction of linking together experience, storytelling and narrative marketing. These are all aspects which are coherent with the 'artistic capitalism' (Lipovetsky, Serroy 2017) which has taken advantage of the contemporary prevalence of emotions, sentiments, and empathy (Pine II, Gilmore 1999; Rifkin 2009; Han 2017). "Competition [began] to be founded not simply on lowering costs, exploiting economies of scale, and permanent productivity growth but rather on more qualitative, immaterial and symbolic competitive advantages"<sup>13</sup>. Tangible evidence of this is to be found in the massive use of narrative advertising messages tending to create imaginary landscapes prompting emotional reactions, which trigger intuitive-symbolic knowledge levels (Franzini 1997) and thus have a profound effect on our lives.

Storytelling based on the mechanisms triggered was born in the mid-1990s in a managerial context because "plus rien d'autre ne marchait" (Denning 2015, cit. in Salmon 2007: 47). Information circulation within firms was not working: service notes, conferences, power points and check-lists were no longer effective and the situation worsened as information flows increased. The new method: "contre l'approche trop rationnelle, qualifiée 'napoléonienne', du management traditionnel, il préconise une 'approche tolstoïenne', seule capable de prendre en compte la richesse et la complexité de la vie (the richness and complexity of living) et d'établir des connexions entre les choses"<sup>14</sup> (Salmon 2007: 58).

It was an approach which seemed to take on board the complexity of inter-connected thought desired by Edgar Morin (Morin 2000: 19) but which actually simply changed field, turning to 'affabulation' and thus testing our ability to distinguish between the various levels of propaganda and emotional manipulation (Salmon 2013). And all this did not spare the cultural heritage.

The Camino de Santiago, as has been mentioned, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993. From then on, it became part of a network of 'privileged' places, visited by hundreds of thousands of tourists each year. The Camino, with its winding 800 km route, would appear to be resistant to the trends of globalised tourism that are, conversely, evident in the city of Santiago de Compostela, the destination for tourists/pilgrims. The route's difficulty and length, along with its physical and psychological demands, have until today been defences against its complete 'touristification'<sup>15</sup>. But if we reflect on the reason why the journey is undertaken, the central one is, more so than the landscape, the road or the buildings, the 'experience'; the essential element is the act of walking and getting in touch with yourself and with those who follow the same path. Santiago is different: pilgrims entering the city immediately take on the roles of tourists. What has protected the Camino until now, however, risks becoming the reason for its transformation into a perfect product for the tourism industry. In fact, for some time now, the market has been in a condition of near-saturation, having satisfied every need-real or created-involving the production and marketing of 'commodities'. To circumvent this limitation, it has turned to selling experiences, thus finding a new way to develop. The customer has become a 'collector of experiences' (Figs. 6-8).

This frontier of so-called experiential consumerism is naturally linked to delivering emotions and feelings that have become the principal concerns of a new, intense age of philosophical, anthropological, sociological and scientific studies. Such studies, on the one hand, are aimed at an understanding of reality that finally includes its irrational aspect,

but on the other they become tools for developing persuasive marketing techniques. As in a path that returns to where it started, those same studies can however help make us aware of the mechanisms used by the market. Cultural Heritage and sites, and especially those like the Camino which have always been considered experiences, are some of the most desirable products for this economic stage because they represent art and culture, still felt to be the experiences par excellence. In this context, cultural heritage as a tourist experience has become one of the aspects characterising the identity of the contemporary *homo oeconomicus-aestheticus* (Maffesoli 1996; Schmitt, Simonson 1997).

### **Narrative vs storytelling**

At this point, we must give our story a conclusion and a moral. The aspects highlighted so far are certainly critical to the world of cultural heritage, but we cannot consider a simple return to the past as the solution. In periods following major change, it is customary to look back to the past as a golden age, but the idea of returning to an elite culture or tourism for the few is neither possible nor desirable (Boym 2001: XVI; Bauman 2017). The journey back from tourist to pilgrim is no longer possible<sup>16</sup>. On the contrary, it is right to try to reiterate and reinstate the guiding principles of heritage conservation in the present. To do so, it might be appropriate to begin a descriptive work, a phenomenological investigation of the reality we inhabit, which allows us to identify the persistence of attitudes consistent with the preservation of cultural heritage as a material witness of civilisation, even when faced with opposing forces. However, this work will not be enough without the next step: participation in creating a cultural policy, through an incisive presence in public debate. To do this, it is necessary to have effective means of communication. The scientific world currently offers traditional communication, niche and for the initiated, which ineffectively seeks to stem and counteract pervasive marketing, which uses aggressive and simplified storytelling. Two separate worlds.

If the goal is to avoid cultural heritage being conceived solely as an experience to be sold, and this is particularly true for World Heritage sites, it will be essential to combine the usual insights into cultural conservation or management techniques with reflections on the conservation project's role as a barrier to the profound 're-semantisation' that cultural heritage is undergoing. The core of the problem lies in the difficulties of communication between intellectuals, scientists and the rest of the world. An example of this is the form public debate takes for certain science-related topics: alongside a minority of 'expert opinions', we find a myriad of subjective experiences, prejudices, opinions and beliefs. There are, now, many studies that explore these topics and from which we should borrow the tools to construct effective communication for the conservation project.

A recent article published in *Science* takes on precisely this theme, highlighting the ineffectiveness of scientific communication model currently used, the 'Knowledge Deficit Model', "a model of communicating that emphasizes the repetition of emotionless objectively sterile information to increase understanding" (Jones, McBeth 2010; Shanan, Jones, McBeth 2018). The problem, the authors argue, lies in the fact that "people do not actually make decisions or process information based on only objective scientific evidence. Their personal beliefs and emotional understandings of the world also play a powerful role" (Jones, Anderson Crow 2017: 1). This is a difficulty that comes up every day in attempts to communicate research results to students and the world outside the



FIGS. 6-8. The Camino is an 'experience' to be had on foot, in communion with oneself and others. In this sense, the Camino is perfectly and dramatically suitable to be made into a product for 'experiential tourism'.

university. How incisive do we succeed in being? Communication sciences studies have clarified the concept of 'biased assimilation', a process in which "people tend to engage new information in a way that affirms their existing understanding of the world, and themselves" (Jones, Anderson Crow 2017: 2).

In this mechanism, prejudices reinforce people and are more powerful than scientific proof. An alternative model, discussed by the two American scientists, is the 'Narrative Policy Framework', both an analytical study method and an effective narrative building tool. Jones and Crow's considerations are interesting on the need to establish, firstly, the degree of ideology and politicisation to be attributed to the subject. It is only thus that the pre-conceptions and prejudices to be made use of can be identified.

'Narrative Policy Framework' is a conceptual and methodological tool that, along with others, could be used by scholars and planners in the field of cultural heritage protection. An analysis of the levels of ideologisation and politicisation found in the area of cultural heritage, for example, would be of great interest (Tomaszewski 2016: 15-20). The NPF transcends the traditional methods of scientific and historical communication based solely on the presentation of verified facts and sources. Without prejudice to data and sources that guarantee the rigor of research, the objective is not proof but rather persuasion through a quality narrative that uses different types of arguments<sup>17</sup>. Such a tool could allow the world of cultural heritage conservation to take a leading role in public debate, while maintaining rigor and restricting the simplification of storytelling.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ICOMOS website available at: <<https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/mission-and-vision/icomos-mission>> [Accessed 8 October 2018].

<sup>2</sup> Baudrillard 2012: 51-52. Translation by the author.

<sup>3</sup> Lipovetski, Serroy 2017: 32. Translation by the author.

<sup>4</sup> As early as the mid-1980s Francesco Perego identified the existence of a "(...) change underway in the social role of cultural heritage, no longer identified simply as burdensome memory to be conserved but also as central elements in collective identity and, equally, developmental driving force with important economic and employment implications" (Perego 1987: XXIII).

<sup>5</sup> On the changed public/private relationship in the cultural heritage field, Giulio Carlo Argan wrote, as early as 1987: "The scale of the role played by private capital in managing the cultural heritage is now such as to demand serious analysis and assessment of the phenomenon". In fact, he continued "it is no longer a matter of sporadic acts of largesse or art patronage but of systematic investment by the large industrial corporations (...) if, as will certainly occur, the contribution of private capital overtakes state funding, capital rather than the state will be truly responsible for the cultural heritage" (Argan 1987: 4).

<sup>6</sup> "National education needs to rely on entirely new foundations. (...) The objects, which should be used for the instruction (...) deserve all the attention of the true friends of the fatherland: one will find them in the libraries, in the museums, in the cabinets, (...) in the palaces and in temples (...) in all places where monuments retrace what were men and people". Translation by the author.

<sup>7</sup> It was article 9: "The republic promotes the development of culture and scientific and technical research. It safeguards the nation's landscape and historical and artistic heritage".

<sup>8</sup> "The future management of the cultural heritage will attribute central importance to interpreting and targeting demand behaviors in addition to past optimisation of supply goals. (...) it is argued that this shift in cultural heritage's social role should be guided in the direction of greater respect for managing user needs and aspirations, clearly without passive subjection to them, but rather channeling them via educational trajectories" (Perego 1987: XXVII-XXVIII).

<sup>9</sup> International Cultural Tourism Charter. Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance, adopted by ICOMOS at the 12th General Assembly in Mexico City (ICOMOS 1999).

<sup>10</sup> The Icomos Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage, prepared under

the auspices of the Icomos International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, ratified by the 16th General Assembly of Icomos, Quebec, Canada, on 4 October 2008 (ICOMOS 2008).

<sup>11</sup> Muñoz-Viñas 2017: 147. Translation by the author.

<sup>12</sup> Muñoz-Viñas 2017: 143. Translation by the author.

<sup>13</sup> Lipovetski, Serroy 2017: 43. Translation by the author.

<sup>14</sup> "Against the too rational approach, described as 'Napoleonic', of traditional management, he advocates a 'Tolstoian approach', the only one able to take into account the richness and complexity of life and to establish connections between things". Translation by the author.

<sup>15</sup> The phenomenon is evident in cities like Venice or Barcelona but also present in unexpected places; see Belhassen 2014 about the 'touristification' of a Palestinian village.

<sup>16</sup> It should not, moreover, be believed that the world has changed solely for younger generations: the most representative hyper-modern tourists are the elderly, enthusiastically taking up possibilities denied them forty years ago and indispensable to the tourist industries to cover low season periods.

<sup>17</sup> "Most importantly, do not just think of good science as the only form of evidence that counts because your audience, in most situations, will not pay science the same obeisance" (Jones, Anderson Crow 2017: 5).

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## ETHICS OF CONSUMPTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE AGE OF LOW COST TOURISM

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Conservation and consumption are two words which clash. In the field of restoration: a relationship between an action which invites us to preserve cultural heritage and one which involves many risks for its subsistence should not even exist. However, the current ways of using cultural heritage very often involves its consumption. If conservation is synonymous with continuous care, scrupulous studies and interventions which many times are invisible (thus, not appreciated) but which are good for the health of the historical building or site, consumption conjures up images of haste, carelessness, superficiality and also spectacularity. In consumption, there is no perception of time, history, and memory which are fundamentals in the field of conservation, and those who use cultural heritage very often are not interested in the object itself but only in its appearance, which can be possibly and instantly transmitted thanks to social networks.

Starting from these reflections and considering consumption as irreversible in the age of mass tourism, the essay intends to analyse if an 'ethics of consumption' is possible, changing the prevalent idea that cultural heritage is a product to be consumed. Looking at the suggestions which come from other disciplines, such as anthropology, some reflections are here proposed considering cultural heritage as a complex interweaving of human relationships and cultural values which we have the responsibility to preserve.

### The Backstory

I walked from El Cebrero to Santiago de Compostela between the end of May and the first week of June in the past year. It is the last part of the so-called French route of the Camino and crosses Galicia. I went across peaceful and amazing landscapes and villages, I met smiling and unhurried people, and silence was the protagonist of my walk.

During the Camino, pilgrims have time enough to observe and enjoy all that they meet along their route; there is no hurry, no bus or train or flight to take; one need only to concentrate on preserving energy to reach the next stage. For this reason, and despite the purpose which induces someone to begin this experience, pilgrims can comprehend the peculiarities and the tradition of places and people they meet along the route. They really experience the places they stay and, as a consequence, have great respect for these places (and also for the facilities which are used).

The arrival in Santiago de Compostela is exciting and touching. Pilgrims quicken their pace when they arrive in the outer city as the only purpose, despite the fatigue, is to reach the square in front of the Cathedral of St. James. The feeling which I cherish of my arrival on the immense, well-known level ground in front of the Church is a feeling of great respect for the site. All the pilgrims, rigorously without shoes, sat down on the ground or,

the bravest, lay down placing their head on their rucksacks and just looked at the Cathedral. Even if you are not a believer, you cannot ignore the holiness of that place.

I went back again to Santiago the following September for the Workshop on Conservation/Consumption. I found a totally different atmosphere. The town was crowded, the cathedral was full of disorderly people. Probably due to the fact that I was there for another purpose, the spirituality of the place had disappeared. I did not meet pilgrims, I only saw tourists. The same feeling pervaded me during the short, 'demonstrative' walk which the participants in the Workshop went on along the Camino. I felt a sense of embarrassment, as if I were in the wrong place. I was not a pilgrim, I was a tourist and I could feel the disappointment of the real pilgrims due to our noisy, inappropriate presence in that place. Again, we were not pilgrims, we were tourists.

### **The metaphor of pilgrim. Some reflections on cultural sustainability of travelling through historical sites**

Along the route of Santiago, one may clearly distinguish pilgrims from tourists or false pilgrims (Fig. 1). The former walk silently carrying their rucksacks on their backs. They stop only to have some rest, possibly avoiding restaurants and bars which have been springing up in numbers along the Camino. They take their own food and water with them.

Tourists are noisy and chaotic. They do not experience the Camino, they consume it. As anthropologists and sociologists underline (Bauman 2006), there is a significant difference in purpose, hence in behaviour, of pilgrims and tourists. A pilgrim's destination is beyond reality, so the trip is the way to reach this eschatological (not ontological) aim. What he meets along the way is part of his authentic, spiritual experience (Fig. 2). His attitude towards places and sites he visits is neutral, and for this reason he truly appreciates them without any other need or desire apart from experiencing them.

FIG. 1. Santiago de Compostela; pilgrims and tourist on the square in front of the Cathedral (photo by B. Mussari, 2017).



Paradoxically, as he has no expectations, his awareness and respect of the places he meets along his route is higher than the tourist's ones. Therefore, authenticity, together with continuity, is the most precious value that a pilgrim acquires on his travels (Fig. 3).

Along the route he connects all that he meets (persons, stories, images, landscapes, villages, monuments, historic buildings), giving them significance. Pilgrims are 'builders of identity' and, at the same time, they need to preserve this identity as each document, each trace of their route, documents the authentic experience of their pilgrimage (Bauman 2006: 35).

Probably, it is not by chance, for example, that, in Galicia, pilgrims' hostels along the route are generally settled in historic buildings. Quite often they are in very small abandoned villages which have been reused and re-adapted – with minimal interventions and mostly preserving the authentic characteristics of the buildings – to house the pilgrims (Figs. 4-5).

The tourist has no ideals or utopia; in travelling he searches for immediate satisfaction (ontological experience) hence everything is ephemeral and based on aestheticism (Bauman 2006: 45). He uses, consumes heritage and then he goes away (Augé 2004: 52), and for this reason it is easier for tourists to be seduced by consumerism. As Marc Augé has written (Augé 2004), a tourist visits a place because it is a 'sight'. In this sense, it is not important what he sees but rather that the visit totally satisfies his own expectations. Authenticity of the site is not relevant; continuity is not relevant either. Fragmentariness is the dimension in which a tourist lives and all the fragments he visits have to satisfy the idea of the place that was presented to him before setting off: a tourist runs after images (Augé 2004: 69). Hence, the real value for a tourist is not the authenticity of the place, but the appearance (illusion) of it. This is the reason why a tourist appreciates all the temptations which the tourist industry may offer him, including false reality (false restorations, invented reconstructions, invented traditions and all those ex-



FIG. 2. Galicia, landscape along the Camino (2017).

FIG. 3. Galicia, vernacular traditional constructions in a small village, along the Camino (2017).

FIGS. 4-5. Galicia, small abandoned villages reused for pilgrim accommodation (2017).

periences which enhance an illusory world). In this sense, it is useful to quote the concept of 'staged authenticity' (look at the world as if it were a theatre), first introduced in the 1970s by McCannell, intended as the tendency of local culture to create an impression of authenticity for tourists (McCannell 1973).

Looking at these significantly different approaches, a pilgrim may be considered the metaphor of the so-called sustainable or cultural tourism. As emerged during the workshop, 'granularity' is the main characteristic of pilgrimages: while the tourism industry tries to homogenise everything, in pilgrimages, no element is more important than any of the others and diversity in the real value of the travel.

However, it is a paradox as a pilgrim is actually not a tourist. Furthermore, despite the definition of cultural tourism being introduced to distinguish a well-informed, cultured tourism from mass tourism, it is now clear that a real difference does not exist between the two categories in terms of consumption of cultural heritage. Tourists consume heritage, independently from the categories to which they are supposed to belong (mass tourism, cultural tourism, heritage tourism, and so on). It may seem an unsolvable problem. In the contemporary age, the pilgrim has been replaced by the tourist, as Bauman has written (Bauman 2006), and cultural heritage has been considered a commodity simply to be sold off, and thus we may say that in the age of low cost tourism a peaceful relationship between the traveller and conservation (respect for authenticity) is impossible. Impossible, that is, unless we try to look at the practice of travelling in countries which have a significant presence of cultural heritage, mainly from a cultural, not economic, point of view; that is to say, try to define and promote the cultural sustainability of tourism by considering culture, also including human relationships, as a possible tool for economic and social development, without destroying culture itself. The topic is noteworthy and does not involve only the field of conservation. On the contrary, policy makers, local communities and scientific community agree on the fact that cultural sustainability of tourism is possible only if culture (not economy) becomes the base for a new approach (Cannas 2016: 38). In this perspective, enhancement of cultural heritage should not accompany, as very often happens, the idea of selling off a product, and the idea of fruition (or use) of cultural heritage should not be synonymous with consumption.

### **Sustainable, responsible, ecological. The ethic of contemporary tourist**

The concept of sustainable tourism or responsible tourism (a more understandable definition) has been introduced with the purpose of inducing tourists to a more responsible behaviour. UNESCO, who has been supporting and promoting the idea of sustainable tourism in the last few years, defines it as "tourism that respects both local people and the traveller, cultural heritage and the environment"<sup>1</sup>. It is an approach which aims to improve both the quality of life of local communities and the experience of tourists by creating connections and interactions between tourists and host communities. Following this approach, helping tourists to better understand local cultures and social and environmental issues, greater integration between host communities and tourists should occur and, as a consequence, the impact of tourism on cultural heritage should be minimised<sup>2</sup>.

Since 1999, when ICOMOS published the International Cultural Tourism Charter, many other documents have been published in which the importance of so-called Responsible Tourism as a vehicle for cultural exchange, but also for economic, social and environment

development, has been underlined. These documents, which also relate to other important statements (local economic sustainable development, development in vulnerable ecosystems, ethical business, and so on), variously emphasise the necessity for dialogue between those who manage tourism and those who are in charge of the conservation of cultural heritage. The aim is to find a common field where a balance can be found between the very often conflicting values of tourism development and cultural heritage conservation.

Despite significant progress in this field, which emerges from these documents, it is also possible to record a significant contradiction among or within them. On the one hand, the documents underline the necessity of minimising the effect of tourism on sites and places of cultural significance, suggesting a beneficial collaboration between tourist operators, policy makers, planners and those who work in the field of conservation of cultural heritage. On the other hand, they invite “those involved in heritage conservation and management to make the significance of that heritage accessible to the host community and visitors” (ICOMOS 1999). It is well-known how much this purpose is very often misinterpreted and even misused, thus causing, several times, the destruction of the authenticity of the place, which is very often transformed from a cultural place into a touristic attraction. In this sense, some initiatives promoted by UNESCO with the intention of increasing responsible tourism hide many risks and threats for cultural sites and heritage. We can quote, for example, the *World Heritage Journey in the European Union* project, promoted in 2011 with the aim “to create unique cultural heritage experiences through the development of thematic trans-European itineraries. By including iconic and lesser known World Heritage sites, these routes will enable people to see Europe’s World Heritage sites from a new and exciting perspective”<sup>3</sup>. Authenticity, Innovation and Sustainability are the key words on which the project focuses, however, despite good intentions, the risk of such kind of initiatives is to transform such uncontaminated places into tourist attractions, transforming a singular and uncontaminated place into a common place; in other words, to change diversity into normality.

One can cite another significant example: when Patrick Geddes, in 1891, installed the Camera Obscura in the so-called Outlook tower in Edinburgh (Fig. 6), with the only purpose – really surprising for that age – to show people the structure of the town (the urban fabric, the main historic buildings, and so on), he could not imagine what the future held<sup>4</sup>. The site was to be transformed into a lively museum of science, which is now very popular among noisy, impolite schoolchildren. The real attraction, the extraordinary Camera Obscura itself, is considered as a secondary attraction, passed over by a less cultured, and more common ‘world of illusion’. The site, originally born to educate people (cultural heritage), has been transformed into a touristic attraction.

This example is also useful to introduce another aspect: the role of the tourist in the place he visits. The Camera Obscura in itself is well worth a visit for the splendid aerial view it offers of the town that you can admire thanks to this forward-looking invention (Fig. 7), but also for the didactic idea which it conceals. The town is a complex structure, made up of relationships between buildings and streets, but also a complex network of urban fabric and human relationships. Geddes’s idea was to make all this fascinating plot of relationships accessible. When you now enter the Camera Obscura and a guide shows you how it works, looking at the amazing view of the town, for some moments you may also forget the ‘product’ Edinburgh (as it was transformed after UNESCO listed the town)





and only see the town in its elegance and contradictions. In a certain way, one appreciates the town when you are far from the many tourists which populate it, the tourist shops and the many tourist facilities. This perception is in contrast with the interesting idea that tourists are agents of semiotics and that “all over the world they are engaged in reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems” (Culler 1990: 2).

The problem can be put: what kind of signs do tourists search for? In general, tourists search for ‘authentic’ experiences: the authentic Irish pub, the authentic Italian medieval village, the authentic Gothic French cathedral. So, the trend is to include all the experiences into specific categories, levelling the reality which, on the contrary, is characterised by various and non-homogeneous elements. The authentic Italian medieval village, for example, is only a *topos* in the tourist’s mind; in most cases, only the general urban structure is medieval, but urban fabric, buildings, urban landscapes are multi-layered, variously transformed elements. In addition, the authentic Gothic French cathedral does not exist and what the tourist generally visits (without knowing it) is an erudite interpretation of the French Gothic by the 19th century architects. In any case, authenticity is very often synonymous with the past: “One of the characteristics of modernity is the belief that authenticity has been lost and existed only in the past – whose signs we preserve (antiques, restored buildings, imitation of old interiors)” (Culler 1990: 5). In this perspective, authenticity does not involve the real world but only the idea of it and many times it is nourished by stereotypes, very often transmitted by tourist guides, such as Spain in the picturesque villages of Andalusia, Italy in the elegance of Renaissance Florence or in the

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FIG. 6. Edinburgh, a view of the Outlook Tower where the Camera Obscura was installed in 1891 (2018).

FIG. 7. Edinburgh, the town seen by the Camera Obscura (by <<https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com>> accessed 28 February 2018).



vernacular landscape of the Costiera Amalfitana, Greece in the perfection of Parthenon and so on. These markers are what tourists search for and it does not matter if the façade of the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence was designed in the end of the 19th century, and the Parthenon seriously restored. On the other hand, the more cultural heritage is confined in a place-without-time (with interventions of restoration which erase the effects of the passage of time on a building, a historical centre, a landscape), the more the tourist considers his experience authentic. The misinterpreted idea of authenticity is strictly connected to the problem of consumption of cultural heritage. Tourists consume cultural heritage both in its tangible and intangible aspects. In the former, in the tangible relationship between consumer and consumed, hence between tourist and cultural heritage, the problem seems not to be who uses cultural heritage and how they use it. The problem of bad manners is common both among cultured and non-cultured people, and one may observe a respectable and cultured visitor touching the marble decorations of a monument just because he 'needs' to touch the original material, without considering the possible damage his hands may cause. In addition, it is also useful to underline that in the conservation/consumption conflict, in relation to tourism, cultural differences play an important role. Experts in tourism assert that socio-cultural factors mostly influence tourist behaviour (Reisinger 2009) and it is not reasonable nor appropriate to think that these differences may be cancelled. Furthermore, it is also important to underline that some kinds of consumption do not depend on an intentionally mistaken behaviour of tourists. Even pilgrims, who we are now considering the best example of sustainable tourists, con-

sume the material aspects of cultural heritage. During the workshop, for example, restorers showed us damage caused by the particles of pilgrims' garments on the decorative elements of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. In this sense, no solution is possible apart from limiting the access of tourists in places which are favourite touristic sites.

The second aspect of the difficult relationship between conservation and consumption of cultural heritage is more problematic; the consumption of intangible values or, the mystification of its authentic values. On an ethical level, if consumption of cultural heritage is the unavoidable consequence of tourism and if, as is obvious, it is unrealistic to think of stopping tourism or cancelling cultural differences all around the world, the only perspective (not a solution but a possible suggestion) is to act on the relationship with memory and, as a consequence, responsibility. In this sense, the attitude and experience of pilgrims may suggest us a possible change of mentality.

### **"Memory, Awareness and Responsibility"<sup>5</sup> in tourism: (im)possible relationship?**

If the pilgrim is the metaphor of sustainable tourism it does not mean that pilgrimages should be the only sustainable way of travelling. Probably, pilgrimages may only suggest a modality of travelling, whose first aim is not seeing places (mostly 'staged' place) but experiencing them. Doing so, the 'personal' history of the place is much more important than how they appear and the relationship between the traveller and the places he visits could become more authentic. With a certain simplification, one may suppose that, moving from the material aspects, the mere appearance of sites – hence looking at them with the eyes of someone who is off-stage – one may appreciate their real authenticity. However, as in all changes which involve a revolution in mentality, it is very unlikely to happen. This is particularly true in the contemporary world (intentionally, the expression 'globalised world' is not used, as the idea that globalisation is the cause of everything negative is not supported here) where we are literally bombarded by images of cultural heritage, so that when we decide to visit a place we know exactly how we would like it to appear to us.

However, if we want to define a proper 'ethics of consumption', we should be able to move our attention from the place we visit – hence from our expectations of it – to our attitude toward it. This second option involves our facility to comprehend what story the place tells us, hence the place, not the visitor and its own expectations, is the real subject of the visit.

People who visit the Auschwitz Memorial, and we are not referring to those involved in dark tourism, who are more similar to pilgrims than to tourists, display an irreproachable behaviour (Cywinski 2017). We may say that in such places, where the relationship with memory is so strong and painful, the ethics of visitors is exemplary. Of course, visiting Auschwitz is not like visiting a museum, a historic building, an archaeological site. In Auschwitz, one does not need to learn something (he already knows everything about the Holocaust before going there), one needs to live an experience. The site has an evocative power and one really needs to perceive authenticity: "When we live the authenticity of a place, our awareness and our comprehension are higher than the one we could absorb from books or movies. Authenticity is what needs to be preserved and shown"<sup>6</sup>.

In Auschwitz, visitors are often disappointed by the contrast between the life which, despite all, continues around, and the death which is the protagonist of the site. They are

disappointed with those who are not visitors (people who live around the memorial site, cleaners of the museum, and so on). However, the same visitor, who in Auschwitz wants to experience the place, not simply to visit it, and thus demands authenticity (of the wire which marks the site, of the victim's hair, and so on), when they observe a historic building in Rome or Florence, rarely think of the rich heritage of signs and traces which tell the real history of the place. The visit – which has to be as rapid as possible as after the umpteenth selfie there are still many things to see – begins and ends in the present, or better to say, in a space which is out of time, where all the stratifications, hence the relationship between visitor and the history of the place, are cancelled.

One does not visit Auschwitz without being conscious of what happened during the Second World War, but one may visit Rome knowing nothing about the martyrdom of the founders of the Roman Church. Hence, the relationship with memory makes the difference and generates a not less relevant sense of responsibility in the visitor. Besides, even if not comparable with other cultural heritage and sites, the experience of Auschwitz and of all those places where the relationship with memory is strong, due to the dramatic events which the places symbolise (war memorials, celebrative monuments, and so on) may be a reference point for defining a sort of proper ethics of tourism, or, which is the same, an ethics of consumption. The question now is if it is possible to establish such a strong relationship with memory also in places which are not memorials of such painful history.

In general, tourists who travel for entertainment, are inclined to suppress bad memories: "Postmodernity is itself a symptom of a need to suppress bad memories (Auschwitz, Hiroshima, etc.) (...) of course it is not possible to repress the past without denying the future. Thus, the central drive of postmodernity is to stop history in its track, and the central drive of postmodern tourism is to discover places that seem to exist outside of history" (McCannell 1992: 26); hence, we can add, outside of memory. The problem is clear but probably unsolvable: without memory (the past) it is impossible to understand the present, and, as a consequence, to build the future. If we have no awareness of the past, we could not have any sense of responsibility toward it (cultural heritage) nor toward the future (its preservation) (Cywinski 2017: 117).

In this perspective, cultural heritage has to answer to tourism expectations, and its protection and restoration works only if the object (a landscape, a historical building, a historical city centre) is placed in an eternal present in which authenticity – which also means diversity – is totally converted into homogenisation. A sort of 'reconstructed ethnicity' is proposed where the dialogue between different civilisations, hence between the tourist and local community, is impossible (Canestrini 2004: 123). The passion of English travellers for the landscape of Tuscany, to quote only a significant example, transformed that land made of ancient, different traditions into a sort of ideal paradise, Chianti-shire, which only matches with the image of well-cultivated hills where medieval villages with perfectly preserved city walls and towers are magically set (Fig. 8). This ideal world does not include, for example, the difficulties of farmers who, in past ages were compelled to leave their land due to economic difficulties. Chianti-shire is a scenario deprived of the real life and its historic roots, and all the significant diversities of that land are ignored. The example clearly shows how the industry of tourism, with the creation of further innovative attractions (original routes, digital and virtual experiences, to quote some significant examples) tends to manipulate the exotic, transforming it into a custom-made experience





FIG. 8. A typical image of Chiantishire (photo by B. Mussari, 2017).

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FIG. 9. Galicia, pilgrims welcomed along the Camino (2017).

FIG. 10. Galicia, stories and memories of pilgrims along the Camino (2017).

FIG. 11. Galicia, Finisterre, a message from a pilgrim at the end of the Camino (photo B. Mussari, 2017).

for tourists. In this sense, diversity becomes a value to model on the request of the tourist and the ‘paradox of diversity’ is generated: since some societies refuse to accept diversity as a value, they will continue to create highly unique creations. On the contrary, ‘generalised’ diversity causes uniformity due to “the cultural blending that inevitably it produces” (Coombe 1998: 146). If tourism is practiced out of an ethics of responsibilities, the risk that local communities try to uniform their tradition and specificity to the willingness of tourists is high.

There is also another aspect, mainly underlined by anthropologists – particularly promoted by those who are in charge of the conservation of cultural heritage – which concerns diversity and the necessity to document it. It is a problem with mostly deals with intangible values and the idea, also promoted by UNESCO, that protection of intangible values of cultural heritage – mostly indigenous cultures and traditions – can be preserved only if well documented (UNESCO 2003). Conversely, some studies try to demonstrate that in the case of many indigenous cultures, the preservation of cultural intangible values is possible only if these values are never transmitted or recorded (Brown 2005: 49). Some scholars also underline that in the fields of intangible values, “documentation has only a modest role in the preservation of culture. To think oth-





erwise is to make the classic error of mistaking a map for the territory it represents" (Brown 2005: 48). It is true that processes of acknowledgement and documentation, born with the idea of protecting cultural heritage, very often hide the risk of unifying very divergent values. As Brown wrote, "How to reconcile divergent values in pluralist society, is a topic which rarely intersects with proposals for the preservation of intangible heritage" (Brown 2005: 50).

In this sense, anthropologists seem to have traced a new direction for defining a proper ethics of consumption, which is based on the idea that a responsible tourist is one who loves the world and human relationships: "responsible tourism is practiced by persons who have good relationships not only with the Tunisian waiter in Djerba, but also with the man who sells vegetables near home and his neighbour. It is something which is related to transportation (passage); not only physical transportation (passage). In other words, it concerns the relationship with others and the places where they live"<sup>7</sup>. In this perspective, cultural heritage is not seen as an ideal, out-of-time place only to admire (and consume), but as the result of a complex stratification of life and stories that we have the responsibility to preserve. In other words, in the relationship between conservation/consumption, a suitable ethics of consumption is that which involves a transformation; not a (negative) transformation of the place the tourist visits, but a (positive) transformation of the tourist himself thanks to the experience of the place he lives in (Figs. 9-11).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The definition is quoted in the UNESCO website: <[http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme\\_c/mod16.html](http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_c/mod16.html)> [Accessed 5 April 2018].

<sup>2</sup> Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism, 2002. Available at: <<https://responsibletourismpartnership.org/cape-town-declaration-on-responsible-tourism/>> [Accessed 5 April 2018].

<sup>3</sup> For more detail about the project, see <<https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/875/>> [Accessed 5 April 2018].

<sup>4</sup> The urban planner and sociologist Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) transformed the Outlook Tower, a pioneering museum of science hosted in a suggestive building in the core of the historic centre of Edinburgh, into a didactic laboratory of urban planning and sociology. The idea was to help people in studying and learning about their town. The Camera Obscura itself, a simple system of mirrors installed on the top of the tower which is still working, allowed people to do a virtual, aerial tour of the city.

<sup>5</sup> The expression is taken from Cywinski (Cywinski 2017: 113); in particular, it is the title of the last chapter.

<sup>6</sup> Cywinski 2017: 63. Translation by the author.

<sup>7</sup> Canestrini 2004: 11. Translation by the author.

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## THE ACCESSIBILITY OF MONUMENTS ON THE CAMINO: THE ROMAN WALL OF LUGO AS EXEMPLAR

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### Introduction

We can establish a parallel between pilgrimage and the Christian conception of life, understanding both as paths full of difficulties, and where overcoming the difficulties brings the pilgrim to a closer identification with Jesus. Since the early Middle Ages, the pilgrimage included the cult of the relics, to which miraculous healing properties were attributed (López Alsina 1991: 27). We can say without fear of error that many medieval pilgrims were sick people, handicapped, or in search of a physical and spiritual cure (Ortega, Alemán 2015: 5).

According to the annual statistical reports of the Pilgrim's Office of the cathedral of Santiago, the wheelchair is one of the common means of movement used on the route that leads to the tomb of the Apostle in Compostela. In the last five years, an annual average of 83 people with disabilities have come on pilgrimage to Santiago by this means<sup>1</sup>. Accessibility is, for this reason, a matter to be taken into account along the different stages of the Camino de Santiago.

Given the enormous dimension of the Way, the resolution of accessibility issues presents multiple difficulties at different levels, such as the conditions of the route itself, those of accommodation, catering, and access to monuments, as well as the access to information, difficulties which must be addressed from different areas and disciplines.

The objective of this article is to draw conclusions applicable to those actions aimed at achieving accessibility to the historical monuments present along the Way, limiting itself to the field of architectural intervention. To achieve this, we will analyse the case study of the construction of an elevator to access the rampart of the Roman wall of Lugo, the main monument of the city, and which in turn is part of the Way, the end of the ninth of the thirteen stages that make up the Camino Primitivo that connects Oviedo with Santiago de Compostela.

The wall presents certain singular characteristics by virtue of its dimension, conditions of use and symbolic character, not dissimilar to those of the Camino de Santiago itself. Thus, both the wall and the road can be understood as large infrastructures, the first at the city level, the second on a territorial level and with an international dimension. There is also some parallel between the activities that support movement and connection between people. Another relationship can be seen in the strong symbolic character of both elements, the first as an identity symbol for Lugo and of the Roman presence in Galicia, the second as a religious symbol and also of the Unity of Europe.

### The problem of accessibility to the rampart of the Roman wall of Lugo

The Roman Walls of Lugo, built between the late third century and early fourth century A.D, comprise the only complete and preserved Roman fortification in the world, and

Fig. 1. Aerial photograph of Lugo's historic quarter.

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Figs. 2-3. Photographs of the access ramp to the rampart of the wall.

Fig. 4. Photograph before the intervention.



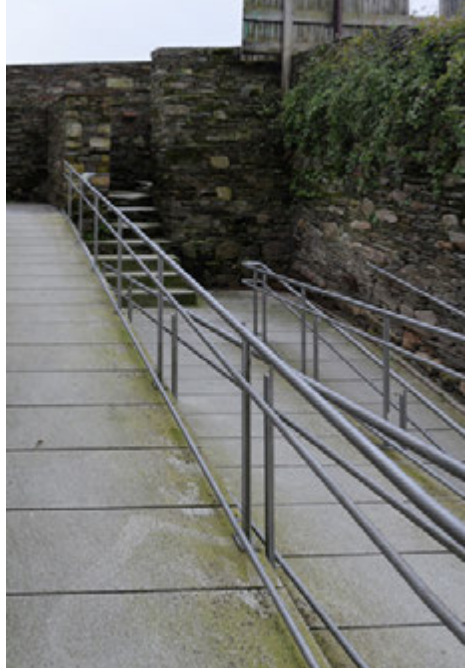
therefore, is one of the most important monuments of the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 1). At the time of its construction, the wall was designed to serve a dual function both of defense against the attack by an external enemy, and of control over the resident population inside. Neither of these two functions, defense or control, remains in force today; If in ancient times the main premise was to make it an inaccessible element, at this moment it is in fact the opposite, the core purpose is to ensure its universal accessibility.

In the technical documentation for the proposal of inscription of the Wall of Lugo as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, it was emphasised that historically, the Wall had acquired the character of a useful public space, a free space open to citizens. Nevertheless, this open character was not universal.

The association Auxilia Lugo, whose social objective is to provide support to people with disabilities to ensure their full incorporation into society, had been working since 1995 to establish a comprehensive accessibility plan for the city in which overcoming the inaccessibility of the Wall was a cornerstone. Auxilia promoted a number of measures to achieve the installation of an elevator to make the monument accessible, including collecting signatures in support of the idea that generated some debate among the citizens as to the possible incompatibility of such action with the conservation of the monument<sup>2</sup>. Finally, in 2010 the Galician Parliament approved the construction of a ramp and a lift to provide accessibility to the wall (Figs. 2-3).

The construction of the ramp was completed in 2012 but was not accepted by the association as a valid solution on the grounds that the transversal slopes of the adjacent streets were not accessible<sup>3</sup>. In March, 2014 the contest for preparing the project for the construction of the elevator to access the rampart of the wall was resolved. The project was carried out under the supervision of the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage, Department of Culture of the Galician government and was undertaken in October of the





same year. A year later, in November 2015 the work that resolved the universal access to the wall was completed (Figs. 4-6).

### **Factors to be considered in the design of the element of accessibility**

Based on my experience in the case under study, those aspects that were important in the elevator project for the wall of Lugo, and that could be applied in works enabling accessibility in other monuments present along the Camino de Santiago, are presented below.

#### *Use and architecture*

I remember vividly that, as a child, I struck my head against the sculpture of Maestro Mateo at the base of the Portico de la Gloria (tradition told that the Maestro gave part of his



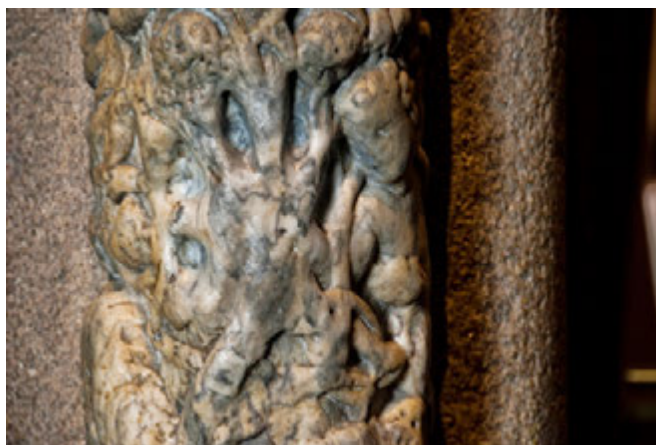
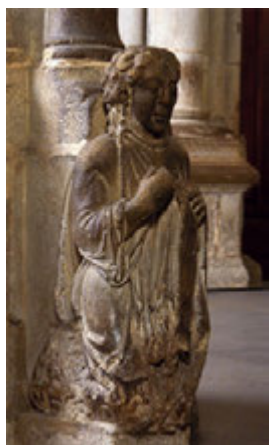
Next page:

Figs. 7-8. Portico de la Gloria: Santo dos Croques. Detail of the mark on the Column of Paradise.



wisdom with every strike). I remember also that I put my hand on the mark in the Column of Paradise. Somehow, I felt that I was connecting spiritually with millions of hands that in the past had repeated this very same gesture. Today, in order to preserve the Portico (from a 'material' point of view), these traditions, which are important from an 'immaterial' point of view, cannot be continued (Figs. 7-8). Should heritage be untouchable?.

Adapting to measures and physical conditions of the human body is the specific quality that distinguishes architecture in relation to other arts. Architecture is architecture when it is used, a building that you only look at, and do not touch, is not architecture. With the design of accessibility, monuments are made to fit to man's dimension, space is humanised, and, in this sense, architecture fulfills its last task. If there has not been any criticism of the work carried out in Lugo it is, in my opinion, because the general public opinion is that this work was necessary.



### *Definitive functionality*

Neither the heritage legislation nor the letters of restoration make express reference to the issue of accessibility of monuments. The fragility of the monument with respect to new functions that could cause irreversible or irreparable actions obliges one to analyse each specific case according to its special circumstances, adopting an operating system that proposes the criteria of action after an exhaustive preliminary study. This singular treatment that the work on historical monuments receives, leads to attitudes with a degree of 'flexibility' in the fulfillment of the norms of accessibility that can lead to actions from an exceptional position, to the limit or even outside the norm.

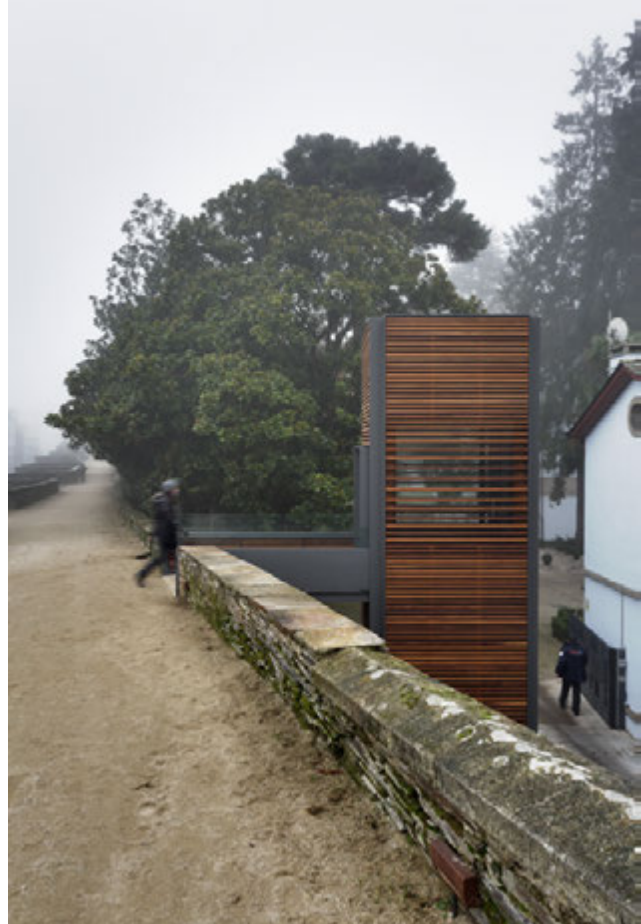
From our experience in the case of Lugo we underline the importance of solving accessibility problems through definitive solutions. Accessibility does not fit well with intermediate solutions. The case of Lugo is illustrative in this respect as there is a ramp that, even when scrupulously observing the rules for the elimination of barriers, is not considered valid to perform its task because of not meeting its users' expectations<sup>4</sup>.

### *Position*

One of the first issues to be resolved in installing a new element to resolve accessibility is that of its dialogue with the monument. Does it belong to the monument, becoming a new part of it, or, on the contrary, is it an element that relates to other synergies distinct from the monument itself?

In the case of Lugo it was decided to relate the element to the dynamics of the city rather than to the monument itself (Figs. 9-10). To do this, the body of the elevator box was placed so that it adopts the dominant alignment in the buildings within the walls of the immediate surroundings<sup>5</sup>, with the intention of reinforcing the character of independence from and respect for the monument. In addition to this, materials and finishes that were used were equivalent to those already existing in the urban furniture of the city itself: wastebaskets, lighting, benches, reinforcing the possible reading of the new building as one more element of the urban equipment.

This suggests the question: would it be possible that accessibility interventions along the route of the Camino, and in particular those carried out on monuments, would adopt some common image characteristics and strengthen the idea of belonging to the Camino itself?



Figs. 9-10. Photograph from the garden facing the elevator door. Photograph of the lift from the rampart.

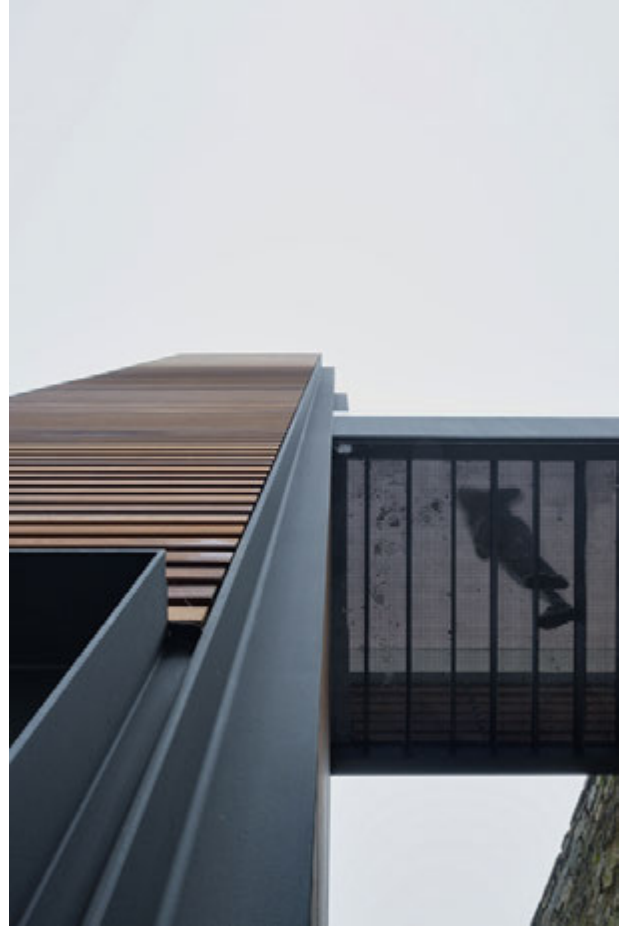
### *Promenade*

Accessibility always appears as part of a tour. If we speak of monuments, it is important, as far as possible, to incorporate with this accessible route its own particular contemplation of the values of the heritage encountered.

We have mentioned that the wall, in addition to being a monument, is used by the inhabitants of the city as a place of recreation and promenade. The vertical journey inside the elevator is just a slightly different stage within a unique route and, as such, must also be qualified<sup>6</sup>. It was thought that a panoramic lift would provide a spatial sense to the short vertical journey that would occur during the ascent or descent of the cabin, avoiding a sudden interruption of the tour around the monument. This condition would also reveal the operation of the facility from the outside, which would contribute towards a 'formal expression' of its use. Finally, since we are in an urban environment, its transparency would increase the sense of security as it would make visible the landing point from inside the cabin or the interior of the cabin from the exterior<sup>7</sup>.

### *Form*

Form requires greater simplification of intervening elements and maximum formal containment, both in the definition of profile and in composition. The image of the



Figs. 11-12. Photograph of the lattice. The perforations allow one to distinguish the silhouettes of people from the bottom, reinforcing the sense of independence of the body of the elevator from the wall.

elevator is ultimately determined by its operation and its constructive system. The intervention is configured through two different elements: the vertical box of the lifting appliance and the gateway giving connection with the rampart of the wall (Figs. 11-12). The upper landing of the lift is placed against the wall while the lower decking generates a wide and safe waiting space facing the park door. This configuration requires the arrangement of a lift with double shipment at 90°. The dimensions in plan of the box on the ground are of 2.4x2.4 meters and its height is 7.80 meters. This establishes the minimum requirement deriving from the operating needs of the lifting device. From the first approaches to the project it was apparent that, although the height of the lift is adjusted to the minimum strictly necessary for its proper functioning, the resultant form, by its very nature, would necessarily have vertical proportions<sup>8</sup>. Through its own form, the building was going to claim a certain prominence in the urban landscape<sup>9</sup>.

Particularly in the case of protected monuments the requirements for accessibility, both those of usability and those deriving from regulation, must be fully integrated with the search for a sensitive intervention. From that perspective we must aim for coherence with the historic monument, with the culture of architecture presented to us in the buildings' aesthetic. Considerations of form need to take account of prominent elements, at



times visually assertive ones like ramps, handrails, lifting devices, signs, and so on, and also of new materials, techniques, elements and languages that demand considerable effort and architectural sensibility.

### **Choice of materials and constructive systems. Tradition and modernity**

In terms of defining the building through its construction, five main materials are used: concrete, in the foundations<sup>10</sup>; steel, in the structure and machinery of the elevator; stone, in the encounter between the ramp and the rampart of the wall; wood, in opaque claddings; and glass, in the transparent ones. These are materials chosen by experience and construction tradition. The use of each follows a specific logic.

From the early stages of project, steel was considered to be the most suitable material for the execution of the supporting structure, since it is the same material as that used to manufacture the guides, the cabin and the lifting machinery. The history of steel is also intimately linked to the elevator, and the structural use of the material in building only became common from the moment that lifts became safe to use<sup>11</sup>. Steel as an industrial product is also integral to current architectural culture and aesthetics; the perfection of the lines of the new structure has contributed to identifying the new element with its period of construction and to underline the difference between it and the monument that it acts upon<sup>12</sup>.

The outer envelope is clad with prefabricated panels of solid, 5x4 cm, timber strips of iroko, reminiscent of the enclosure of the *horreos* of traditional Galician architecture, and thus connecting the appearance of the building with local tradition. In the stopping positions, the strips separate to form a lattice that expresses the operation of the lifting device while allowing a fleeting glimpse of the exterior during the journey. Using the lattice solves the problem of how the gaps are treated while maintaining consistency in the treatment of the walls<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 13-14).

In the footbridge the metallic structure remains exposed, differing in this way from the vertical body, reinforcing the sensation of independence of the elevator from the wall. Its flooring is constructed in perforated sheet with the intention of accentuating the lightness of the element<sup>14</sup>. In its contact with the wall, the support profiles rest on a piece of stone set over the original roman masonry. This piece also resolves the encounter with the sloping uneven surface of the rampart<sup>15</sup>. The handrail is designed in two strips, an opaque low one in matching metallic sheeting and the top one in glass<sup>16</sup>.

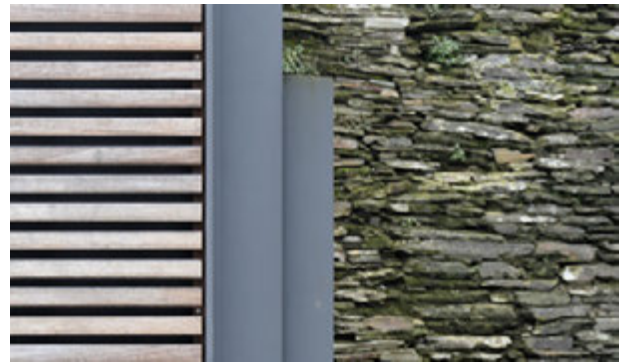
With regard to the finishes, the visible parts of the metallic structure are finished in metal-based grey paint, matching the color of the urban furniture of the area, while wood is treated with teak oil. Timber strips give texture to the wooden box as the masonry does to the wall. It is intended that, over time, the wood will acquire a greyish coloration that fits naturally with the historical masonry of the wall and its living patina.

It is important to take into account that architecture naturally adopts the techniques of its time. It should be noted that new techniques in the intervention area are not at odds with adoption of procedures or schemes that can conceptually connect with traditional or specific languages and construction systems. This connection may be interesting to the extent that it could facilitate the introduction and assimilation of new architectonic languages.



Fig. 13. Photograph of an *horreo*.

Fig. 14. Photograph of the enclosure.



## Conclusion

### *Historical heritage and universal access, a shared purpose*

Universal access and the conservation of heritage, share a social and inclusive purpose. As a society, we have considered that architectural heritage, because of its qualities or meanings, must endure for its enjoyment by future generations<sup>17</sup>. Historical heritage deserves to be known: above all, as a transmission of memory, history and its legacies have no economic mission to fulfill. On the other hand, its preservation contains, as well as the aspiration to universal accessibility, an important symbolic content<sup>18</sup>. We are also making a demonstration in favor of an inclusive society that respects the dignity and value of people regardless of their sex, creed, age and abilities. The fundamental precepts for the achievement of universal accessibility contemplate a vision that commits us all<sup>19</sup>, as stated in the second article of the Barcelona Declaration: “Deficiency and Disability, according to the concepts set forth in the United Nations World Action Program for the Disabled, are matters that affect society as a whole, not only individual persons and their family members” (Ajuntament de Barcelona et al. 1995: art. 2).

In order to achieve the universal objectives referred to, both in terms of accessibility and conservation of heritage, architecture must respond in terms of its ethical, aesthetic and technical qualities. Architecture is the most suitable vehicle because, as happens with accessibility and heritage, it also establishes a social manifestation with a clear vocation of universality. In the fourth book of his treatise, Alberti explains that the city is the image of society, “It is clear that men are the reason why buildings have been instituted” and also that “The city and all public services, which are a part of it, are destined for everyone”<sup>20</sup>.

### *Social Improvements through accessible architecture*

The introduction of accessibility parameters has obvious benefits, such as that which its ultimate purpose implies, of seeking valid access for all people, but it can also promote other social and cultural benefits as well as reinforce the purpose of heritage conservation.

Our case study exemplifies the social interest through the participation of the local community, since it is the citizenship itself, in a downward impulse, which urges the administrations to update the monument for its present and future use. Included within a



Fig. 15. Photograph of Roman walls of Lugo and the elevator.

route of promenade, the elevator extends the possibilities of enjoyment of the wall as an urban park and as a monument. This widening of possibilities further reinforces the sense of identity of the community. The participation of civil society contributes to the maintenance of the authenticity of the good, since it integrates the monument into the life of the city. It is not a question of a virtual but real intervention.

#### *Priorities for action and the importance of the monument*

Elimination of architectural barriers is an important milestone as it represents the inclusive stance of a society that recognises that all people have the same value. New accessible elements must respond adequately to current needs demanded by society in seeking an improvement in the quality of life a response that should not only efficiently resolve functional aspects of facilities but also expressive aspects of their use.

Mumford comments that it is the architect's mission to "use the shapes of construction in a way that transmits the meaning of the building to the viewer and the user, and that allow him, because of a fuller receptivity on his part, to participate in their functions"<sup>21</sup>. Architecture has the fundamental condition to mean, to represent and to evoke. One would think that if the wall is the symbol of the city of Lugo, that in a way the elevator could be considered a symbol of the universality of its use<sup>22</sup>.

#### *'Good' accessible architecture*

Actions like these can serve to spread 'good' accessible architecture. In Galicia there has traditionally been a diffusion of architecture from urban to rural. Interventions aimed at providing accessibility to monuments that have been made with discretion and sensibility and that constitute good examples of architecture can serve as a model for later undertakings in constructing hostels, inns, hotels and, finally, as a model for private interventions in rural areas. Obviously this conclusion could be read in the opposite direction: bad examples are also copied. For this reason it is crucial that all projects are of architectural quality in terms of details and are an expression worthy of the importance of the use they support (Fig. 15).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> According to the statistics of the Pilgrim's Office, in 2018, 79 pilgrims, 0.02% of the total pilgrims used the wheelchair as a means of transport to make their pilgrimage, in 2017 there were 43 pilgrims, 0.01% of the total, in 2016, 125, 0.04% of the total in 2015, 71, 0.03% of the total; and in 2014, 98, 0.04% of the total. See *Oficina del Peregrino. Statistics. Year 2018*. [online] Available at: <<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics/>> [Accessed 25 May 2019].

<sup>2</sup> The dilemma between the valuation of the past and the need for constant renewal may be the oldest of the controversies about intervention in historical monuments.

<sup>3</sup> See Uz 2012. The ramp is located in the area of the Tinería, fitted between an old building and a masonry wall, giving continuity to the Carril dos Fornos, street from which you are accessing the same. The accessible ramp must meet some strict conditions in terms of slope percentages and maximum stretch lengths. When the gap to save is large, such constraints result in major developments in plant that suppose a handicap added both for its ease of use and for its integration in preexisting architectures. In this case, the slope reaches a total length of travel of about 45 meters in length, divided into four stages of ascent. Each of the sections has about 10 meters of development.

<sup>4</sup> The ramp is not mentioned on the website of the accessible guide of Lugo; see <<http://lugoaccesible.net>> [Accessed 8 May 2019].

<sup>5</sup> The plot available for the placement of the new element is located in a small parterre before the entrance to the gardens of San Marcos. The approach to the plot is produced by two possible directions: from the center of the city, through the Carril dos Romanos lane, and from the inner round of the wall, where the vegetation of the gardens of San Marcos has a strong presence.

<sup>6</sup> In the perception of the space through the horizontal movement of the promenade two variables are involved: the distance and the angle to the object considered. If we want to intervene the variable of the height we will use those elements that allow us to save slopes: stairs, ramps... (Quetglas 2005: 18). Le Corbusier understood from his first projects the great potentiality of the ramp for the apprehension of the architectural space. In the classic examples of his 'Promenade Architecturale' he uses it as a backbone of the movement through the building, because, unlike what happens when climbing a staircase, it presents the advantage that the spectator can keep his gaze fixed on the Object which attracted him continually, without being obliged to look down to the ground to assure his step.

<sup>7</sup> However, the realisation of a fully glazed structure was not considered desirable. The mutable materiality of the glass, sometimes transparent, sometimes diffuse, sometimes reflective (Norberg-Schulz, Digerud 1981: 94), would show the structure and the installations of the interior, transmitting an image of complexity that was understood incompatible with the Monument Protection.

<sup>8</sup> Proportionality rules based on the number  $\sqrt{5}$  have been used for the composition of the different parts of the lift. The ratio of the elevations 13:4 is very close to the number  $\sqrt{5}+1$ . Those proportions are analysed in my doctoral thesis (Pernas Varela 2016).

<sup>9</sup> This vertical proportion would affirm its presence meaning to the new element. Speaking about Kimbell Art Museum by Louis Kahn, Tadao Ando indicates that "the horizontal aspect of the architecture is very natural, since it is connected by the ground, the vertical one, on the contrary, it implies premeditation, corresponds to the existence and the will of the man in the ground" (Colegrove, Hatley 2003: 45; translation by the author).

<sup>10</sup> The buried parts of the building, pit and foundations, are made in reinforced concrete. Before the possibility of the existence of archaeological remains in deep substrates, the foundation of the building is projected on the basis of minimum impact on the subsoil. The cross section of the area of action shows us a difference of four and a half meters between the platform inside the historic city and the ground outside the wall. The geotechnical study confirmed that the firm foundation of schista rock was five meters deep, under a substrate of land fill. To minimise a hypothetical impact on archaeological remains, four micropiles of reinforced concrete *in situ* of 20 cm diameter and 9 m in length, one in each corner of the structure of the pit, were made to reach solid ground.

<sup>11</sup> The construction of the first skyscrapers was possible only after the invention of the parachute device of Elisha Graves Otis, a security braking system presented at the Crystal Palace of the World Exhibition in New York in 1854.

<sup>12</sup> The vertical structure of the elevator consists of four 'L' steel piers that define the corners of the main body. All the thickness of the enclosure is included in the 20 cm of the wing of the steel profile, showing each face as an independent piece due to the particular arrangement of the pier. The upper and lower parts are made with the same 'L' profile of the corners. The four pillars sympathise with each other by means of rectangular hollow profiles arranged every 180 cm for the fastening of the guides. The intermediate space between profiles is closed

by a few trays of folded sheet of 2 mm thick which will serve as a support for the exterior cladding. To the trays is screwed the joist of iroko timber that covers four faces of the prism.

<sup>13</sup> Finally, it was decided to glaze only part of the areas of shipment both at the lower and upper stop. The transprence of the element is solved across the lattice.

<sup>14</sup> The perforations solve water evacuation of the paving at the time that they provide a non slip surface. In the design of the connection gateway, we tried to minimise the slopes, in search of the maximum comfort of use. Its design is horizontal in the landing zone, and only the last section, that solves the encounter with the sloping plane of the rampart, is solved by a ramp.

<sup>15</sup> The parapet is not Roman but its construction is more recent. In the meeting area the masonry of the parapet is removed, leaving a space of about 15 cm of separation with the rails to solve the joint between these two elements.

<sup>16</sup> The opaque part is m atched to that of the parapet of the wall. The plate is slightly separated from the support profile, showing the independence between the two elements.

<sup>17</sup> Inherited heritage is also a universal right. It was William Morris who introduced the concept of world heritage when, in a letter addressed to the Italian Ministry of Public Works on the occasion of its opposition to the restoration that was intended to be carried out on the facade of San Marcos of Venice, indicated that “the buildings of a nation are not only property of that nation, but they are from the whole world” (Rivera Blanco 2008: 151; translation by the author).

<sup>18</sup> The Declaration of Santiago de Compostela, carried out on October 23, 1987 by the Council of Europe to turn the Way of Saint James into the first Cultural Itinerary on the Continent, it meant the road as a symbol of European unity: “Society’s human dimensions, ideas of freedom and justice, and confidence in progress are principals that have historically shaped the various cultures making up Europe’s own, unique identity” (Lobato, Carandell, Martínez Sáiz 1991: 9; translation by the author).

<sup>19</sup> In Europe the demographic development leads to a progressive aging of the population. An aging society will force the adaptation of environmental conditions for an accessible use for all.

<sup>20</sup> The quotes derive from Alberti 1991: 165, 169. Translation by the author.

<sup>21</sup> Mumford 2014: 152. Translation by the author.

<sup>22</sup> The construction of the elevator had always supposed for Auxilia the ‘more symbolic example of inaccessibility’ of Lugo. The wall “has never been

treated simply as a monument, but it has always been a walking area, a space for urban living that was enjoyed by all except people with disabilities, especially those with reduced mobility” (Sancho 2017; translation by the author).

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### Introduction

In the operational activity for the preservation of existing historical heritage, the tangible elements of material testimonies (objects or buildings) are entwined with their intangible meanings.

The critical aspects of 'immaterial' attributes lie in the consequences for 'material' preservation that stem from the interpretations accorded to them. The issue revolves around the various declinations of the concept of authenticity that can be found in different cultural spheres, as witnessed through the globalised views in which we discuss restoration today. On one hand, there is the risk of distorting the meaning of the 'immaterial' testimony, consequently promoting and motivating the restoration and falsification of the surviving 'material' testimony. On the other hand, however, there is a range of potentialities within the concept of immaterial testimony that has not yet been sufficiently explored, and that could significantly corroborate and integrate the acquaintance, the sense of belonging and cultural participation of communities and hence promote the material preservation of historical heritage.

The field of cultural heritage preservation today (from the architectural scale to the territorial dimension of the landscape, and its natural and anthropised manifestations), besides being definitely responsible for its transmission into the future, also has strong potential to activate economic processes. In fact, community awareness and involvement in relation to heritage becomes a growing demand for knowledge and preservation of its value.

Such a positive phenomenon, if appropriately managed, can trigger a admirable process of significant economic importance, where the number of users is also useful for the conservation of cultural heritage; on the other hand, too large a number of users in conjunction with excessive economic exploitation can lead to the consumption and loss of the cultural asset itself. The coexistence and balance between the two components – 'material' and 'intangible' – in the built heritage and in the variety of meanings and ways of use that can be attributed to them is therefore to be considered crucial both with regard to the conservation and operational choices and to the economic repercussions that their management can determine.

### Authenticity and preservation: use, memory, and trace

#### *Material and immaterial preservation*

In the last forty years, thanks also to the broad interpretation of the notion of 'cultural heritage', the area of interest in restoration has progressively extended to include a multiplicity of objects: not only 'monuments' but also the widespread built historical heritage. The acknowledged meaning of 'material testimony' also includes the scale of the territory.



But that is not all: once the notion of material testimony was acquired, it was progressively extended to the intangible traces that broaden the need to include in the concept of cultural heritage, socio-economic and ethno-anthropological expressions, whose existence is guaranteed by transmission that takes place dynamically over time through the traditions of speech and know-how, even in the absence of tangible objects (such as Sardinian 'tenor' singing style). They are related to the concept of cultural heritage in a different way as compared to the static permanence of material testimonies (Gualdani 2014). Another example of the connection between the material form of the manifestation and such an immaterial testimony is the intangible heritage constituted by the traditional method of cultivation of the vineyards in Pantelleria (protected by UNESCO). It is determined by specific know-how, consisting in practices tested over the centuries to determine the most effective way of cultivating vineyards on a windy island, that is, on the ground itself. The rural, economic tradition of this particular method of cultivation, due to the conditions of the area and to economic and social needs, along with the perpetration of transmission and practical application, has assumed a concrete connotation: it has had material, economic and social repercussions that have shaped the landscape of the island in untypical ways.

### *The theme of use*

In addition to this important aspect, we need to acknowledge how the current disciplinary culture places the project of conservation of built heritage – considered as a process – at the centre, and generally intends intervention as a further stratification aimed towards preserving the material authenticity of things (buildings, urban fabric of historic city centres, territories), and that the future function needs to be considered in a broader sense than heretofore.

These transformations, which have occurred in more recent times, can be noted in the extension of the terminology. The multiple meanings that today come under the term 'document' referring to the built heritage (no longer to the single monument), as a multi-faceted historical testament, we can see that the new meaning attributed to words represent current thinking about restoration.

Some of these terms refer to the multiple requirements of the conservation project, in terms of usage, functionality and durability. For example, we talk about 'security' and 'accessibility' regarding use; or, if strictly referring to technical-operational aspects, we use concepts of 'compatibility', 'reversibility', 'prevention', and so on.

The words referred to (security, reversability, prevention) indicate the increasingly articulated and complex requirements of contemporary usage, as well as the range of multi-disciplinary knowledge required in an intervention that is conscious, appropriate and economically managed. They also reflect the acknowledged central role of the object of the intervention – and no longer the omnipotence of the restorative subject – and refer, substantially, to the future user<sup>1</sup>. They suggest how the theme of the use of built heritage should deal with the complexity and problems of the contemporary world, starting from the management of processes in which the increasingly refined techniques and technologies often seem to give over-riding importance within a project to technical, economic and practical aspects, rather than cultural ones.

From this point of view, the significance of the material or immaterial document, in its authenticity, therefore becomes, in an increasingly substantive way, connected to the use to which it is put; to the existential dimension of the individual who approaches the cultural heritage not only passively, but also with an active role in enjoying it as a user.

The place of subjective appreciation of cultural heritage in shaping intervention is especially difficult because of its potential influence on the choices made in establishing priorities

and in the consequent interventions and management, and on how the heritage is understood from an economic perspective. In this sense, one of the greatest risks in the case of cultural heritage, is to bend the needs of protection to the needs of the user, thus meeting an easy public consensus. In this case, the fundamental role of cultural communication as a tool for bringing the public closer to the comprehension and cultural growth that underlies the enhancement of cultural assets and their virtuous economic management, is lost.

#### *The theme of memory*

Other considerations can be added regarding the theme of the acknowledged authenticity of material and immaterial heritage. Speaking of material heritage, for example, today we often find that there is a distance – not only in terms of time, but above all, in terms of culture – in customs, in the ways of living in the historical building, or in appreciating the urban landscape modeled by constructive practices related to geographical and territorial contexts. This distance has led pervasive perception of the environment (in the broadest sense of the term) in an increasingly distracted and superficial way. This is due to a progressive weakening of cultural linkages with local traditions, with the beliefs and intergenerational relationships that characterised the inhabitants of certain areas or territories. The hectic pace of globalisation and the movement of people have accentuated this trend. On one hand, the risk is creating, and indeed we already see certain forms of omnivorous tourism, where simulacra of history, become a ‘show’ to be experienced by the visitor. In this sense, ‘material’ heritage easily becomes associated with a particular meaning (immaterial) that is determined by its image and consequently can support an idea of authenticity limited to form, unchanging over time, thereby supporting the idea of restoration as recovery à *l’identique* (Fiorani 2014). These are the architectures of a past whose threads with the present have now been cut. The threads have been replaced by a quasi-historical memory, expressed through a stereotypical image expressing a time made even more remote than its own temporal distance from the present: like the Egyptian pyramids, the excavations of Pompei, the palace of Versailles and so on. These spectacular examples induce a passive and undifferentiated response in the visitor. But beyond such, when we discuss historic heritage, and when we consider the distinctive role of the individual in relation to it, we have in mind a potentially active role in relating personal experience of built objects to deal with buildings, contexts and landscapes from the past. Due to their constructional, technological and functional characteristics they are a fragile testimony to cultures and ways of life now lost. Often, without effective mediation they are virtually indecipherable. Yet their richness of meaning is the primary reason to preserve them.

Similar considerations apply to intangible assets, perhaps even more significantly. Considerations of heritage are linked to the desire to preserve memories and identify traditions, ways of doing things, artisanal production and processing methods, socio-economic and cultural manifestations. One wonders what has remained of the historical dimension (or of ‘histories’, included in the ‘material culture’ and the *longue durée*) considering the fact that the phenomenon of globalisation has now undermined the ways in which Western civilisation, until the very recent past, has traditionally built its self-identification with continuity through the same cultural and historiographic systems, which were the foundations for restoration.

#### *The theme of the ‘trace’ of the past*

Today this consideration seems to be an inevitable premise when approaching historical heritage, as the need to relate in a different way to the past and its possible interpretations seems no longer avoidable. This is because our collective identity is becoming very different as a re-

sult *inter alia* of our understanding of the present, in which the dialogue between ancient and new architecture, between past and present arises. On one hand the 'ancient' (or the 'past') drew its meaning through its connection with self-identification and specific cultural origins, historically identified and rooted in a time and a place; a bond which, as we have seen, today seems to be perceived in an ever more fragile and less immediate way. On the other hand, the 'new' (or the 'present') is more and more the expression of a multicultural society, of a new 'displaced' civilisation in which the globalisation of technological instruments corresponds to a basic absence of topological differentiation. Such global contemporaneity, in fact, now seems to assume its own identity and sense outside the traditional references modeled on the cognitive horizon of history; instead, within a new anthropological scale of the problem, it seems to relate to an interpretation of the world that passes through the filter of 'technique', as the philosopher Umberto Galimberti has so well described (Galimberti 1999: 353-355, 499-521).

From the perspective of restoration all this can be read as a 'document crisis', essentially as an expression of an identity crisis – or rather the search for a new way of representing itself – on the part of a multiethnic and globalised society that, in the undifferentiated multiplication of 'memories' of the technological-digital age, risks not knowing how to describe itself, which documents to produce, or how to recognise itself, showing difficulties in seeing itself projected towards the future. This aspect, in different ways, occurs both with material and immaterial heritage.

To some extent, albeit with the appropriate distinctions when referring to material objects and not to works of art, the theme recalls what Maurizio Ferraris notes about the problem of documentality, the need to leave 'traces' of memory, which implies an appropriate approach to the current proliferation of writing and digital memory (Ferraris 2009: 311-317) but also to the relationship that is established with it.

The challenge in the ability or possibility of recognising oneself in objects of the past can no longer ignore the awareness that it is possible to hypothesise new ways of approaching and understanding the meaning of things of the past, presenting a different scenario constituted by a sort of new knowledge, one that is possibly 'forgetful' compared to traditional historical schemes, but open to the discovery of 'traces' through new aspects of use and appreciation.

To undertake this new path, one must begin to explore the more uncertain paths of Memory. These paths are present in the collective mentality, albeit discontinuous and deconstructed within their encompassing, historically undifferentiated, timeframes, but which seem to correspond better to the complexity of our age<sup>2</sup> – paths wherein the meaning attributed to intangible assets seems to be more specifically immediate and related.

As a result, if Memory takes on the role of a common horizon of knowledge, in which the different languages and the different ways of reading the past can be confronted, the unifying referential element can only be the concreteness of things, the potentiality of the traces of memory of material objects, of places, of societies. This is what motivates the conservation of material and immaterial heritage.

In particular, going back to the subject of restoration intervention, as Stefano F. Musso states, the possible resources inherent to the area of immaterial testimony are also to be considered: "Not (...) only actions can affect the physical and material conditions of the building, by ensuring its conservation and enhancement in conditions of safety, efficiency and duration. Similarly, there are actions that could be defined as 'immaterial' regarding the artefacts or of the site, of how they are perceived and of their use should that be more carefully considered, because they could give the discipline of restoration and the protection of existing architectural heritage new impulses and unprecedented forces"<sup>3</sup>.

In the case of material testimony (to which a similar reference to immaterial testimony cannot be denied), preservation calls for permanent material authenticity as a necessary condition for the persistence of the testimonial value.

When we focus on authenticity as it applies to intangible assets we are dealing with transmission of the knowledge that enables continuing expression over time. It arises from repetition by individuals, by generations of people, so that changes over time. The authenticity of an intangible asset is rooted in its being part of the way of life of individuals and societies, of productive activities, of rituals and celebrations. In this case it is a matter of tradition, in which repetition over time is a composing element, and in the transmission between individuals and society (UNESCO 2003).

The Camino de Santiago enjoys both these aspects, and faces their complex and mutual interference.

### **Usage and sustainability as a possible future for the Camino de Santiago**

The discussion on the preservation/consumption of the Camino de Santiago – but above all the short experience of traveling along a small stretch of road – allowed us to reflect in a personal and direct way on the specific case, on the actual and potential strengths and critical issues of preservation that significantly summarise many of the current restoration problems, on both theoretical and operational levels.

The question that arises is, in what ways can we address the process of preservation and reuse of historical buildings, without forsaking the legitimate needs of economic management, but at the same time giving back, or giving new meaning to the cultural reasons that the fundamental question “why do we restore material testimonies?” is based on. This question highlights the crucial meaning of restoration – the cultural dimension of the objects it deals with – and shows the need to open new paths, find new ‘traces’ of knowledge concerning the objects of the past that can best correspond to the changed scenario of the 21st century.

The Camino has existed for centuries as a pilgrimage route, and going through many different eras it represents an important historic and cultural testimony of these eras, the continuous religious, historical, political, social, economic, and cultural transformations, evolving, just like its very nature as a path, towards a destination, a journey progressing towards Compostela. It is a cultural asset, which is appreciated *in itinere*: besides the spiritual and psychological fulfillment it offers, there is also a physical and measurable time of the journey, and is characterised by its sense of being ‘one way’, as anyone who retraces their steps can experience, finding themselves on their own, in counter-flow.

As Attilio Brilli states, in contrast to the journeys to Rome and Jerusalem, where the pilgrimage was located in the places of destination (the Via Crucis in Jerusalem, the tour of the five basilicas or the seven churches in Rome), the fortune of the Camino de Santiago lies in the fact that the journey itself was a pilgrimage, studded with chapels, places of prayer and reflection, along the way to the sepulchre of St. James (Brilli 2017: 234-239).

In addition to being a ‘material’ heritage, and to its territorial dimension, the sequence of villages and rural settlements, religious buildings, historicised places of shelter, and landscapes, there are multiple immaterial values associated with it that are fulfilled through its usage. Due to its specific issues of preservation and usage – arising from the growing number of pilgrims and tourists – it can be considered an emblematic synthesis of the problems that preservation is facing nowadays in the globalised world, with social aspects, behaviors, mentalities and ways of life that must be taken into account in the management of cultural heritage.

The concept of preservation revolves around the maintenance of material authenticity as a prerequisite for the maximum endurance of historical evidence, without however excluding those transformations that arise from the deterioration of matter over time and the changed conditions of use. It is precisely on the maximum endurance of such material testimonies that one can rest the multiplicity of intangible uses of the Camino (a spiritual path, open also to people with disabilities in the most compatible way possible).

If continuing use is central to the maintaining the authenticity and memory of the original religious path, then one has to take account of the fact that the practice of faith changes over time. Such changes influence the mentalities of those experiencing the journey and how they connect with this dynamic immaterial heritage. Today, as we have discussed, there are different ways of approaching the path, no longer only those of religious nature, but also a more touristic one, 'profane', according to the vision most closely associated to its mystical meaning.

The pilgrimage spirit associated with the journey, broadened to a wider public, sees a sort of contamination between the 'mystical' and purely spiritual side of the experience and the more practical and material aspects that it involves – the unavoidable reflection of the transformations of society and of people's mentality.

We can say that these are authentic modes of fulfillment as well, albeit relative to the individual. Moreover and in general, a broader accessibility, in the sense of facilitating the use of the path, falls within the framework of contemporary culture and should not be seen as defacement *a priori*. At the same time it is necessary to establish boundaries between the correct requirements for safety and accessibility and the excesses of comfort that lead to the distortion of places and their transformation into commercial, and often exclusive luxury products – signs that indicate to weary travelers how to reach taxis (to the relief of some and perhaps the disdain of others) have become features of the landscape.

On the other hand, without wishing to diminish the high spiritual heritage represented by the Camino, we could also recall the controversy that arose among the 'purists' of the mountain when the installment of cable cars began: the summit had to remain an exclusive conquest reserved to few, as a reward for a particular physical and psychic effort, in opposition to the trivialisation of the experience provided by mechanical means of transport that allowed anyone to reach the same arduous destination without any effort. In similar terms, today we consider the topic of how to manage usage of the Camino in a sustainable way.

Taking account of the relative affluence, heterogeneous interests and differing physical capacities of the new users, the focus should remain on maintaining to the greatest possible extent, the material testimonies, making a cautious, parsimonious response to the demands for facilities (hotels, transport, etc) so as not to destroy the nature of the Camino: the legacy of its spiritual and religious tradition, although still predominant, today is no longer exclusive, but is flanked by 'different' ways of usage, but must not be degraded. In fact, in this multiplicity of uses lies the dynamism of what can be considered the value of 'immaterial heritage' represented by the path, which is able to trigger multiple ways of usage, each endowed with its own authenticity, even if relative. It could be said that this dynamism is a positive interconnection between different ways of making the Camino – those who do from curiosity or for fitness may experience a gradual spiritual involvement, and vice versa.

It is indisputable that extension to an increasing number of users is part of our current vision of a civil and shared participation in enjoyment and cultural enrichment through cultural heritage. However, it is also clear that while addressing the 'enhancement' of usage, there must also be the concrete awareness of the need to conduct the transforma-



tion with the aim of constructing a virtuous economy that favors the process of sustainable preservation of the territories of the Camino.

## Conclusions

As many experiences in conservation projects seem to have confirmed, the economic factor is now a basic reference for focusing on and effectively addressing the consumption and conservation problems of even such a special asset as the Camino de Santiago: a route through territories, built environments originating from small villages, rural farming and breeding activities, that supply produce for the sustenance of small rural settlements that inhabit the territory, characterising it according to the concept of 'granularity', intended as a correlation and participation of elements within a series of sequential links, each of which is fundamental to the other, which Donatella Fiorani quoted in the discussion.

The theme of sustainability as a consequence of the broader global debate about the future that places at the centre the problem of consumption of the planet's resources, also relates to, as it does to every other area of human production, the field of architecture, and especially that of restoration, in which the role of the project and the responsibility for its choices have been accentuated. In making these choices, as we have seen, the figure of the user has become dominant, and whose needs for use, safety, and greater accessibility in daily life have become necessary requisites.

Beyond the technical and operational measures that can respond more adequately to the needs of energy saving and the reconversion and recycling of built resources, it is essential that we take into specific consideration which direction the concept and the idea of 'cultural sustainability' has taken. Such consideration, intended as an open outlook towards the future, is necessary so that operational procedures can become meaningful and find new and original formulations to preserve the Camino with the value of its testimony, and not alienating it under the economic pressure of tourism.

We are not referring here to types of adaptation that the community today considers necessary for daily life (comfort, safety, etc.), but rather to their extreme adaptation, beyond the limits of what would be considered to be responsible use and consumption; nor are we considering attitudes related to 'mentalities' that are consolidated in unconscious and destructive behavioral stereotypes.

The prominent role assigned today to the user of cultural heritage, can become an important factor in the preservation of the Camino. Through communication with the public by spreading cultural information with the object of a more profound understanding of the cultural heritage and its context, the user can become more aware and respectful of the material and immaterial value of the Camino, and contribute to the preservation process.

This outlook offers the opportunity for further considerations, linked to the increasingly globalised dimension of both knowledge and individual interaction with heritage. Therefore, in a perspective that correctly tends to satisfy the needs of usage in an ever wider way, it is important to safeguard the permanence of those values of material and immaterial testimony which, as in the Camino, can determine a more solid quality of the daily relationship with the 'things' of the past, and also constitute a further factor in the commitment to their care.

The existence of values of memory in the material and immaterial traces of the Camino, conceived as testimony and transmission of multiple elements of knowledge, gives the individual the possibility of establishing infinite relationships of empathy with the places, buildings, and territories he crosses.

In a perspective like the current one, which feels the need at a global level to rethink the ways of the economy of production and consumption for an ethical and ecological vision of inhabiting the planet, perhaps a reconsideration of the role of usage, habits, the ways of appreciation and, more broadly, the responsibilities of the user, could also go through a rereading of the relationship between men and 'things'<sup>4</sup>.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> An overall picture of the current restoration techniques, both in the theoretical implications and under the more specifically applicative profile of the theme, is offered by the essays by S.F. Musso, D. Fiorani, A. Grimoldi, F. Doglioni, G.P. Treccani, C. Di Biase, E. Vassallo, S. Della Torre in Musso 2013a.

<sup>2</sup> In this regard see the interesting comparison between scientific investigation and humanistic reading of the theme of memory in Tadié 2000: 9.

<sup>3</sup> Musso 2013b: 25. Translation by the author.

<sup>4</sup> "The transformation of objects into things (...) also presupposes a developed ability to awaken memories, to recreate environments, to be told stories and to practice both the 'closed' nostalgia, which falls back into itself in the regret of what one is lost, is the 'open nostalgia', able to positively process the mourning of a loss (...). In 'open nostalgia' things are no longer subjected to the unattainable desire to return to an irrecoverable past, they do not adhere to the dream of modifying the irreversibility of time (...) but have become the vehicles of a journey of discovery of a past also of possible future". See Bodei 2010: 37-61; in particular, the quote is on p. 55 (translation by the author).

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## CONSERVATION OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: A COMPLEXITY TO BE MANAGED IN CLOSE RELATION WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNITY<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

The Workshop organised by EAAE in 2017 focused on the conservation of material and immaterial heritage and on possible consumption risks related to tourism and mass tourism. The application field was the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, with experiments carried out on its Galician section.

In the Camino de Santiago the *genius loci* is well preserved; this preservation also involves the conservation of material traces and its associated intangible heritage. The Camino de Santiago still allows for a pilgrimage full of values, rich in history. The current problem, however, is the following: are these values lost? Does excessive tourism 'consume' this site? During the Workshop we investigated how material and immaterial heritage are linked to each other, and we have seen how much the one substantiates and strengthens the other and vice versa.

Each Workshop participant was then asked to discuss these issues also in the light of specific examples of other areas; specifically, I decided to compare a research project that I have been working on for a long time, to better analyse the relationship between material and immaterial heritage and the role of the territory in the conservation and enhancement process. The research concerned Pratozanino (Cogoleto) psychiatric hospital. This asylum was put into operation in early twentieth century, and is one of the largest in Italy. It was designed to accommodate 3600 patients and as many medical, paramedical and service staff (more or less the same size of the whole Cogoleto population), in an area of one hundred hectares that was self-sufficient from every point of view. There was a bakery, a farm, and even an electricity production plant. More than twenty big pavilions hidden in the woods could not be seen by those who were 'outside' – there should be no relationship between the 'inside' and the 'outside'... Why does the Pratozanino 'spirit of place' bring forward important questions for the Camino? Why was it interesting to bring this example to the EAAE workshop? The questions that were central to the workshop related to material heritage consumption and sustainable preservation: how should the question of the consumption of heritage be addressed? How does the market exert influence when preserving heritage? And for immaterial heritage: how best to preserve intangible values when promoting heritage?

In Pratozanino the intangible heritage is remarkable and has several points of contact with its extensive material heritage; currently the reuse of the facility for tourism and residential purposes is under consideration. This situation is relevant to the issues touched upon in the workshop for following reasons:

- 1) The inheritance of both sites (the Camino and Pratozanino) can be understood only if tangible values and intangible values are held together. It is possible that in some other sites there may be a prevalence of one over the other; in the two examples, however, in the opinion of the writer, there is a profound and equal presence of both.

- 2) As a consequence, in both sites the conservation of tangible heritage depends on the intangible heritage and vice versa, the transmission of intangible heritage is linked to the conservation of material traces, to the conservation of tangible heritage. One could argue that wherever there is a material heritage there are elements of the immaterial heritage connected to it but in these two cases (the Camino and Pratozanino) the link is particularly close. In both cases some material fragments would have no meaning if they were not interpreted taking account of immaterial value.
- 3) The two cases, however, seem to be in different situations with respect to the conservation of material heritage and the transmission of intangible heritage. While in worldwide restoration practices considerable progress has been made in the conservation of material heritage, the preservation of intangible heritage is much more difficult and arduous, and this is the reason for referring to the Pratozanino example. In the Camino de Santiago the scope of the intangible heritage is unquestionable, rich in centuries-old history and focused primarily on spiritual values; but this heritage is now at risk of progressive impoverishment. In the case of Pratozanino, the immaterial impact lies mainly in its social values, which, however, are strongly rooted in this specific territory and are even increasing in importance. For this reason, the comparison can help answer questions about the Camino. By examining the case of Pratozanino, we want to investigate the reasons for this progressive increase in the immaterial importance, in order to identify possible strategies to be exported and applied to the Spanish case.
- 4) In both cases, because of the values they carry (see point 2), superficial tourism, not attentive to the meanings, could cause enormous damage.
- 5) In both cases there are 'paths'. In the case of the Camino there is a real material path; in the second case, the former psychiatric hospital, you have to deal with a 'mental path'. In both cases, the sequence of the elements and the reciprocal relationship between them also have a high degree of significance. In the case of the Camino we are faced with a route that crosses different nations and different territories and has a very specific goal – the arrival at the cathedral of Santiago. This route has a profound meaning for those who follow it: growth and maturation. In the past its meaning was indisputable way and this still forms part of its meaning today. In Pratozanino, in a more limited territorial context, the visitor may find several very different stages, visualisations of very different conceptions, very different approaches to mental illness: they range from the traces of the approach adopted in the early twentieth century asylum – the hermetic enclosure of the asylum itself (this is one of the few cases where the fence was not torn down, with the entry into force of the Basaglia law of 1978, which sanctioned the closure of asylums in Italy), to the wider view of hospital wards surrounded by greenery, showing traces of the operations of Art therapy such as the cycle of painting by Gino Grimaldi and the artistic Nativity scene of 500 square meters, still present in the foundations of a pavilion. These elements tell of precise relationships between doctor and patient, between treatment and mental illness. It shows a sequence of experimental approaches that makes evident the path followed in this field in just over a hundred years. It is the symbol of a national path that today, forty years after the Basaglia law, is taken as an example abroad.

In exploring these issues this paper takes into account the guidance that stemmed from the Nara (UNESCO 2006) and Faro (Council of Europe 2005) conferences.

### **Preservation of material and immaterial heritage**

Intangible Cultural Heritage is defined by UNESCO as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO 2003). In a preservation action, both the tangible and intangible elements clearly contribute to the spirit of a place. Adaptation of local communities to new conditions oriented to conserve and preserve the existent heritage affects significantly the immaterial inheritance. In turn, the intangible heritage can help to better grasp the sense of some elements of the material heritage, to specify some nuances, points of view, details (Bortolotto 2011; Vecco 2010: 321-324).

The questions related to conservation actions are: how does theory and practice in conservation safeguard the immaterial inheritance? How does it recognise and represent the intangible? How are the tangible and intangible heritage interrelated? How does the idea of authenticity change with the evolution of society? What is the best way to preserve intangible values when promoting heritage? Which are the threats that could give rise to disappearance and deterioration of the immaterial inheritance?

### **Preserve tangible and intangible heritage with the collaboration of populations**

The NARA 2004 Conference, organised by UNESCO and Japanese authorities with experts of every part of the world, resulted in the adoption of the Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2006: 18-21), a major achievement for cultural heritage protection. The scientists, authors of this declaration “call upon [every entity] (...) actively engaging in safeguarding cultural heritage to explore and support investigations of strategies and procedures to integrate the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage, and to always do so in close collaboration and agreement with the communities and groups concerned” (UNESCO 2006: 20).

In this declaration we find a first important issue: every stakeholder is invited, large and small associations of every kind, governmental and non-governmental, and also individuals. The only key feature required is their interest in heritage conservation. The second important issue, is that tangible and intangible heritage are seen as two parts of a whole. The third important issue is that conservation is directly linked to the local community, whose collaboration is necessary.

Later in the declaration the authors “call upon (...) all stakeholders to take concrete measures for raising awareness of the importance of safeguarding heritage, especially through formal and non-formal education, and for ensuring active local participation in this regard” (UNESCO 2006: 20).

Education is taken to mean helping in intellectual and moral maturation, in developing aesthetic appreciation, to instill a sense of discipline and commitment to the community. The text also specifies “through formal and not formal education”, identifying a need to reach all users of a territory, not only by the canonical channels in charge of education but also using different means and methods. What matters is the goal: comprehension, preservation and transmission of the heritage in its entirety. Educating does not mean imposing or obliging, it means encouraging certain sensitivities and needs to emerge from the users themselves.

In the same document there is also an attempt to clarify the possible advantages and burdens that people involved in this process could experience: “call upon (...) all stakeholders to



take advantage of new information and communication technology in implementing programs and projects integrating the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage” (UNESCO 2006: 20). The educational process may be better understood, in some cases, if it happens through modern tools rather than through traditional channels – some users may be more affected by a message sent in a non-canonical way rather than through an academic dissertation.

The following section of the NARA document is especially important: “call upon (...) all stakeholders to promote economically rewarding heritage-related activities without compromising the integrity of communities and the viability of their heritage” (UNESCO 2006: 20). It requires that each action be considered as an expression of the whole community or at least that any specific action should not alter or compromise the integrity of the whole.

With the 2005 Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005), a further step has been taken in stating that knowledge and use of cultural heritage are rights of each individual. The Faro Convention does not overlap with the then existing international instruments (Paris 1848 – Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Paris 1966 – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), but it integrates them, calling on populations to play an active role in the recognition of the values of cultural heritage and inviting States to promote a process of participatory valorisation, based on the synergy between public institutions, private citizens and associations. Together, these are defined in this convention as “heritage community”. Heritage communities are made up of “people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage, who wish, in the context of public action, to support and transmit to future generations” (Council of Europe 2005: 2). This Convention associates the valorisation policies with the ongoing processes of culture democratisation and open government, as it sees in the participation of citizens and communities as the key to increasing awareness of value and cultural heritage in Europe and the its contribution to well-being and quality of life (Pittaluga 2017).

### **The path of Santiago de Compostela: a real path, a system of values whose traces are preserved**

The Camino de Santiago has been for over ten centuries a cultural itinerary that allowed dissemination of knowledge and values throughout the European continent. It also was the framework for a commercial and industrial network that brought good economic and social development over long periods and in the present day also.

The EAAE 2017 workshop focused on some aspects of this Camino, exploring material end immaterial heritage and the impact of tourism. The discussion on material values concerned architectural influence, physical state of path, means of transport, guest-house, other facilities, infrastructural development, increased density of settlement, villages with regional detail, specific materials, specific built heritage, physical training of pilgrim, physical movement of pilgrim. Discussion about immaterial values concerned landscape, pilgrims, the pilgrimage; we tried to identify the elements that make up the intangible heritage and therefore: exchanges of ideas, of purpose, pilgrim perception (experience), pilgrims-communities interactions, acts of generosity, welcoming, spiritual personal anticipation, motivation, memory, spreading the word.

In the end, as anticipated in previous theoretical reflections, we come to the conclusion that, even in this case, it is impossible to separate the immaterial aspects from the material ones, i.e. the material assets are strictly related to the immaterial one. The pilgrimage begins as a personal journey, but it is enriched and made possible by the inter-

actions of the pilgrim with others, both the pilgrimage companions and the different communities encountered along the path. These communities in turn support the pilgrimage by providing services and hospitality; they therefore have an economic advantage from this relationship. This beneficial to the extent that the communities along the route open their horizons to the worlds of the pilgrims, today as in the past.

### **Potentials and risks, reflections**

There are many potentials in the Camino de Santiago. The experience of the Camino during the Workshop was fundamentally a positive one, suggesting ideas that could be applied to other contexts. In summary, the Camino de Santiago:

- promotes 'slow tourism' (to be a pilgrim you have to travel at least 100 km on foot or 200 km by bike);
- allows pilgrims to have an authentic individual experience (independent of motivation);
- does not exhibit 'aggressive' brands, signs or memories;
- up to this point it offers more than just tourist consumerism;
- is attractive for a wide range of people belonging to different cultures.

Some risks and possible threats have also been identified, first of all the concentration of people in certain segments of the path that could become excessive in the future and cause:

- the consumption of its intangible character. In this regard it should be noted that over the years a progressive mitigation of spiritual values and an increase in secular values has occurred; for the moment this phenomenon does not seem worrying and to an extent is also desirable as our society has changed profoundly (to an extent the presence of secular values reflects the plurality of contemporary society). However, were these values to become prominent, it could constitute a real impoverishment and simplification of the values that the Camino always transmitted over past centuries. I would also see positively a strengthening of religious values in relation to the encounter with other religions. In this sense, if there were material signs of this evolution. it would indicate a significant enrichment of the Camino allowing it to play a leading role, as a 'mirror of the times' without denying its first vocation of an eminently religious route.

- the consumption of tangible elements (sidewalks, streets, reception structures but also the landscape). This reflects the typical consumption of a heritage exposed each year to several thousand visitors. This transformation of elements of the material heritage (architectural assets, infrastructures, landscapes) can be partly linked to degradation due to the action of atmospheric agents but also more pertinently to transformations required to adapt to contemporary needs. These last transformations, if limited in quantity, can also be seen as new stratifications that are added to the previous ones and enrich the history of this path, but if they become prevalent they risk impoverishing the 'informative scope' of the whole thing.

### **The key characteristics**

The key characteristics subject to positive or negative transformations are the following:

- 1) The pilgrimage as an interaction between people and sites.

The Camino is constantly redefined by new generations of users, who in recent times have been asking new demands on both the physical and metaphysical qualities of the Camino. Different religious attitudes and practices, new special needs for spaces and

infrastructures can also shape the landscape over time. The interactions between the pilgrim and the territorial communities are an essential part of the pilgrimage itself, while the pilgrim gradually meets them along the Camino. The Camino di Santiago crosses many localities and nations: the perception of different territorial contexts, with specific morphological social and political characteristics, is essential to the Camino itself. In the past, the presence of the Camino was generally perceived as a secondary aspect, less important than the other activities, just one among the other agricultural, rural activities. Today the balance seems more at risk than before. If a loss of balance occurs it could generate profound changes even in the landscape, with a substantial loss of some immaterial values, the first affected issue being the exchange between different cultures.

2) The pilgrimage as an interaction between people and time.

Pilgrimage is a contemporary phenomenon but the culture of pilgrimage is a sum of individual experiences and a collective phenomenon that brings together all the experiences of today's and yesterday's pilgrims. The pilgrim is aware of performing a ritual that has already been repeated countless times by thousands of pilgrims over centuries. This awareness of history substantiates and enhances the experience. It could be said that this spirit of history is immanent and even few material traces are enough to make this past experience so rich.

3) The pilgrimage as an interaction between material and immaterial heritage.

From what has been said above it is clear how inseparable the material and immaterial values are in an experience such as that of the pilgrimage. Nowadays religious pilgrims walk side-by-side with pilgrims that see a sporting goal in the Camino. Who knows if in some future the latter type will prevail or not. I think that their new presence is acceptable because it represents a facet of a changing world; however, if the old-style pilgrim would be canceled, I would consider it a failure, an impoverishment of the values underlying it, an impoverishment of the intangible heritage of this path. If this happened we should ask ourselves why there had been the complete lack of transmission of this part of that intangible heritage.

The EAAE 2017 workgroups discussed the possible consumption linked to tourism. Along the path walked by workgroups, especially in the sections less close to the destination of Santiago, we found no particular problems related to tourism. From all this a reflection has arisen: the pilgrimage is not a generic 'touristic product'. The pilgrim must personally commit himself/herself to complete the journey, despite the difficulty of the Camino, such as painful feet, inclement weather and internal doubts. Those who support the progress of the pilgrim are not 'service users' in a general sense: their role is to assist the pilgrim in this personal goal, on the basis of a transitory need. Indeed, much of this assistance cannot be quantified in monetary terms and is generally due to local population goodwill attitude. If the accommodation and support to pilgrims would be provided by larger organisations, either public or private, an important part of the experience would be lost. This is why local communities should be encouraged to maintain their active role, and the authorities should help them with founding and counselling, when possible (source of the quotation: report of a group discussion within the workshop).

### **The Pratozanino Asylum experience: a virtuous path in values conservation**

Our contribution to workshop discussion has been a particular one, i.e. the path to a new way of managing mental illness represented by the Pratozanino Asylum, a process of

change that began in the late 19th century, where mental illness was treated by means of imprisonment and isolation, to the point where today it involves acceptance and cooperation. It is above all a path full of immaterial values and here and there you can still see the material traces that witness these changes of mentality.

In Pratozanino, different conceptions of care for mental illness are present and witnessed in the material heritage and its evolution over decades. The first approach was 'isolate the patient', indeed the *Manicomio* itself in an isolated place away from the city (at the end of 19th century). The next phase (early 20th century, original construction) brought increased attention to patients and their characteristics, with dedicated spaces within the overall structure. This is the meaning of the precise site planning of the entire complex consisting of several pavilions immersed in the greenery, the distribution of rooms, dormitories, meeting places, gates and barriers. Later the attention to single patient needs and their evolution increased, as testified by the artwork and masterpieces of Gino Grimaldi, a hospitalised artist, who made several paintings in the asylum's church of Santa Maria Addolorata, an important early demonstration of art-therapy (in the 1930s). More recently, in the 1980s, the efforts towards socialisation among patients and self-description are testified in the *presepe artistico* (artistic crib) realised by a wide group of patients, an important step in the international landscape relating to the development of care for mental diseases (Schinaia 1997). Meanwhile a progressive closure of the institution occurred, in application of the Basaglia Law (1978). This law dismantled these asylums nationwide: this caused the abandonment of most of the structures at Pratozanino, eventually only few pavilions remained active for special cases. In time, growing attention and interest in mental disease resulted in the foundations of associations of volunteers getting support from local organisations. The immaterial value of the interest of these groups of citizens obtained the material effects of important conservation and restoration interventions (Pittaluga 2015; Pittaluga, Nanni 2016).

### **The associations of Cogoleto saving their material and immaterial heritage: a continuous reference between the one and the other**

Since last years of the *Manicomio* many new associations were founded in Cogoleto with the purpose of safeguarding the particular material and immaterial heritage of the psychiatric hospital – an important presence in the territory and one of the biggest 'asylums' in Italy. In 1996 the Associazione Gino Grimaldi was founded, aimed at the conservation and promotion of the artwork of painter Gino Grimaldi. In the same year the artistic group Il Giardino del Mago was founded, with the purpose of involving patients in initiatives related to theater and cinema (Ratto 2005). In 1997 the association Associazione Pratozanino was created to promote and support the development of rehabilitative experiences and employment opportunities for people suffering from mental disorders in Pratozanino area. The Comitato Viviamo Pratozanino was created in 2007.

In a virtuous spiral their activity stimulated the involvement of other local associations on the same issues; Confraternita di San Lorenzo (a local religious guild active from XVIth century), Cogoleto Live (local private video channel), Associazione Marco Rossi, Associazione Culturale Cogoleto Otto and Associazione Fornace Bianchi.

Several institutions have also been involved: local authorities (Comune di Cogoleto, and its youth advisory table Consulta Giovanile, Regione Liguria, Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali, catholic Parrocchia S. Maria Maggiore church), scientific institutions (Università di Genova, Con-

siglio Nazionale delle Ricerche), and the owners of the building structure (Azienda Sanitaria Locale 3, who eventually sold to current owner Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, a kind of state bank).

In brief, several initiatives have been activated for divulgation, preservation, conservation, maintenance, with a constant growth over time, mutually supporting and empowering each other. These are briefly summarised in the table below, addressing both 'material assets' and 'intangible heritage'.

The tables (Figs. 1, 2a-2b) show that initiatives centered on the intangible heritage of the former hospital of Pratozanino are the most numerous, but they also show that often they are followed by initiatives for safeguarding material heritage: restorations of the moving parts of the cycle by Gino Grimaldi (two altarpieces and three lunettes now in the oratory of San Lorenzo in Cogoleto), repairs to the roof of the church, interventions to the wall paintings, complete reconstruction of the roof of the church. Moreover, as far as economic entities are involved, there is a sort of equilibrium because the initiatives related to material assets correspond to larger financial investments.

### **A valorisation process that must be carried out with the population**

There is no predefined way to carry on a conservation and valorisation process with the involvement of the population itself. A specific preparation of the whole process is necessary, with recurrent updates.

We understand that the involvement of the inhabitants of the territories of the Camino de Santiago is a special one, a relationship that has continued for centuries, a deep coexistence that apparently does not change daily routines. It is a sum of non-imposed, spontaneous and natural attitudes, as entire generations lived a daily contact with the pilgrims, users of this path. It is not a result of boredom or indifference, it is tested but not overwhelming, moderate but deep, reassuring but always new, the same authenticity today as in the past.

The Pratozanino experience is different, but nevertheless significant and full of stimuli. The impact of the Great Psychiatric Hospital on the small Pratozanino village was disruptive and traumatic, as it was compellingly imposed on this territory, and it generated conflicts with local populations of Pratozanino and Cogoleto. That changed over time, improving as the attitude towards psychiatric illness changed: from an initial concept of segregation, little by little the climate changed towards contact and interaction. This accompanied progressive changes in the care of psychiatric patients: doctors more attentive to patients, art-therapy works, social and theatrical open events, storytelling, changes that in several cases anticipated psychiatric procedures at national level. This specific and well-rooted intangible heritage is therefore an important asset of Pratozanino. The tenacity of Pratozanino and Cogoleto residents and their cultural associations kept this heritage alive and contributed to its transmission it, both the immaterial and material aspects. The spontaneous initiatives found a response in the institutions, with the municipality and university gradually involved. Research projects and conservation interventions followed for the entire heritage, material and immaterial.

We identify some points common to the two scenarios, above all the risks that both could face in the near future. We also indicate suggestions that can be applied in both cases.

- 1) The 'ruin' risk, i.e. some portions of these sites might be perceived as ruins, legacy of a past no longer present, missing their deep symbolic value (Ricci 2006). For Augé "The ruins accumulate too much history to express a story. What they offer to our sight is not history. In fact, what we perceive is rather the impossibility of imagining



FIG. 1. List of initiatives between 1996 and 2018. Lines with a white background are initiatives of conservation and valorisation of the intangible heritage, lines with a dark background are initiatives of conservation and valorisation of the material heritage.

ID Date	Organizer(s)	Initiative
1/1996	AGG	Foundation of AGG, with the purpose of spreading artworks of Gino Grimaldi and the "Presepe Artistico"
2/1996	IGDM	Foundation of volunteers artistic group IGDM, with the purpose to facilitate interaction of Italian and French artists with patients of Pratozanino
3/1996	IGDM	Some guards of the former psychiatric hospital, ascribed by volunteer artists, paint as 11 meters long tile and "tile" one of the buildings
4 Jun 6-7 1997	AGG	Conference of studies on Gino Grimaldi's paintings in the Pratozanino former Asylum, (speakers C. Schinula, G. Rotondi Terminiello, C. Conforto, F. Stong)
5 Jun 7-8 1997	AGG, ASL3	Exhibition on Pratozanino former Asylum, inside the convention "Cantieri delle idee" (ideas building yard)
6/1997	AGG	Publication of C. Schinula book "Dal manicomio alla città. L'altro presepe di Cogoleto", editor Laterza-Bari 1997, on Presepe Artistico
7/1997	IGDM	Start of project within former Pratozanino hospital which involves the creation of an installation entitled "Il giardino del Mago"
8/1997	AP	Foundation of AP, with the purpose of creating working and recreating opportunities for patients of the psychiatric hospital
9/1997	IGDM	The catalog of the installation "Il giardino del Mago" is edited
10/1997	IGDM	The installation "Il giardino del Mago" is hosted by an art gallery in Abbiadori Marina (SV): in this way the concept of "being together out" becomes more concrete
11/1998	AGG, CC, RLO, IA, GL, PHZ	Exhibition "Figure dell'Anima. Arte irregolare in Europa", Pavia, Castello Visconteo January 15- February 22 1998 and Genova, Palazzo Ducale, March 3 - April 14 1998
12/1998-2006	SBAP, AGG, CC, PG	Restoration of lunettes and altarpieces painted by Gino Grimaldi
13/1998-99	IGDM	Exhibition "Artisti in bilico" with community "GIAN SOLDI"
14/1998-99	IGDM	Exhibitions in France and in Italy: "Nissa-Sanna, Sanna-Nissa", "Sette a settembre" "Ieri mi sta" (two ties of painted cloth 16 m long, installed on a building of the old dock and on the Villa Cambiolo building in SV), "L'ombra della luce" (performances with sound, light and movement, presented in Italy, France and Hong Kong), a series of conferences "Arte Mobile" held in Italian and French galleries.
15/1998-99	IGDM, CC	Activation of an experimental theatrical laboratory, with performance in Italy and in France, in collaboration with Comune di Abbiadori Marina
16/1998-2000	IGDM, ASL3	Almost 300 people activate three experimental laboratories for ceramics/paintings, theater and cinema. 200 events organized including a dozen of movies, some of which have also received great success at the national level with awards and recognition
17/1999	IGDM	The "Experimental Cinematographic Laboratory" is founded
18/1999	IGDM, ASL3	An agreement is signed between ASL3 and IGDM
19/1999	IGDM, ASL3	The first video product of "Experimental Cinematographic Laboratory" is "I dialoghi del dopo", second video "Comunicazioni particolari".
20/2000	P. Zallo	Writes the book "Gino Grimaldi. Schizzi di Eros"
21/2001-2003	IGDM, ASL3	Realization of movie "Pratozanino", directed by G. Laveri and I. Martinoni, cast of 65 people, subtitles in French and English, shown in several reviews and cinema d'essai
22/2003	SBAP	Repairing of the church covering of S. M. Addolorata
23/2003-2006	IGDM, ASL3	Several movies realized, with interaction of ex-patients, volunteers, French and Italian artists ("L'ultimo huguenot", "Arancia meccanica", "Il buco, il brutto e il cattivo", "Amarcord")
24/2003	IGDM, ASL3	Working to the film "Metabar"
25/2003	IGDM, ASL3	Presents of new film "Pausa della Paura"
26/2003	IGDM	The book "Il giardino del Mago" is published. Cinema, theater, mental health tests, by E. Ruffo, editor Coedit, Genova
27/Dec 8 2006	IGDM, ASL3	Projection of the film "Pausa della Paura", Arenzano
28/2006	IGDM, ASL3	The film "Metabar", presented in 2007 in Palladium Theater in Rome is launched in national and international movie circuits. The movie deals with relations between arts, psychiatry, re-socializing therapy, medical coordination M. Cristofani and M. Vaggi
29/2006	IGDM, ASL3	Realization of a video "5 minuti in scena"
30/Sep 2007	AP	Reutilizing hospital sites that were progressively abandoned because of the application of the Basaglia law. Organization of an armonium and guitar concert of M. Cosu and L. Torianolo inside the S. Maria Addolorata church, for the event "Mille note sotto il cielo"
31/Jul 23-23 2007	AP, CVP	"Tutti nudi per la musica" event
32/Dec 16-21 2007	AP, CVP	Christmas together inside the church of S. M. Addolorata inside Pratozanino ex-hospital
33/2007	AP	Support to S. Cristofani, to produce materials for Sanremo song "Ti regalerò una rosa"
34/2007	CVP	Foundation of CVP with the aim to reach a closer relation with the structure of Pratozanino, stimulating the debate on its possible future use
35/2007	CSL, AGG, SBAP, CC	Collocation of the altarpieces, lunettes and cover-tabernacle by Gino Grimaldi in the Oratorio di S. Lorenzo in Cogoleto
36/2007	CSL	Custody of the "mobile artworks" (Pala, lunettes and cover-tabernacle of Grimaldi), guided tours
37/2007	IGDM, ASL3	The "5 minuti in scena" video participates to second edition of "Gulliver Prior", in national conference "Il sogno di un cosa - 130 anni della legge 180 - Bologna 2008"
38/Sep 26-29 2008	AP, CSL, CC, CVP	Photographic exhibition on the Madagascar "Crimes silenti", in Loggia dei Cavalieri in Cogoleto, with photographs of L. Giusto and D. Campi Martacci
39/Mar 29 2008	AP, CVP	"Il sole sotto il glicine" event, meeting at the former hospital of Pratozanino
40/2008	AP, CVP, CSL	"Il presepe degli angeli" is a special crib that is set up every year during Christmas holidays, every year it is enriched with new statues, always angels, from all over the world, we now have close to 1000 angels statues
41/2008	A. Pippo	Writes her thesis on Grimaldi: "Vita, Morte e Miracoli nel ciclo pittorico di Gino Grimaldi all'interno della chiesa dell'ex ospedale psichiatrico di Cogoleto", for DAMS Bologna
42/Nov 7 2009	AP, CVP, CC	Prima rassegna del cinema figure d'autore, with projection of film Metabar
43/2009	IGDM	The film "Pausa della Paura" and the video "I corti" participate to the "Seconda Rassegna del Cinema Figure d'Autore"
44/2009	IGDM, ASL3	Short films "Bisere di niente, Tutto fa notizia, Rosso blu corchiato, Paura della Paura", realized by the artistic group "Il Giardino del Mago" and the psychiatric residential structures
45/2009	AP, CC	Seconda Rassegna del Cinema Figure d'Autore
46/2009	AP	Supports the realization of the video, filmed inside the former Pratozanino hospital, for S. Cristofani the song "Ti regalerò una rosa", competing in the Sanremo music festival
47/May 31 2011	IGDM, ASL3	The film "Ho fatto un sogno" is shown in a national preview in Rome, at the Piccolo Apollo screening room in via Conte Verde
48/2011	IGDM, ASL3	Realization of movie "Ho fatto un sogno". This is not a documentary but a film where patients play an "active" role as actors/interpreters, tooling staff, production staff
49/Nov 26 2011	A. Pippo, ACCO, CSL, CC, CL	Conference "I colori dell'arte nell'ombra della follia", Oratorio di S. Lorenzo
50/Oct 10-16 2011	CSL, ACCO	Exhibition "Gino Grimaldi. I colori dell'arte nell'ombra della follia", Oratorio di S. Lorenzo
51/Nov 10-16 2011	ACCO, CL, CC	Photographic exhibition "Corpi, sguardi, silenzi. L'essere e il nulla. Scatti di Lidia Giusto ripresi presso l'OPP di Pratozanino", Cogoleto
52/2011	ACCO	Foundation of ACCO, with the aim of publicizing important personalities of Cogoleto, like the Italian singer Natalino Otto. Focus on Gino Grimaldi, they organize meetings, debates and exhibitions for this
53/Jun 14 2012	IGDM	Projection of third film on discomfort "Ho fatto un sogno" and round table with members of "ASP Opere Sociali" and Gruppo Redaccia, Savona, moderator M. Poggio di 162
54/Oct 29 2013	AFBC, ACCO, CSL, CG, SBAP, CDP, UNIGE, AGG, CL, CP	Conference "I dipinti di Gino Grimaldi", in Festival della Scienza, keyword "La bellezza"
55/Mar 22 2013	IGDM, CSC	Participation with three films "I corti di Pratozanino" at the public meeting "Intrecci di soglie: confronto di esperienze tra arte e terapia", Quarto ex- Psychiatric Hospital, Genova
56/Oct 31 - Nov 7 2013	ACCO, AFBC, CSL, CG	Exhibition "Psiche - testimonianze e visioni. Percorso nella psiche attraverso fotografie, filmati e documenti. Tributo a Gino Grimaldi e Oreste Fernando Nannetti", Oratorio di San Lorenzo
57/Oct 26 2013	ACCO, AFBC	Organization of first on-stage performance "Autin mia Arte" on Gino Grimaldi (directed by N. Limite), Auditorium Borellini

FIGS. 2a-2b. Details of initiatives and organisers (associations, institutions or individuals).

ID	Date	Organizer(s)	Initiative
58	2014	CC, UNIGE, AFBC, AGG, AP, ACCO, CL, CNR, CG, CSL, SBAP, PSMMA, CDP, ASL3	Participation and award of the tender 'In itiner@', founded by Compagnia di San Paolo
59	Nov 1-2-3 2013	AFBC, AGG, AP, ACCO, CSL, SBAP, CDP, CL, CC, CG, UNIGE	Organisation of guided visits of S. Maria Addolorata church in Pratozanino area
59b	Sep 30- Oct 7 2014	Scout Cogoleto 1 Clan Il frantoio	Multimedia exhibition 'La pazzia è coraggio'.
60	Oct 29 2014	AFBC, ACCO, CSL, CG, SBAP, AGG, AP, CL, CC, UNIGE, ASL3	Conference 'E' tempo di restauro', in Festival della Scienza, keyword 'il tempo'
61	Jul 21 - Aug 1 2014	UNIGE, AFBC, CC	Cooperation in 'Genoa Summer School', project work on the reconversion of the Psychiatric Hospitals of Quarto and Pratozanino
62	Sep 19-20 2015	ACCO, CL	Second version of the theatrical/cinematographic show 'Addio mia Arte' on Gino Grimaldi (directed by N. Limite), Auditorium Berellini, Cogoleto - Don Botto theater, Savignone
63	Sep 2015	AFBC, UNIGE	During the EAAE workshop, D. Pittaluga presents her scientific work done inside Cogoleto hospital: "Conservation-adaptation. Keeping alive the spirit of the place. Adaptive reuse of Heritage with symbolic value", Hasselt/Ubige
64	Oct 17 2015	ACCO, CL	Meeting with G. Doni 'Archeologia Sanitaria. Dalle persistenze manicomiali alla tutela storica', Cogoleto
65	Jul 18 2015	ACCO, CL	Evening meeting with the director N. Limite of 'Addio mia Arte', theatrical piece on Gino Grimaldi, Cogoleto
66	2015	AFBC, UNIGE	Thesis of M. F. Berla on church S. M. Addolorata and its paintings
67	Oct 27 2015	AFBC, ACCO, CSL, CG, SBAP, UNIGE, AGG, AP, CL, CC, ASL3	Conference 'Equilibrio squilibrio: l'equilibrio fragile dei dipinti di Gino Grimaldi' in Festival della Scienza, keyword 'l'equilibrio'
68	11/10/2016	AGG, AFBC, UNIGE, CNR, CSL, CC, ACCO, CC, SBAP, CDP, ASL3	Closure of works on diagnosis and pre-consolidation in S. M. Addolorata church
69	Dec 9 2016	IGDM, AP	Projection of the film 'Capolavori rivisitati' by 'Gruppo Attori e Tecnici' of 'Il Giardino del mago', ASL3, Don Natale Leone theater, Albissola Superiore
70		V. Vesco and A. Ronchi, ACCO, AFBC, CL, CC, UNIGE, ASL3	Ongoing realization of a documentary on the reality of Pratozanino, edited by of the Scuola Civica del Cinema di Milano
71		UNIGE, CNR, SBAP, AFBC, CC, CDP	Monitoring of the pre-consolidation intervention of Grimaldi's paintings in the Church of S. M. Addolorata,
72	Nov 10 2017	AMR, AFBC, CC	Conference on the 'Manicomio di Cogoleto' Sala Consiliare Comune di Cogoleto
73	May 19 2017	ACCO, CC	Third version 'Addio mia Arte', show on Gino Grimaldi, Auditorium Il sipario strappato, Arenzano
74	2017	ACCO, CC	Presentation of G. Doni's book 'Anime di cartapesta', on the Presepe artistico of Pratozanino, Cogoleto
75	Nov 24 2017	ACCO, CC	'Storie da dentro. Storie vere di degenti ex Ospedali psichiatrici di via Galata e Pratozanino', meeting with S. Ottani, archivist appointed by Soprintendenza archivistica e bibliografica della Liguria for the project 'Carte da legare' of Ministero dei Beni culturali
76	May 13-23 2017	ACCO, CC	Exhibition 'Gino Grimaldi. I colori dell'arte nell'ombra della follia', Serra Monumentale del Parco Negrotto Cambiaso, Arenzano
77	May 13 2017	ACCO, CC	Conference 'Ars Regia. Gino Grimaldi e la fascinazione della simbologia alchemica', speaker A. Guarnieri, Serre Monumentali del Parco Negrotto Cambiaso, Arenzano
78	Jun 9 2017	AFBC, UNIGE	Presentation of the book 'Un eretico in manicomio. Elementi di un percorso di ricerca e di conservazione di un patrimonio materiale e immateriale' with the authors T. Molinari and D. Pittaluga, within the Review 'Libri in calce', at Fornace Bianchi, Cogoleto
79	Dec 2017	UNIGE, AFBC	Publication of researches on S. M. Addolorata in "Capturing the spirit of the place. A special conservation for intangible heritage", in EAAE Transactions on Architectural Education n.65
80	29-30 Sep 2017	UNIGE, FBC, CL, RL	Presentation of researches on ex-hospital at EAAE 2017. La Coruna (Spain).
81	2018	CDP	Complete covering of the church of S. M. Addolorata
82	May 12 2018	UNIGE, RL, ACCO	Conference 'Parole e cose della memoria in psichiatria', with speakers S. Ottani, G. Doni and M. Gugliotta inside the event '180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
83	May 12 2018	ACCO, UNIGE, RL	Exhibition of the installation 'Ti regalerò una rosa' inside the event '180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
84	May 12 2018	ACCO, UNIGE, RL, CL	Exhibition of the reproduction of three scenes of the Presepe di Cogoleto, created by the artistic collective Quarto Pianeta, inside the event '180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
85	18/5/2018	AMR, AFBC	Proceedings of the meeting on 'Il Manicomio di Cogoleto', with contribution 'La chiesa del manicomio S. M. Addolorata e i dipinti di Gino Grimaldi'
86	18/5/2018	ACCO, CG, CL	Conference 'L'arte di Gino Grimaldi', inside the event '180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
87	18/5/2018	AFBC, UNIGE, ACCO, CL	Conference 'L'arte di Gino Grimaldi', inside the event '180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
88	18/5/2018	ACCO, CL	Spettacolo teatrale "Addio mia Arte" inside the event "180x40: una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180", Genova Quarto
89	Oct-Dec 2018	ACCO, CL, CC, AP, CVP, IGDM, AFBC, UNIGE, CNR	Events for 40 years of Basaglia law
96	Jun 2018	UNIGE, AFBC	Presentation of the studies carried out on the paintings of Gino Grimaldi at the conference Science and Cultural Heritage, Brixen
97	May 18 2018	AFBC, UNIGE, RL, CC	Presentation of the results of the Call for Proposals 'In itiner @' in relation to the intangible heritage, to the event '180x40 una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
98	May 18 2018	AFBC, UNIGE, RL	Presentation of the results of the Call for Proposals 'In itiner @' in relation to the material assets, to the event '180x40 una settimana di eventi per i 40 anni della Legge 180', Genova Quarto
99	May 2018-..	AFBC, UNIGE, CNR, CDP	Thesis of M. Pastorino on possible recoveries in Pratozanino Hospital
100	May 2018-..	AFBC, UNIGE, CNR, CDP	Continuation in analyses on pigments and binders used by Grimaldi

what they represented for those who saw them when they were not ruins. They do not tell us the story, but time, pure time (...). Before the spectacle of ruins, what we perceive is the impossibility of learning history, a concrete story, dated and lived. The aesthetic perception of time is the perception of an absence, of a void"<sup>2</sup>.

The Camino de Santiago until now is free from this 'ruin' risk, but it is necessary to preserve it for the future from threats originating from changes in the scale of values, in significance, excessive laicising, reduction to a mere sporting activity. In Pratozanino some old abandoned pavilions already have the appearance of ruins, but several initiatives and events still gave them life, as indicated in the table of ac-

tivities. In both cases an important contribution comes from those who live in the territory, providing memories, explanations, life and significance to what is rich in history (Bloch 1997). We do not want to create ruins, the involvement of the population helps us in this, because it makes us understand the story behind every sign.

- 2) The 'not-a-place' risk. While a ruin tells us too much, so much that we cannot receive them, a 'not-a-place' tells us nothing, it has no meaning and signification. This risk has been considered too. Again, involvement and confrontation with local population is the way to avoid it: M. Augé suggests "establishing relations of the present with the past and the future"<sup>3</sup> as a key to transform a site in a 'symbol-place', i.e. the opposite of 'not-a-place'.

In the past, the Camino de Santiago was certainly an important 'symbolic-place' for Christianity. The challenge is to preserve this status in the present and in the future. Pratozanino is a potential 'symbol-place' for mental illness therapy, as it has all the characteristics to be recognised as a site that made history and keeps memories, but this is just a hope still to be realised. Remembering to transmit a lesson to the future becomes an obligation here, that avoids the danger of the 'not-a-place'. The 'uncomfortable memories' issue could be an obstacle for this, with the temptation of a rejection of the past, with a mechanism that is similar to sites that hosted concentration camps, for example (Luppi, Pretelli, Ugolini 2012; Ugolini, Delizia 2017; Sorbo 2017). In the Spanish case the relationship between Camino and population is a long lasting relationship, stratified over time, it found its equilibrium; it will be up to the institutions to maintain this balance in the near future. In Pratozanino case the peculiar relationship between the population and the former hospital is a recent one, where inhabitants strongly perceive and desire its material and immaterial conservation. In this situation restoration experts and protection institutions should insert themselves in this process to make it more and more credible and lasting. The task of the experts will be to interpret certain needs, to identify certain intuitions, to stimulate some ideas of creativity while avoiding the risks derived by little expertise or excessive ingenuity. We do not want to create 'not-a-places', we want to create 'symbol-places', and population involvement helps in creating links with the past and the future. We want an history that originates in the past, includes progressions and regressions that occurred over the years, but looks and creates links towards the future (Musso 2015).

- 3) Risk of loss of intangible values. Indeed their transmission is even more delicate than the material ones, and they are better transmitted by people who internalised them. As affirmed by S. Settis: "the essential incentive is the desire to contribute to a common cause, using that 'cognitive surplus' that every citizen knows to possess, that extra something that you want to share, combining it with the knowledge of others. In this mechanism of participation, the desire of every single citizen to participate personally and to be recognised is very important; not to passively consume information, but rather to actively contribute to creating it". In this process "words (...) are things, they are actions: they do not move alongside reality, they are part of it and they modify it"<sup>4</sup>. Intangible heritage by its nature requires this close relationship with the population. In fact, the intangible cultural heritage refers to a process and not to a product; it is not static but in constant development; its protection must be oriented towards those who practice and hold traditional knowledge and arts and towards the community in order to ensure its vitality and its continuity.

The involvement of the population helps to understand the history of places to create links with the past but also with the present and the future to preserve the intangible heritage and to transmit the immaterial, helps to understand its values and to transmit them. And perhaps places rich in history but also deeply linked to the present and the future, rich in values could also be a good antidote to the unaware and destructive mass tourism. These two areas must not detach themselves from their history, they must continue to be expression of our society (even its losses and its uncertainties), but they must not give up playing a role.

Safeguarding the material heritage and transmitting the immaterial can help in this process, can help to pursue that balance between 'sense of belonging' and 'current involvement', between conservation and reinterpretation, between objectivity and creativity. If we agree on this, we must also deal to some extent with populations as bearers of values. In this case, as widely debated in the initial part of this article, much has been done but much remains to be done. There is a risk of oversimplifying the processes, accommodating risky populist drifts, but there are already some virtuous experiences with compatible involvement of technicians of the sector in integrated, sustainable and participated conservation initiatives.

## Conclusions

This study shows how the conservation of the Heritage (material and immaterial) passes through the involvement of the population.

The pilgrim does not simply make a trip but, when he decides to make a pilgrimage, he puts himself in a position to live an experience, to actively participate in values, generally spiritual. In the case of Pratozanino there are also values, social values.

In the Camino de Santiago, spiritual values lie within our European tradition, a common heritage; for Pratozanino the key point is entering in relation with a population that had deeply experienced the contact with mental illness. Consequently, this example highlights even more the concept that we want to express here – the need for the transmission of values to pass also through the active participation of the populations. This partly comes from a spontaneous movement of the populations of Cogoleto, but partly also from targeted actions at the political level. In recent years many small associations have arisen (and perhaps there is also a key to understanding in this, in facilitating and encouraging even small and very small associations) not linked to commercial interests, diversified as to objectives and also in social origin, some linked more to young people, others to older people. Political actions with project incentives have increased over time the common actions going to support those projects that saw the involvement of more associations, first of all the ones aimed at conservation and research, such as Superintendencies and Universities.

I think, therefore, that also for the experience of the Camino this is useful. The Camino has centuries of experience behind it, which Pratozanino does not have. But, on the other hand, the strong attention to values, to the intangible heritage that has characterised the Camino in the past could, in the near future, risk a progressive impoverishment (some early warning of this is especially in the urbanised areas of the Camino where the link with the meanings and values of the pilgrimage are weaker). In my opinion, looking at emerging realities, strongly motivated, helps to identify the most appropriate strategies to be adopted for the Camino of the future.

From the comparison between the two cases, the Camino and Pratozanino, emerges the answer to the initial questions asked during the workshop, that is, if it is possible to



counter 'consumerist' tourism, if it is possible to preserve the spirit of the place. The answer is positive: it is possible to preserve the material heritage and pass on the intangible heritage to future generations, but for this to happen it is necessary to maintain a close relationship with the local community, which is the guardian of these values.

## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Augé 2010: 51. Translation by the author.

<sup>3</sup> Augé 2010: 47. Translation by the author.

<sup>4</sup> The quotes derive from Settis 2010: 81, 299. Translation by the author.

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## AN 'EXPERIENTIAL JOURNEY' BETWEEN THE MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL VALUES OF A TERRITORY. IS THERE STILL AN ALTERNATIVE TO TRIVIALISED TOURISM?

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*Only alone, lost, mute, on foot, can I recognise things<sup>1</sup>*

### Introduction

It is more and more usual to hear about people who have walked the Camino de Santiago. Many talk about the difficulty of the trail, the effort, the desire to go back on the road, the feeling of spiritual accomplishment upon reaching the destination, in addition to the physical benefit from the undertaking. Others emphasise the many people they met along the way; the welcoming nature of the hospitality system, articulated throughout the trail, comfortable and safe; the courteous personnel, the quality of the services, etc. Some remember features of the landscape, interpreted as unusual<sup>2</sup>, or rather, 'original', because they were unknown and not commonly a part of the familiar landscape. People rarely talk about the architecture along the trail or in the surrounding areas, including that of a religious nature, where payment may be required for access<sup>3</sup> (Brilli 2006).

Travel articles from recent years have been primarily written by organised religious groups. Narrations of personal experiences are shared via multimedia publishing platforms where the main role is played by the images and the ability to tell a moving story. The actual experience is described as unexpected in respect to the experience imagined before departing, based on reading guidebooks.

The reasons that inspire people to begin the path are diverse. There are relatively few people who are pilgrims with strictly religious motivation: many are driven by spiritual desires<sup>4</sup>, the need to find themselves, to reflect, to abandon the daily grind, to test themselves with a physically and mentally challenging goal. Many people are attracted by a fascination with the trail (which has now become 'trendy') instilled over its history, by the artistic signs and marks left by people who have walked along the road (Fig. 1), while others want to commune with nature in a broader sense, rediscovering the essential nature of being alive.

Therefore, the term 'Camino de Santiago' does not only refer to the physical road that travels to the city of Galicia, but also to a personal voyage with a spiritual character. Crossing through a physical, tangible, real space, the steps of thousands of people have generated a symbolic environment, laced with profound echoes and beckoning.

The concrete manifestation of the walk, made of roads, stopping areas and signs, was shaped by a Christian view of the world. This vision has contributed to the structure of the environment, which then in turn reinforces the religious framework.

Today, the space that can be defined as a 'human landscape'. In the European Landscape Convention, this means a 'landscape' an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors (Council of



Europe 2000). In phenomenological terms, landscape is a form of 'being in the world'; by experiencing and living in the landscape it "becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it" (Ingold 2000: 191). Any discipline concerning landscapes is therefore inevitably bound to acknowledge the importance of public perception and integrate it in their actions. In our case, the landscape, stimulated by new forms of pilgrimage, caters for human-environment interaction, inserting and integrating new symbolic meanings that have gone beyond a necessarily Christian reference.

The awareness and gratification that comes from experiencing the 'human landscape' is at risk. In fact, alarm has been raised about the danger of losing this spiritually, humane, positive potential, due to a series of factors<sup>5</sup>. There has been an increase in the number of people traveling the Camino with practical demands (not necessarily linked to physical health issues as much as lacking the ability to adapt to the difficulty of the trail, or those with expectations of a vacation experience), all of which pander to globalising answers. These demands generate wealth and stability for those who answer them, and are not opposed by the people who care for these places,

despite the fact that they necessarily require the transformation of the signs and spaces left from the original element purpose<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 2).

A similar risk, with the same consequent preoccupation, is also shared by places that are travel destinations for a high number of people attracted by unique environmental, historical, artistic, spiritual, and natural features, which risk losing their reason for existence and/or identity to false pseudo environments created to imitate the original.

### **Pilgrimage, religious and/or cultural tourism, tourism**

For a long time, people who made the journey to Santiago were pilgrims. This fact is described in numerous texts, and the historical presence of the pilgrim is necessary to the significance and enhancement of the trail. Travel diaries, from the first writings to more modern texts, contribute to understanding the reasoning behind the departure, and the specific objects of interest, both material and immaterial. The extended time commitment necessary for a pilgrimage, something that is difficult to contemplate in this day and age<sup>7</sup>, contributed to the evolution of the figure of the pilgrim into that of the religious or cultural tourist in recent times. The secularisation of human society also placed the cultural tourist alongside the regular tourist in a broad sense, curious about the motivations that led to the creation of specific behaviors, or simply with the desire to take a vacation.

Insofar as the pilgrimage and the journey of the tourist have the same structure (both are composed of a departure, arrival and return not always in the same ways and often, for the Camino, people often return home but not walking) there are nevertheless substantial differences between the two.

Previous page:  
FIG. 1. The symbols of the way.

FIG. 2. Transformation of agricultural buildings in tourist places.



Before continuing, it is important to clarify certain definitions. The tourist is a traveler who is often superficial, moved mainly by entertainment and recreation, taking photos, buying souvenirs, visiting famous sites, staying in one place for a brief time and not creating any kind of cultural relationship with the local population.

In 2002, the International Council for cultural and historical monuments published a formal definition as follows: "The cultural and cultural-cognitive tourism actually is this form of tourism, which focuses on the cultural environment, which in turn may include cultural and historical sights of a destination or cultural-historical heritage, values and lifestyle of the local population, arts, crafts, traditions and customs of the local population. Furthermore, cultural and cognitive routes may include a visit or participation in cultural activities and events, visit museums, concerts, exhibitions, galleries, etc" (ICOMOS 1999). Cultural tourism is the subset of tourism concerned with a country's culture, the history, their art, architecture, religion(s), and other elements that helped shape lifestyle of the people. Cultural tourism includes tourism in urban areas, particularly historic or large cities and their cultural facilities. It can also include tourism in rural areas showcasing the traditions of indigenous cultural communities, and their values and lifestyle, as well as niches like industrial tourism and creative tourism. It is generally agreed that cultural tourists spend substantially more than standard tourists do and play a part in regional development in different world regions.

Cultural tourism has been defined as "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs" (Richards 2005: 24). These cultural needs can include the solidification of one's own cultural identity, by observing the 'other' (Timothy, Olsen 2006).

Religious tourism, also commonly referred to as faith tourism, is a type of tourism, where people travel individually or in groups for pilgrimage, missionary, or leisure purposes: to understand and appreciate their religion through a tangible experience, to feel secure about their religious beliefs.

In our case, as in many others, cultural and religious tourism are not separated: we recognise the material and immaterial cultural value of the human environment we visit, where spirituality helps us to find ourselves. Therefore, the religious/cultural tourist is moved by a religious, cultural or cognitive motivation, aware of the historic and artistic value and uniqueness of the monuments they encounter (not necessarily always visiting them), buying souvenirs, taking photos, visiting famous sites, staying for a brief time (Lavarini 1997: 608).

The religious and/or cultural tourist is also different from the pilgrim (Herbers, Santos Noia 1998: 91). Pilgrims, even if they wanted to, cannot buy souvenirs because it would add useless weight to their backpacks; in contrast to the religious tourist, they move on foot, without haste, and the walk allows them to instill a relationship with the surroundings, to observe nature and to enter into a rapport with those living along the trail<sup>8</sup> (Costa 1990).

Even though it is the continuation of a tradition dating back to the Middle Ages (Urresti 2005: 239), today the conveniences necessary for tourists mean that a 'pilgrimage' is much less trying for everyone now than it used to be. A diversified range of tourism offerings is made available to the 'pilgrims' based on their economic possibilities and ages: different types of hospitality structures, refuges, hotels, campgrounds, private homes; facilitated services offered by commercial businesses and restaurants; public transport for quick transfers; construction projects for new refuges and multiple services promoting cultural heritage<sup>9</sup>. The increase in travel opportunities for more people has meant that the areas affected by tourism are subject to a counter-reaction, and consequent radical changes at two levels: material and immaterial (Fig. 3). This fact is articulated through a physical expression of elements (for instance, roads, abandonment of architecture in disrepair and the fading away of popular traditions and rituals that are not especially appealing or spectacular).

There is another contradiction evident in the areas along the Camino, and more in general in areas involved in tourism. Many 'modern tourists' do not want to be identified as such, because of the conviction that the more tourism that exists in an area, the less 'paradise-like' the place will be. This new typical value attracts another segment of tourists: those who are looking for an uncontaminated environment, where they can experience an authentic connection with the place. This results in an expansion of mass tourism; the push for a continuous search for intact environments generates a type of tourism that consumes inexorably, making the newly exploited territories seem uniform and undervalued.

### **Thoughts along the Camino: the experience**

The few days of experience that made us 'special' observers of the widely acknowledged risk of material and immaterial consumption of the heritage of the Camino, in turn also made us consumers of this same heritage. We took advantage of the 'conveniences' made available to tourists, only marginally experiencing the significance of the Camino, dedi-





FIG. 3. Progressive consumption.

cating ourselves, sometimes with a detached or *super partes* attitude, to research on the problem for which we were called upon to find causes and (hypothetically) solutions.

We can start from a specific date: on 23 October 1987 the European Council recognised the importance of religious and cultural itineraries, to which the town of Santiago in Galicia was added<sup>10</sup>. The purpose of this declaration was to protect the Camino, not only from an artistic and cultural standpoint but, regard to nature, the ancient roads, knowledge, the meeting points between diverse cultures, internationalisation. It shows clearly how the value recognised by the European Council is not limited to the actual place but is extended to the visitation of the area by a diverse population and implemented through the continuous and repetitive flow of these visitors<sup>11</sup>. It encompassed the idea that pilgrims, crossing through northern Spain for days, were not only acting based on their faith, travelling to the tomb of their saint, but they had also assumed the role of cultural mediators, observing the local landscape, places and people, recording information to establish a tight chain of information 'from town to town' (Caucci von Saucken 1993: 108).

The substantial difference in this council declaration, in respect to recognition exclusively of a devotional and religious nature in the history of the Camino, lies in the fact that many official and political bodies, expressly kept separate from the organisation of the pilgrimage, have become part of the relaunching of this new European heritage.

The political decisions stemmed from studies in the social sector that initially analysed diverse sociological aspects of the phenomenon around the Camino de Santiago. Based on the uniqueness of the place and the opportunity provided by the declaration of the European Council, local and international administrations have cultivated a growing interest in these kinds of sites from a cultural, tourism, economic, and image standpoint.

I believe that in order to better understand the consequences of the decisions made after this European declaration, several aspects should be examined in depth, specifically the meaning of the term 'heritage', often repeated in the official document. This English term, co-opted from the French language<sup>12</sup>, identifies the material and immaterial re-

sources of the cultural heritage, and corresponds with moving beyond a traditional view of cultural heritage and a conservative strategy based solely on protection. This change is evident in various regulatory transformations at a national and international level.

Reading of the main documents of UNESCO<sup>13</sup>, (which at world level deals with the protection, conservation and promotion of cultural heritage), we can see an evolution of the idea of heritage. Initially, this thought started from the concept of heritage linked to monumental heritage, architectural sites. Now the interest is oriented towards testimonies that have gradually been recognised as being of extraordinary importance because they are an expression of the culture of a territory and/or a people.

Cultural heritage is a condensed cultural, material and immaterial inheritance of a territorial and community context, expressing uniqueness, peculiarity and potential. Heritage, to be identified by this term, must bring values within itself.

But these values change over time and space, through the mutations made by humans that implement various methods for protecting it. In particular, the forms of conservation and protection have been accompanied by policies of enhancement in which the use, is a fundamental and necessary element for the continuity and protection of the heritage.

The transition from promotion to tourism is quite brief. Heritage tourism introduced new aspects into the debate on the conservation of material and immaterial cultural heritage. The first necessary step to better comprehend the problem in question is to understand if the term 'heritage tourism' identifies the cultural objects that are part of the tourist offer (Garrod, Fyall 2001), or the behavior of the tourists with regard to the heritage<sup>14</sup> (Butler, Airey 2003). The characteristic element of this new type of tourism linked to culture is the bond between the cultural experience and the subjective feeling, or the correspondence between individual motivation and the perception of the site. The policies of valorisation of the patrimony have been oriented to the production of a variety of cultural products, generating a sort of mass costume, for which the cultural object becomes a status symbol and its use a 'ritual'.

If on the one hand, cultural tourism is responding to an experiential need for authenticity, proposing new clusters and creative ideas for the development of territories and amplification of the emotional reactions guaranteed by multi-sensorial experiences, on the other hand protection of heritage seems to be totally unprepared to handle the new meanings being associated with it. The new contents underlying the term heritage foresee the evolution of the concept of conservation, which, if not shared, generates doubts and perplexities in asset management. Or rather, the concept of conservation as a government of change is not understood.

The less-than-total clarity of the co-evolutionary logic of conservation (Della Torre 2010) sees us unprepared in the face of the rapid anthropisation of heritage. The dualism of 'knowing to conserve' risks becoming a negative factor.

Another concept that has been long misunderstood is that of conservation itself. Beyond any conflicts in definition, conservation means governance of the transformation rather than negation of development (Della Torre 2011).

The Italian law<sup>15</sup> (Germanà 2014) offers guidelines on the ways and methods for its conservation and enhancement, to be applied to the aspects, organisational and procedural (identifying operators, skills and responsibilities for each stage of the process of enhancement), taking full advantage of the possibilities offered by globalisation. In

other words, it is an opportunity to identify strategies, new heterogeneous stakeholders, and starting from programming, to implement cultural heritage policies that are not based on the idea of an immediate economic return guaranteed by high numbers of visitors, but instead starting to invest in research, also from an organisational, technological and management perspective. In fact, heritage does not constitute a commercial production line, and it is therefore important to manage it and promote it based on its extraordinary resources and not fall into the trap of transforming it solely into a generator of profit.

### **Comparing experiences: is Miami here too?**

The words that Gian Paolo Treccani wrote in 1986 in the article “Sirmione is not Miami” (Treccani 1986), are a metaphor that I think shows how a local reality that brings with it material and immaterial values can change under the pressure of tourism. This is not an example of an explicitly religious character, like the Camino de Santiago, but directly shares, with that example, the concept of physical consumption of the existing natural heritage, artificial and created by humans, material and immaterial.

The danger of erosion, which can also be compared to what is happening in the Camino de Santiago, is not limited to a specifically contained portion of the territory (the city of Sirmione), but instead to a wide range involving the entire perimeter of Lake Garda and nearby routes. Sirmione is the emblem of the reality in the lake region and synthesizes the heterogeneous development arising from the several generations of tourists coming from all over the world to this area.

In both examples there are particular and sensitive motivations behind the decisions to travel to the chosen destination (religious and/or touristic needs).

In the Sirmione case, the original interest was linked to the favorable geographic, strategic and environmental situation, as well as its health benefits (thermal spas, but more generally, the climate).

In order to meet the need to stay at the lake, we have witnessed the construction of structures for hospitality, alongside an indigenous architecture without the dominance of the first. During the early 1900s, the management of the architectural heritage, and more in general the landscape of Garda, consciously catered at the same time for the needs of local populations and tourists in a balanced way. The possibility of reaching Lake Garda was the privilege of a few people, who enjoyed the welcome of the local people without prevarication similarly to the first pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago.

In more recent years the decisions to transform and conserve the heritage and landscape have been exclusively directed towards economic ends. Local entrepreneurs provide tourists with a surrogate trip that corresponds to an idea that the tourist has created and desires. The aggravating factor in this territorial context is the fact that tourism is considered cultural and sustainable because the historical surroundings provide a backdrop that is suggestive of celebrations, events and entertainment of all kinds. So much so that when the historical material is not available in its original form, it is invented *tout court* (like the Gardaland amusement park, to just name one meaningful example) (Fig. 4).

Recently, some experiences aimed at re-evaluating the primarily cultural and sustainable aspects of tourism in the Lake Garda area seem to point to a strategy based on in-



FIGS. 4a-4b. Merlino's Castle in Gardaland Park, 20th century (by <<http://www.gardalandtribe.com/wp/index.php/il-castello-di-mago-merlino/>> accessed 2 May 2019); Sirmione Castle, 13th century.

verting this trend, maintaining a link with tourism without being necessarily subjected to it. Effective collaboration among cultural, social and economic institutions, seems to have initiated a virtuous process in which tourism, marketing, culture and heritage are combined to work in positive synergy. The University of Brescia was a scientific partner in this initiative, and played a very important role in guaranteeing the conservation of structures in the territory (Scala 2016). The Cittadella di Lonato (in the Brescia Province) is a group of buildings from the 1400s, partially purchased in the early 1900s by Knight Ugo of Como to promote a wide-ranging educational project in the vast library, creating a collection from the Veneto Podestà, which became the driving force for cultural values in the area.

Nearly a century later, the Foundation that managed the heritage left by its founder is trying to relaunch the ambitious hospitality project, proposing the realisation of a hotel. The project is based on acknowledgment of the vocation of the centre as a cultural site, with hospitality inside the areas of the Citadel used as part of an experiential type of tourism. This kind of hospitality does not only represent simple entertainment, but instead actively involves the tourist with regard to the possibility of creating relationships, enrichment, building knowledge, experiencing emotions and sharing values, such as the authenticity of the host people and places, and with the active participation of the local communities that safeguard the heritage (ICOMOS 1999: Principle 4).

While not identifying a specific operating strategy to contain the risks stemming from intense use, there are certain aspects to keep under consideration in the case of the Camino de Santiago, as well as in other areas where the heritage becomes part of the promotion of the territory. These involve a range of players: those managing the areas (who must be aware of the value they are governing), supported by appropriate legislation, the inhabitants, who are responsible for the direct roles they play in the territory, visitors, made aware of the unique nature of the experience that they are able to enjoy<sup>16</sup>. These highlight the need to fully investigate interaction among the various human, economic and historical aspects, to defend heritage sites as part of a conscious promotional strategy that is suitable for transmitting the values expressed by a territory, defending them from precocious and undesired consumption, resulting in losses of inestimable value.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Extract from a book by Pier Paolo Pasolini, *L'odore dell'India*, Milano 1962. Translation by the author.

<sup>2</sup> When I shared some photographs during the workshop, in particular the comment was: "Are you on the Camino? I went by motorcycle years ago".

<sup>3</sup> "As for the roads, or more precisely the trails and tracks, pilgrims and merchants in the Middle Ages were much more attentive to recording their expenditures and stops than they were in noting the urban dimension and landscapes they encountered. For different reasons and different points of attraction, they both seem to pass through with their eyes blindfolded, consumed in their devotional books and accounts" (Brilli 2006: 18; translation by the author). Not taking advantage of cultural assets is therefore due to scarcity of time, desire, knowledge, but above all, in the less known towns along the Camino, to the absence of an effective strategy to make the most of these assets.

<sup>4</sup> A desire for spirituality arises from the need to place oneself in less involving positions freer from the conditioning of materialism and its forms, to overturn the point of observation, to learn not to be slaves to form. Feeling lighter, less weighed down by the useless burdens of exasperated consumerism, rediscovering a clearer horizon, where it is still possible to reread with attention the driving force of an immensely perfect creation, capable of accepting even the finest curiosity, the most Hamletic doubt, the most rebellious idea. It is on this road that harmony calls man to show him what really counts in his race against time. Giving voice to the spirit is like to recall in life the life, the true life, the life that leads to noble horizons, where what really matters is your desire to be more flexible, generous, more attentive to the problems of others. It is on the path of a rediscovered spirituality that human history is renewed, that resumes again to live and to hope, without the frustrating assault of a material well-being without outlets, made of impulses that nerve the desire to believe, to do, to be surprised by a human nature much richer and more versatile than we imagine.

<sup>5</sup> <<http://www.ambrosiana.eu/cms/content/3349-20150815-primi-e-ultimi-tra-manoscritti-e-stampati-della-biblioteca-ambrosiana---vii---raccontare-il-cammino-di-santiago-di-comp.html>> [Accessed 5 January 2018].

<sup>6</sup> <<http://www.internetica.it/atto-europeistico82.htm>> [Accessed 5 January 2018].

<sup>7</sup> These people generally spend a week walking one section of the trail, then come back the following year to tackle the second part.

<sup>8</sup> The expression 'religious tourism' is a cultural construct of the Catholic Church that is used to

convert the tourist into a religious person, but not necessarily into a religious pilgrim. Pilgrims seek the meaning of life, not living a life of luxury; they are not connected to any social status, they do not take advantage of the local population, and do not buy souvenirs.

<sup>9</sup> The idea of tourism melds the ideas of travel and a resort, and therefore evokes expectations of rest, recreation, entertainment (expectations that continue to be more and more customised to each person's habits, likes and dislikes, and strategies for distinguishing themselves at a social level).

<sup>10</sup> <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-santiago-de-compostela-pilgrim-routes>> [Accessed 5 January 2018].

<sup>11</sup> Many pilgrims, following an ancient tradition, in certain points of their walk collect a stone from one of the many piles scattered along the trails of the Camino, to then deposit in farther on, often after having carried it for many days. Some people, when they leave their own stone, collect another from the pile to then deposit it again later, whenever they feel the right moment has come to leave it. The walk towards Santiago de Compostela is full of this kind of symbolism. The rite of the stone is just one of the uninterrupted chains of gestures, and it constitutes a powerful element of cultural identity and profound spiritual continuity for all of the pilgrims who have traveled these roads over time.

<sup>12</sup> "Bien(s) acquis ou transmis par voie de succession; Ce qu'on tient de prédécesseurs, de générations antérieures, sur le plan du caractère, de l'idéologie, etc; Ce qui est laissé par les prédécesseurs et qui est pénible à assumer"; see <[www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/h%C3%A9ritage/39675?q=h%C3%A9ritage#39597](http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/h%C3%A9ritage/39675?q=h%C3%A9ritage#39597)> [Accessed 5 January 2018].

<sup>13</sup> <<https://whc.unesco.org/>> [Accessed 5 January 2018]. The term 'cultural heritage' appears for the first time in a UNESCO text in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972).

<sup>14</sup> "the purposeful cultural tourist; the sightseeing cultural tourist; the casual cultural tourist; the incidental cultural tourism; the serendipitous cultural tourism" (McKercher 2002).

<sup>15</sup> D.Lgs. 42/2004, art. 6, rev./2008.

<sup>16</sup> To contain the aggressive side of tourism, some simple practices are useful, including: preventing concentrations in single areas; promoting alternative itineraries and hours; building responsibility in local communities; activating policies and incentives for residents (taxes, planning, protection of traditional businesses, inventories and protection, dedicated special events, etc.); promotion of specif-



ic and diverse tourism experiences; promotion of a virtuous process (reinvesting profits from tourism in conservation / local residents).

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## **“RECORDING IS NOT REMEMBERING”<sup>1</sup>. CONSUMPTION AND CONSERVATION BETWEEN VISUAL AND FACTUAL EXPERIENCE IN CULTURAL TOURISM**

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*It matters not whether those fragments often deal with an intertwining of stories that have dissolved and become elusive; their character is always that of visual, tactile, evidence, as if, sentence after sentence, they invited us to inspect with our eye or the tips of our fingers, a surface that would declare itself for what it is, before and over and above any meaning*

Calasso 2005: 77-78

### **Premise. On the Camino (Fig. 1)**

Walking along a stretch of the Camino de Santiago is a multiple experience that evokes social, territorial, economic and cultural aspects. It opens the perspective for a renewal of the knowledge of the theories of heritage and introduces a reflection on the borders (a new balance) between theoretical issues and heritage practices, a boundary primarily marked by the phenomenon of tourism.

The Camino de Santiago is considered by many people, most of all, a spiritual and religious experience. It reveals its authenticity in dealing with the real spiritual essence of the path, although it consists of a set of architectural elements that reveal the presence of a local community in which it is involved. During the Camino dealing with the balance between the intangible experience and the tangible presence of the landscape is very deep, because the intangible set of values is deeply intensified by the personal experience which it involves.

This personal, intangible, experience is not completely bolstered by the acknowledgement of an aesthetical value (as if we were in a Church, or looking a masterpiece of architecture) but we may define it like a



FIG. 1. Landscape view. The Camino of Santiago de Compostela, 2017.



FIG. 2. A farm.

sort of visual experience well expressed in the contemporaneity by the use of the images through the social networks. It is mostly linked to the experience in itself as a factual reality, because it is expressed by the pure essence of 'being there', to live the presence in the path. We may refer to the well known definition of Brandi connecting these two poles, the visual experience and what we may call the factual experience, or, to use Brandi's words, the "historical instance

that reflects its emergence as a human product at a certain time and in a certain place"<sup>2</sup>.

Focusing our attention on the set of values of the factual experience in the path, the tangible presence that is presented to the visitor is the encounter with people from a local rural community, vernacular architecture (such as the Galician *Hórreos*), and a natural landscape. In this balance the set of emotional and spiritual values for whom who feel the presence of the intangible value connected to religious or spiritual aim is stronger than the architectural or landscape experience.

### On Authenticity (Fig. 2)

This consideration about the relationship between tangible and intangible leads us to consider where the authenticity of the experience of the Camino originates. In considering the doctrinal documents (ICOMOS 1964, ICOMOS 1994, ICOMOS 2014), the "understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories" (ICOMOS 1994).

So we must deal with the concept of authenticity in cultural heritage even if it is in some way difficult.

From a theoretical point of view, looking at the role of the images in cultural tourism (d'Eramo 2017) the relation between matter and memory as exposed in Bergson's theory (Bergson 1959) could help us to understand the process of acknowledgement of what we call authenticity in tangible and intangible perceptive experience. We may argue that the values referred to the visual experience are in fact the outcome of the subject's perception, but such perception is inseparable from memory. According to Bergson, memory communicates the subjective character of perception, but, Bergson states, since memory has the role to complete the perception of the matter, this means that memory, in a certain form, must be independent from matter, and therefore independent from the object in itself.

We might say that Bergson's reasoning tells us that experience of the authenticity of an object is linked to a perception, but according to him this perception is subjective (or linked to the individual memory). So the authenticity is linked to the value that object assumes for the subject, that is that authenticity could hardly be identified as an universal value.

For a critical approach to the role of the visual experience connected to the cultural heritage we may refer to Bergson looking at the role that subjective perception has on the process of acknowledgment of the object as a work of art, as Cesare Brandi describes. In

particular, Bergson says that the perception of an object is subjective, since recognition/acknowledgment takes place via 'memory-images'.

So the process of acknowledgment described by Cesare Brandi is related on one end, from the point of view of perception via memory-images, to the aesthetical value, but on the other hand, looking at the importance of the role of the individual memory in the process of perception, to the historical value. This is the link between the act of the acknowledgment described by Brandi with the process of perception described by Bergson. This means that the images correlated to the perception have a meaningful role for the acknowledgment of reality.

Starting out from this premise, the question rightly remains as to the type of relation that obtains between perception of a place and the place itself, or, rather, between immaterial experience of the place, visual experience and factual experience. On the plane of speculation, the question remains as to what authenticity is and as to what values authenticity resides in, if the experience of the place is subjective and the matter of the place transcendent via images.

If we consider the Camino an extreme case, where the factual experience of the place is connected to the memory-images of the history of the Camino, we may affirm that authenticity is linked to the acknowledgment of the Camino as a set of immaterial values related to the factual experience of walking and looking at the elements by which is composed. Or, better, the process of acknowledgement of the Camino as a Cultural Heritage is connected more to the 'memory of the place' (the subjective intangible experience) than to the place in itself (the factual experience). For a conservative point of view becomes crucial to understand which are the elements of the subjective intangible experience of the Camino that reveals is 'authenticity' in order to preserve that.

### **On recognisability/acknowledgement between local and universal (Fig. 3)**

This premise leads us to reflect upon UNESCO's conclusion that the "cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all" (ICOMOS 1994). However, if this statement is to truly reflect reality, the community must divest itself of its local identity in order to recognise the cultural asset as a supranational asset. This element in the UNESCO charters provides the bedrock for the process according to which the cultural asset becomes an attestation the authenticity of which is recognised by diverse communities. The cultural asset thus becomes a transnational concept, with this in part clashing with the definition of authenticity as an element that must be local<sup>3</sup>.

There thus emerges the first important element in the relationship between tangible and intangible: the equilibrium between universal recognisability and local authenticity (Musso 2014).

The European Landscape Convention defines the landscape as "expression of the diversity" and "foundation" of the identities of peoples<sup>4</sup>.

There is therefore a tie between identity and acknowledgement, in that, while identity resides within the cultural asset, the process of acknowledgment is external. On consideration of the European convention on the World Heritage (UNESCO 1972) and the recent provisions concerning the Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO 2011) we note the will to extend the notion of cultural landscape to include a broader urban and landscape context. Within this cultural context, the problem of recognition on the part of the community



FIG. 3. A memorial.

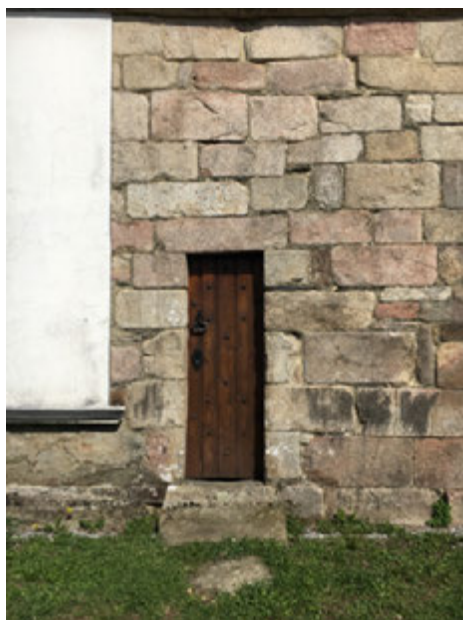


FIG. 4. The matter of the buildings.

deepens considerably, since, where there is no acknowledged aesthetical or historical component a third component is to be found, namely the cultural asset's social recognisability.

This process reveals a tendency to also protect a set of values that express political and social recognition of the cultural asset, as the need to express values that exist over and above the physical component of the asset and its geographic or cultural position. From this angle, we note the extreme case of the Memory of the World Register (UNESCO, 1992), whose task is to preserve historical memories of events via conservation of the documentation attesting to such events. This need arises out of social clashes and the will of some to delete certain facts from the annals of history. We see this trend exemplified by inclusion, in order to combat the theories of the deniers of the Diary of Anne Frank as a historical document<sup>5</sup> (and not as a book of a literary nature).

In regard to this equilibrium, Bergson's 'memory-images' obtain as a set of aesthetical, historical and social values, that, while linked to the individual, are rooted in the pertaining community, of which they are an expression.

We thus have a dual role played by the subject producing the 'memory-images' and the influence exerted by the community upon the subject as expression of a collective dimension. In such polarities between the individual and the collective, the 'memory-images' expresses the perception of the individual as part of his/her belonging to a given community. This perception, as the Bergson's theory explain, is a balance between the factual experience of the present and the recollected experience (or subjective intangible experience) of the memory. The polarity between belonging to a community and the individual identity is difficult to identify precisely (as the Anna Frank's diary testify). So the legislative regulation has, from this point of view, a political and social role in order to guide and to rule the act of preservation for a community.



#### **On matter and ‘memory-images’ (Fig. 4)**

This perceptual origin raises the question of what happens during the process of conservation. After the process of acknowledgment of the set of values to be preserved, conservation, as a physical material act (we may think of the physical conservation of the Diary of Anne Frank), raises the issue of ‘what’ is to be conserved, and ‘how’ (Fiorani 2014), since, as Cesare Brandi puts it, it is possible to “restores only the matter of the work of art”<sup>6</sup>.

But as we tried to underline in the passage before if we refer again to the act of acknowledgment of the reality via memory-images, it emerges that matter is the vehicle for definition of a subjective perception born out of ‘memory-images’.

The project therefore becomes the place in which matter assumes the social role of ‘memory-image’ for a community. We therefore bear witness to a process whereby ‘authenticity’ no longer resides in matter but rather in the power of matter to evoke a ‘memory-image’ that can be socially acknowledged. We have thus identified a second element – the relationship between authenticity, interpreted as the act of a social recognition of a cultural value, the matter itself and the role of the project.

#### **On the subject, or on Cultural Tourism<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 5)**

If the project of conservation, from the point of view of the recognisability from a community, could become the link between matter, authenticity and social recognisability/acknowledgement of the cultural asset, the tourism, as a mass social system for the use of cultural assets could, over time, assume an increasingly preponderant role, because tourism represents the most widespread form of access and one of the major points set forth in the charters regards collective accessibility. The third element in the relationship between tangible and intangible therefore consists in the equilibrium for cultural assets to be obtained between conservation, accessibility and tourism (Musso 2017).

#### **On Time (Fig. 6)**

Starting from the increasing role for the project in the strategy of acknowledgment of the value of a cultural heritage by the community, there is another element that is remarkable in the process of acknowledgment that is the presence of time, of the ‘poetic nature of architecture’ (Venezia 2010), that ensure the continuity for cultural heritage to empowered its communicative force not only over and above the uses emerging from time to time but also over and above the system of recognisable values to which it originally referred, since (over the time), the perception of the cultural object, even when in ruins, even when is completely abandoned, persists.

This means in the case of a conservation process for the Camino that, we may think that the uses of the spaces are less important than the power of the ‘poetic nature’ of the place over the time.

Time is the variable that confers authenticity on the cultural asset<sup>8</sup>. The existence of urban voids, lacerations, absences, and the presence/acceptance of imperfection denote human reality. Perfection, continuity and the absence of time denote the experience of shopping malls, and the Disneyfication of places and of society (Augé 1992; Augé 1997).

This element is applicable to the minute scale of the landscape of the Camino, in the sequence of minor physical elements, whether conserved or in ruins, as for example in the rustic dwellings, the walls separating lands, the Galician *Hórreos*, paving, the physical nature of the walls, roofing, stones, the memorial works appearing here and there along the



FIG. 5. Cultural Tourism.

FIGS. 6-7. Small Church of Cemetery.

Camino, the churches and so forth, which contribute to defining and communicating the presence of a community, a population, the history of a people, in the slow-moving time of progress along the route. A 'pathetic' condition<sup>9</sup> that expresses not only the physical dimension of objects but also the slow-moving traces of matter and of history that may be encountered along the Camino. This temporal condition, of a slow-moving progress, renders the elements of the Camino natural elements, and geographic in nature.

These elements are thus a part of the historic landscape as traces of the cultural landscape. However, the slow proceeding within the landscape cannot be codified in material terms nor can one provide a univocal definition of authenticity, since the landscape's changeability – the slowness with which transformation takes place over time – constitutes the very condition of 'authenticity'.

The complex temporal stratification of experiences provides proof of the actuality and universality of the landscape of the Camino since the reasons for use of the territory, the territory's rustic nature, the presence of farms, the landscape's actuality, remain, as the 'pathetic' condition of the traveller traversing the territory over the centuries.

### **On the relationship between tangible and intangible (Fig. 7)**

A system of values therefore emerges in view of which, for the relationship between tangible and intangible, problems of varying nature could be identified:

- equilibrium between universal recognisability and local authenticity;
- the relationship between authenticity, matter and project;
- the influence of tourism as a mass use-system of cultural assets;
- the dimension of time.



#### **On the relationship between Project and Tourism on the Camino (Fig. 8)**

If we transfer to touristic use, the field of premises put forward up to this point, we may reflect on the meaning of the experience in cultural tourism.

We may say that when prevail a visual experience of the place rather than a factual ones, the cultural tourism experience is a kind of 'passive' experience that is typical in mass tourism fluxes.

Furthermore, touristic experience fulfils the premise of acknowledgement of a place as cultural asset, because a place that has been recognised as a place of cultural heritage (by international charters or by national laws) is universally acknowledged as touristic too and, in the meantime, it has become available to the community. On the basis of these premises, the elements of a conservative project for cultural heritage in the field of cultural tourism, should preserve the equilibria between authenticity, matter, project and time (Augé 1997) because there is a risk to delete the factual condition of the place to highlight the visual experience of the mass tourism fluxes. That is a sort of consumption of the cultural values and at the end of the material essence (the ipseity) of the place too.

Returning to experience in the Camino, this sort of consumption is not already been present because of the spiritual meaning of some gesture: the placing of a photograph of a relative so that he/she may receive grace, the experience of greeting pilgrims, in wishing others well for their walk, are all elements related to the fluxes of people, but as a result of a factual spiritual experience.

If the project open the Camino to the mass touristic experience, this spontaneous and deep reality would freeze these gestures, images, deleting their spontaneity and all the pictures, behaviour of people would become hyper-real – faded decalcomanias of authen-



FIG. 8. The matter of the buildings.



FIG. 9. Memory of pilgrims.

Next page:

FIGS. 10-11. The 'anthropological' place and the 'hypermodern' place.

tic actions, a form of cultural fetishism, because they would imitate e would not be the reality, fading the experience.

### On the consumption of the heritage as a non-actual experience (Fig. 9)

Tourism as a passive experience, whereby gestures become not authentic but mechanical – with no specific motivation, but rather undertaken merely to create postcard images of the past – produces a form of consumption of experience, leading to the cultural dissolution of experience. 'Non-actual' experience<sup>10</sup>.

We find here the conservation/consumption problem in our intangible and tangible heritage. Conservation of the intangible datum of experience may therefore lead to an a-historical falsification of experience itself, since the fragments that we read along the Camino underscore 'stories' – attestations that cannot be solely immaterial because they are conveyed by things that represent gestures. If the Cultural Object loses this gestural dimension, the object becomes mute, non-actual and unexpressed because it is no longer linked to the context in which it finds itself.

### The 'anthropological' place and the 'hypermodern' place (Figs. 10-11)

The Camino is now an 'anthropological' place. The dimension of tourism acts instead like a metamorphosis that necessitates extension of spaces for circulation, installation of localities for large-scale consumption, this entailing an experience of accelerated time that





clashes with the slow-moving experience of pilgrimage. These conditions mark out the path and transposition from the 'anthropological place' to the transitory place of the 'hypermodern' landscape (Augé 2012). This process is indicated by the distance between 'places' and 'non-places', or places in which immediately legible social relations do not find direct expression.

We thus arrive at a contradiction. Conservation of values considered universal, which, in the charters, also implies universal accessibility, leads to an experience of standardisation of the asset. On an operational level, the prime consequence is the creation of a 'hypermodern' place, arising out of the pressure of cultural tourism.

In this process of creation the 'anthropological'/local place becomes a 'hypermodern'/universal place, thus losing its authenticity, and create a process of consumption. This is not entirely happened along the Camino as a consequence of the spiritual aim of the path. A similarity to exemplify this concept is a comparison with the Churches now at the center of the touristic fluxes, the ones who are used with a religious purpose maintain the spirit of the place more than others in which there are some strategy of adoptive reuse or the abandoned ones (Fiorani, Kealy, Musso 2017).

If the aim of the charters is to conserve the *genius loci* as an 'anthropological place', conservation actions should transcend the material-immaterial dichotomy to embrace, and unify, in accordance with the idea of a method (Fiorani, Musso 2016) with outreach to political management of the territory in question, where the physical activities of conservation (the architectural project) are part of a programme of actions such as shall ensure the presence of the local community, in the absence of which the rites of the pilgrimage become non-actual, or, again, standardised as a touristic experience.

Conservation of the rural and physical dimension of *genius loci*, i.e. of their anthropological dimension, is possible only via a broad political and social management programme<sup>11</sup>.



When the approach to the project transposes the physical project of places – matter – into the agenda of cultural actions for management and provision of safeguards for local communities, individual architectural projects (concerning the matter of the Galician *Hòrreos*, or the farmhouse or the religious house) may diverge from the end use since all architectural works emerge as the satellites of a cultural system. Conservation of such works and/or (as an extreme measure) of their presence as a landscape ruin (Stone 2017) enhances the experience of the pilgrimage and does not interact negatively with this experience, since the said ruin becomes a part of the local architectonic idiom. Basically, it becomes a natural feature of the area<sup>12</sup> since political action aims to conserve a social system and a ‘slow-moving’ temporal dimension. The architectural project becomes an operational means to attain this end.

Facing the increasingly serious problems arising out of abandonment or neglect of our architectural heritage (industrial, religious, real-estate assets, etc.) draws our attention toward a process of metamorphosis, with conservation actions more and more explicitly reaching out toward the sphere of management and not just of design, so that the project may serve as a guide and/or horizon or prospect for the material conservation of locations.

In this sense, the physical consistency of the action of project may reassert itself with a shift toward the idea of care, a process directed toward accommodating current transformations with a view to the future (as opposed to the idea of re-establishing or rediscovering an identity/original nature that was lost, or the prospect even of reviving forms of vitality by now extinct) (Stone 2017).

If, on the one hand, the process of conservation, and therefore the project, remains an action linked to matter, to the plane of the tangible, on the other, if we refer to the plane of the intangible, and thus to the plane of the ‘gesture’, as defined above, the project transforms itself into a form of interaction of processes in which the programme of management of places – intellectual and policy guidance – is not something other than, extraneous to, the conservation project, but rather it interacts with this project in order to conserve the presence and vitality of the territory.

In this sense, the conservation project joins the plane of the intangible, because it is expression of a social process.

Hence, on the strength of this hypothesis, we need not be surprised to learn that the most successful experiments of the last few years started out from social occupation of sites, because they incarnate the spirit of the contemporaneity, the recognition of the social value of the intervention (via Tor Marancia in Rome; Teufelsberg in Berlin; Officine Zero on the ex Rsi premises – a former railway rolling-stock maintenance facility – Rome; MAAM, Museo dell’altro e dell’altrove, Rome; Forte Umbertino in the Parco Ecolandia, Reggio Calabria; the self-governing town of Craco; and the Grisù space in the former Fire Brigade barracks, Ferrara; to name but a few) or from policy actions (e.g. the Laboratori Urbani programme in Regione Puglia<sup>13</sup>; the Associazione Greenways for transformation of abandoned railway premises into parklands, or the Spazi Opportunità project, of Manifesto to 2020 in Trieste, which started out as an online platform for management of abandoned areas).

These experiences are conducive to appropriation – on the collective plane – of the ‘anthropological’ place, bringing about the kind of recognition of a portion of the territory

referred to by Brandi. This form of conservation of the immaterial gesture becomes an architectonic, physical, form of appropriation of spaces and thus a form of conservation.

We therefore note a panorama in which a variety of ideas of conservation emerge, ranging from the attractiveness of the ‘hypermodern places’ of cultural tourism to appropriation of the ‘anthropological place’ of urban upgrading. Both bring about conservation, but the material outcomes differ entirely.

On the temporal plane, (tangible) matter and (intangible) memory can relate the one to the other in what we might call the ‘historic-present’.

In this excursus in the cultural tourism experience between visual/factual we might say that conservation concerns the matter/physical consistency of which ‘memory-images’ are made, but experience visual/factual becomes the determining factor for an acknowledgment of stratified values as an individual or as a part of a community, and this may be because ‘recording’ (the visual) is not ‘remembering’ (the factual).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *The Rage (Wut)*, theatrical work by Elfriede Jelinek. Premiere at Münchner Kammerspiele, 16 April 2016, staging: Nicolas Stemann.

<sup>2</sup> Brandi 1963: 6. Translation by the author.

<sup>3</sup> “The respect due to all creatures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong” (ICOMOS 1994).

<sup>4</sup> “To recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people’s surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity” (Council of Europe 2000: Article 5).

<sup>5</sup> This news item is to be found in the UNESCO site; see <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-2/diaries-of-anne-frank/>> [Accessed 31 January 2017].

<sup>6</sup> Brandi 1963: 7. Translation by the author.

<sup>7</sup> “The National Trust for Historic Preservation defines heritage tourism as travelling to experience the places, artefacts, and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes visitation to cultural, historic, and natural resources. Research and planning for Heritage Tourism would include identifying local or regional points of interest, developing or organising those points of interest for visitation, and developing promotional and informational materials and guides for distribution to travellers and tourists through tourism bureaus, chambers of commerce, and by other marketing method”; see <<https://savingplaces.org/stories/preservation-glossary-to-days-word-heritage-tourism#.Wm9CSyOh3OQ>> [Accessed 31 January 2017].

<sup>8</sup> “Space and time, the ‘a priori forms of sensibility’ (Kant), are at one and the same time the object and the material of symbolic activity. From these, one takes the elements thanks to which, for example, the categories of high and low, near and far, limit and crossing are ordered, when dealing with space; and past and future, return and repetition, start and finish, when dealing with time. The notion of landscape strictly depends upon the conceptions of time and space that attempt to provide an account thereof” (Augé 2012: 7; translation by the author).

<sup>9</sup> “In the ruin we still see, however imperfectly, an admirable order of relations. Despite the fact that certain parts are missing and that the musical score, that musical harmony, is therefore incomplete, we perceive the pathetic condition of the building, and thus the building becomes practically an element of nature, practically geographic” (Venezia 2010: 16; translation by the author).

<sup>10</sup> “We went to see the Cathedral of Notre Dame. We had heard of it before. It surprises me sometimes to think how much we do know and how intelligent we are. We recognised the brown old Gothic pile in a moment; it was like the pictures” (Twain 2010: 82).

<sup>11</sup> “‘Management’ constitutes the immaterial structure of material conservation. As is the case for all immaterial structures, it presents as a programme and not as a project; it directs competences and actions, orients receptions, and governs, in a differentiated manner, complexities” (Fiorani 2014: 16; translation by the author).

<sup>12</sup> “Thus, in our sensitivity, a further reaction emerges: as men we take pride in the sensation that we created something that has practically returned to the state of nature” (Venezia 2010: 16; translation by the author).

<sup>13</sup> “As part of the Programma Bollenti Spiriti, Regione Puglia (the regional government authority of Puglia) is funding the birth of “Laboratori Urbani”. 151 real estate assets abandoned and which belong to Puglia’s municipalities – such as abandoned schools, empty industrial premises, and former religious houses, slaughterhouses, markets and barracks – were recovered as new public spaces for youngsters. Management of the Laboratori Urbani is assigned by public tender to enterprises and associations. Each Laboratorio Urbano presents its own contents and characteristics: spaces for the arts, including the performing arts; spaces for social functions and experimentation with new technologies; services for work, training and entrepreneurial activities for the young, exhibition spaces, and spaces for social activities and accommodation. Together, these workshops make up a regional network of spaces placed at the service of youngsters, and of youth-dedicated policies”. Translation by the author: see <[http://bollentispiriti.regione.puglia.it/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=4915&Itemid=1300356](http://bollentispiriti.regione.puglia.it/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=4915&Itemid=1300356)> [Accessed 31 January 2017].

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## CONSERVATION AS EXPERIENCE

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The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela marks the end of the long pilgrimage journey of the Camino de Santiago. Known in English as the Way of Saint James, it was, during the Middle-Ages, one of the most important Christian pilgrimages; a route in which plenary indulgences could be earned and thus salvation could be brought somewhat closer. Traditionally the route started at the pilgrim's home, and took one of many dozens of paths leading to the shrine of the apostle Saint James the Great. Today, a lot of people still follow one of these routes in search of spiritual guidance, however the beautifully suggestive paths and lanes, combined with the hauntingly redolently pastoral landscape makes it popular with cyclists, hikers and organised tour parties.

Their journeys are vastly different. Serious pilgrims will contest that salvation cannot be found within an afternoon's stroll along a country path, despite the quiet rustic atmosphere, and that without full engagement with the hardships of the journey, without the pain and frustration of long hours of walking, and the solitude created by the disconnection from contemporary society, the experience lacks the force of revelation and true authenticity. Despite this many people believe that the activity is worthwhile, that a short interruption from the frenzy of modern life and the experience of treading on the same path that countless pilgrims have stepped upon before can create a meaningful and treasured undertaking.

The pursuit of new and interesting experiences is a valuable way of spending precious time and money. Experience design is a fast growing sector within the design industry. There are a number of different yet related terms that describe this move away from the design of objects to the choreographing of encounter and adventure, these include: user experience design, experience-driven design, and experience-based design. What is interesting about these is that they exploit the idea that the pastime is creatively composed, it is manoeuvred and directed to provide the optimally authentic experience.

#### **Experience as a Pursuit**

Today we live in a society in which most of the developed world has sufficient, or even a surfeit of things. This disenchantment with the primacy of the object, combined with a distrust of the digital, (in an age of universal knowledge, fake news, and truth that is not truth) means that the need to pursue what is considered as an authentic experience typifies the attitude of much of the contemporary western population. It has become apparent that many people no longer need an excess of objects. This attitude is epitomised by the Scandinavian concept of Hygge or decluttering, which suggests that happiness is not to be found within possessions but rather in the company of friends, and that time spent with other people is paramount in the pursuit of happiness. This is a highly popular

idea within the population of the early twenty-first century – note that the rise of the Slow-Movement, whether this is Slow-Food, Slow-Travel and ultimately the Slow-City, is led by people who want to deliberately slow down the pace of life and enjoy the experience of time well spent. Perhaps the over-familiarity that is developed by mass-construction and digital replication means that many people are seeking a more simple life, one which connects with the real and authentic, that is not driven by the need to acquire possessions, but having fewer more valuable things combined with real and genuine pursuits. These tangible and intangible activities and pastimes include a massive preoccupation with tradition, culture and legacy, that is, old buildings, situations and places; it is of course referred to as the heritage industry.

But what does authentic mean, especially in the charged and somewhat controversial domain of the conservation of the traditional encounter. The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela is undergoing an all-embracing conservation. Extensive cleaning is being conducted, and structural repairs made. But crucially, the building is being made suitable for the expected increase in visitors, some of whom have travelled across extensive landscapes, others have arrived much more easily. Yet all of them want to experience the feeling of having arrived at a place that contains great history, that embodies the events of countless generations, and thus they can participate in the traditions of hundreds of years. But, of course, the needs of the twenty-first century tourist are definitely unlike those of the previous visitors. Different expectations connected to the provision of facilities, health and safety, lighting and environmental comfort, and of course, interaction with the building divides the historic from the present.

What is the approach that the cathedral should take to such circumstances? The need for an authentic experience is understood, but what authenticity means is much more ambiguous. Conservation plays an important role within the wider process of development and change in the existing built environment. Inevitably there is a conflict between the aims and ideals of the conservationist and those of the architect or designer who is to transform the building to make it fit for new users. The goals of one group do not necessarily correspond with those of the other; indeed it could be argued that that they do not even overlap.

The fundamental divergence in the two approaches is a continual source of disagreement within the profession. The conservationist may want to keep the building or monument in the exact condition that it was found in, while the architect or designer will possibly expect to make massive changes to facilitate the new users of the building. The situation is further complicated by the contemporary expectation that the narrative of the building should be exposed. All buildings have an interesting story to tell, to be exposed and retold within their adaptation. How can the architect and the conservationist come to an agreement about which period of history is to be shown, how much is to be conserved, exactly how much is to be let go and how this is to be achieved. Inevitably some sort of compromise must be reached.

## **Conservation**

Existing buildings provide a sense of connection with the previous ages. They reinforce the relationship that those who dwell in a place have with it and they can become part of the collective memory of a society. Our perception of the past is very much based upon



our reading of these buildings. The conservation of such buildings is a complex process that combines the need to preserve as much of the existing structure as possible with a new, and often conflicting, function. It is a somewhat controversial subject, not just in the manner in which it is carried out, but also the selection of the buildings to be conserved. Attitudes towards the subject are continuously changing and it promises to become more difficult as the need for sustainable redevelopment becomes greater and our attitudes towards the past are reassessed.

The conservation of architecture is really a Modern concept; it is bound up with ideas of value and worth (Jokilehto 1999). Buildings and monuments are valued for their historical age and their aesthetic appeal. Both aspects are highly contentious. It is questionable whether a structure should be valued just because it is old, while aesthetic significance is directly connected with the culture that is making the assessment and is thus subject to the whims of that society. A very sad example of this conflict between historical and artistic value and the culture of the society that is making the assessment is the destruction of Penn State Railway Station.

When Pennsylvania Station opened in New York in 1910, it was widely praised for its majestic architecture. It was constructed by the New York architectural practice, McKim, Mead and White from pink granite in the Beaux-Arts style, with a huge colonnade wrapping around the exterior. The main waiting room, which was inspired by the Roman Baths of Caracalla was then the largest indoor space in the city at almost block and a half long with vaulted glass windows soaring over a sun-drenched chamber. There are many freely available historical images of this incredibly theatrical space that depict the sheer drama and excitement that was then contained within rail travel. Beyond the waiting room, the trains emerged from below the ground to deposit passengers on an extraordinary top-lit steel framed concourse. By the late 1950s with the advent of cheap air travel and high quality highways, the attraction of the station was dwindling. Apparently the Pennsylvania Railroad could not even afford to keep the station clean. In 1962 plans were revealed to demolish the terminal and build entertainment venue Madison Square Garden on top of it. The new train station would be entirely underground. Despite massive protests, most notably from the architecture critic and theoretician Jane Jacobs (1916-2006), the station was demolished. However, the sheer outrage was a major catalyst for the architectural preservation movement in the United States. In 1965, the New York Landmarks Law was passed, which helped save the Grand Central Terminal and more than 30,000 other buildings from a similar fate. Ironically, since the demolition of Penn Station, train ridership has grown tenfold in the USA. The new station, an oppressive tangle of subway lines and commuter railways, is now the busiest terminal in the country. Thus the station was not sufficiently valued by the society that demolished it, and yet today given the massive shift in attitudes towards the existing environment, we consider this attitude as wanton destruction.

Conservation is the general term that covers the process of upkeep, preservation and maintenance, but the subject can be more finely divided. The different aspects are based very much upon the balance between the active conservation of the structure and its productive adaptation. Preservation is the category in which the conservationist has the most control; it is the highly intricate process of assessing the worth of the existing and safeguarding its continual existence. Renovation generally refers to the process of updating a building to make it fit for use, but not generally making extreme changes, so for

example the services may be improved, things such as the plumbing may be updated, the electricity distribution improved and Wi-Fi installed. This is not a new approach; indeed at the very end of the nineteenth century, Somers Clarke introduced electric light into Sir Christopher Wren's magnificent St Pauls Cathedral in London. Ten years later he also installed a hot-water heating system using a series of pipes that ran in large channels beneath the crypt floor and along the walls of the upper gallery; something that made the building vastly more habitable for the nineteenth century congregation (Schofield 2016: 177). Interestingly these actually replaced the Gurney Stoves that had been placed in the crypt in 1868 by the then Cathedral Surveyor, Francis Penrose. This incredibly crude system encouraged the movement of warm moist air through convection. The stoves were installed in the crypt and several holes were cut directly into the vaults of the crypt above them, this allowed hot air to simply drift up into the cathedral. The holes were quite crudely covered with cast-iron grates (Schofield 2016: 109).

The practice of restoration is possibly the most controversial of all conservation practices, as it could be thought to be the one that really contains the least authenticity. The building will be returned to a chosen historical condition, a moment in time will be selected from somewhere within the past life of the building, and the structure artificially returned to that state. This is considered to be inauthentic because it is neither true to the original building, in that the pristine condition now depicted may never have actually existed, nor is it true to the contemporary period that the building now exists within. The patina of time is lost, and so it denies both the present and the past. Restoration is really a mixture of preservation and renovation, and it has been condemned as a practice since the middle of the nineteenth century as something that, because it did not maintain sharp separation between historical periods, violated the authenticity.

Adaptation is the process of unashamedly changing the building, of making it fit for new users with distinct expectations in a different time. The practice is also called remodelling and re-use. The (interior) architect will normally make a thorough reading of the building and thus have a complete understanding of the character, structure and context before embarking on a series of sometimes-irreversible changes.

### **The Search for Authenticity**

The conservation lobby had its beginnings in the Anti-Scrape Movement and especially the book *Contrasts*, which was written in 1836 by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) when he was just 24 years old. This was a somewhat revolutionary book, dealing not with proportion and construction as most previous books on architecture had (think Vitruvius or Palladio), but it was a manifesto; a social programme that redefined architecture as a moral force imbued with political and religious meaning (think Le Corbusier). Pugin condemned the mixture of improvement and restoration that violated the authenticity of old buildings. He considered that authenticity was something that could only be achieved by maintaining a clear separation between old and new.

John Ruskin (1819-1900), was one of the most outspoken and influential advocates for the formation of a conservation society. He argued that identity could be found in the past-times and customs, in the vernacular and within the monuments that already exist. He felt that the authenticity lay within the age of an object and that the authenticity of a building or indeed a piece of furniture or a city, rested within its historic style. He railed

against the practice of repairs and even adjustments that were carried out in the accurate historic style of the original structure. Thus it became impossible to ascertain the difference between the old and the new; this he regarded as one of the great deceits, akin to a lie. The historic patina of time, that is the exposed narrative or story of the piece, imbued within the object great authenticity.

"It is in becoming memorial or monumental that a true perfection is attained by civil and domestic buildings (...) the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones nor in its gold. It is in its age" (Pevsner 1980: 50).

Ruskin felt that imperfection was in essential to life, it was an indication of progress and change. The Arts and Crafts movement under the mantle of William Morris (1834-1896) in particular, also recognised that the actual material oldness of the object was of the upmost importance. Morris combined Ruskin's anti-Modern passion with the romantic concept of the value of honest labour to create an artistic movement inspired by egalitarianism and the vernacular. Morris was instrumental in the formation of SPAB (Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1877), which was established in response to the work of Victorian architects whose enthusiasm for what he regarded as harmful restoration caused irreparable damage. The SPAB Manifesto was written by William Morris, Philip Webb and other founder members in 1877, and although produced in response to the conservation problems of the 19th century, the organisation are still highly active and the Manifesto has been extended to provide protection to all times and styles, and as such still remains the basis for the Society's work. It contains this plea: "to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands" (SPAB 1877).

It is interesting to observe how far this concept of what is important has progressed in the twenty first century. A fine illustrative example of this is of course the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, which is as stated, undergoing a massive amount of conservation work. The building is being completely cleaned and structural repairs are being conducted, this includes rectifying the mistakes that were made really quite recently including the replacement of the far too heavy concrete roof. This will ensure that the building is fit for use for many generations.

It is the main gate, or Portal of Glory (Pórtico da Gloria) that is especially pertinent to this discussion. This Romanesque portico was once the main gate to the cathedral and dates back to the consecration of the building in 1211. Although it is now contained behind a protective eighteenth century Baroque façade, the once polychromatic archway is elevated at the top of a flight of stairs, and was designed so that the pilgrims could see it from afar as they entered the Cathedral Square. The tympanum was originally brightly painted, predominantly with the most precious and expensive colour, ultramarine blue; a colour already associated with holiness, humility, virtue, and especially with the Virgin Mary. Over the next millennium the façade was repainted a number of times, and the decoration was a clear expression of what possessed value and worth in that day; and as blue paint became more ubiquitous, so gold was used.

The objective of the present-day conservation work is to clean the sculptures, remove the grease and dirt that the city has placed upon it, and thus expose the patina of time. Traces of the earlier paintwork are still attached to the statues and these have been al-



FIG. 1. Fragment of the tympanum of the Pórtico da Gloria at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Cleaning is still in progress, the build-up of grime can be observed in some of the statues, while the conservation work is already complete on others.



FIG. 2. The intricate paintwork has been left intact wherever possible.

lowed to remain, but really the façade has become a study of the pure three-dimensional beauty of the figures. On no account will the entrance be repainted (Figs. 1-2).

The exposure of the age is important, as is the revelation of the layers of history as shown in the fragments of paintwork that still cling to the crevices and folds, combined with the weathered stonework that is being shown. As in previous times, the most precious material has been used to convey the worth of the revered sculpture, and in the twenty first century, that is time. It is our most precious commodity, it is the thing that we most commonly waste, and testament to the preciousness of time, is the rise in the need in the Western World for experiences rather than possessions. The present day contemporary pursuit of 'art and form' through the application of subjective feeling fuels the tourism industry. As more of our basic needs are met, we increasingly expect sophisticated experiences that are emotionally satisfying and meaningful. These experiences will not be simple products. They will be complex combination of products, services, spaces and information (Svabo, Shanks 2014: 26).

Human labour is the most expensive element of any work of conservation, therefore to show the consideration for any precious piece of art, the longer, more deep and labour intensive the process, then greater is the inherent value of the object. This representation of the life of the façade shows how subjective the artistic evaluation of any ancient monument is. The precious blue paint and the valuable gold leaf are no longer regarded as the

most treasured material. The fragments of these combined with the patina of time are the prized beyond anything else. A century ago this concept would have seemed barmy, but now it is the prevalent attitude.

## Conclusions

Over a century ago, Alois Riegl argued of development: “We call historical all things that once were and are no longer” (Riegl 1996: 70). However, within contemporary society, history is now regarded as a progressive activity. Indeed conservation is often described as a future oriented movement focussing on the past.

Today authenticity of an object is derived not from the original or eternal values, but from the present-day reception of that object. While the artistic value is not attributed a transient or timeless status but it is a present day concern. Thus it is the historical significance of an object that is valued. Its worth is not dependent upon the quality of the object, the skill with which it was constructed or the materials that it is made from. Value is simply attributed through age. Reproduction is frowned upon and pastiche is ridiculed, because the sense of time and history are regarded as lost when these techniques are employed. Blemishes show age, something that Ruskin was much in favour of. The patina that comes with custom and use that appears after many generations have handled an object is considered to be of much greater value than something that reproduces the original piece or object however well made.

This contemporary attitude towards conservation means that there would be a horrified reaction to a proposal to repaint the tympanum of the Portal of Glory in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. The integrity of this once highly decorated sculptured infill over the doorway is preserved through the visual knowledge that it is very old, that it has survived as cultures and societies change and has remained constant through the ages. But of course it has not remained constant; the visual impression of the tympanum has changed as society’s attitude towards what is precious has altered. It was blue when that was the treasured colour, it was covered with gold when that was the most valuable material, and now that time is our most cherished commodity, it has been painstakingly cleaned to expose the sense of history inherent within it. Conservation is a constant search for authenticity, and as attitudes towards what is regarded as authentic evolve, so have methods and theories of conservation.

Experience design can be described as the choreography of temporary and shifting engagements across a series of design disciplines. Conservation is just one of those disciplines and as such has embraced the contemporary need for the seemingly historical authenticity within such experiences. These are recreational activities that occur in places that are imbued with a sense of time and history, but which embrace the contemporary attitude towards what is precious. Today time is the most precious commodity of all, and testament to this is the need to experience, to live, to engage with different and worthwhile pursuits. However, this preciousness is also exposed in the attitude towards the conservation of the existing environment, where again it is the precious time needed to laboriously clean and repair the building that is valued, thus contemporary design and conservation practices pursue a similar authenticity.



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## LOST IN THE (CULTURAL) SUPERMARKET: HERITAGE, TOURISM AND CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN THE POST-GLOBALISED WORLD

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*I'm all lost in the supermarket  
I can no longer shop happily  
I came in here for that special offer  
A guaranteed personality*

The Clash, *Lost in the supermarket* (1979)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Alois Riegl, in his famous essay *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, foresaw that the modern relationship between users and cultural heritage would no longer be restricted to scholars, but was evolving into a mass experience: everyone could have one, independently of their level of education (Scarrocchia 2006: 255).

Nevertheless, the process of democratisation of culture of the 20th century, and the globalisation more recently, have gone far beyond the brilliant intuition by Riegl, leading to the creation of an 'information society' in which 'quantity' and 'mobility' got the better of 'quality' of information. The poet Carlos Cortés described effectively this scenario: "Globalisation is when the French discover Notre Dame again in a Walt Disney movie, as they did 150 years ago with the novel of a writer who had the name of a gargoyle, and when Japanese tourists arrive at the most visited monument in Paris and ask where Quasimodo lived and what the names of the gargoyles are which, actually, are the result of the imagination of an architect of the last century who restored Notre Dame more or less as he wanted"<sup>1</sup>.

In this context, tourism plays a significant role as it is certainly one of the main – and the earliest – activities which activate a commodification of culture, transforming heritage into a product. In addition, we have to point out that the exploitation of heritage and, more in general, of historic resources, is one of the major economic activities in the Western world and, for the last few decades, has spread throughout the rest of the world (Ashworth, Larkham 2013).

Cultural and historical attractions are some of the principal factors generating tourist flows; as a consequence, heritage attractions represent a wide catalogue of 'products', ready to be chosen, bought and consumed. In this sense, the global cultural offer seems to be similar to a 'cultural supermarket flyer' in which heritage, traditions and local peculiarities are 'translated' into 'cultural delicatessen'.

The paper tries to investigate the controversial relationship between tourism and heritage conservation practices. Tourism, in fact, gathers together and puts traditional issues related to culture, heritage and conservation activities into question. On the one hand, the aim of the tourism industry should be mainly to increase visitors to a site, while on the

other hand, conservation strategies, aimed traditionally to mitigate the anthropic pressure on heritage, should logically have the opposite purpose. Obviously, this generates some tensions or, in some cases, true short circuits in decision-making processes.

This seems to be also evident in that peculiar sector of the touristic offer that refers to cultural traditions and religion. The Camino de Santiago – probably the most ancient and famous pilgrimage – seems to offer some of those tensions: its extension to cater for nonreligious pilgrims – due to it having become a fashionable experiential trip, exhibits some problematic aspects. Among these, are such negative impacts as the material consumption of sites and artefacts and the ‘brandisation’ of its traditional iconography, and most definitely it suggests the ongoing misrepresentation of its deepest significances.

This paper puts forward some reflections about the nature of that controversial relationship, paying attention also to the social implications – and to the risks – which traditional approaches to heritage conservation may generate in the current era of ‘post-globalisation’. According to some scholars, this period is labelled ‘post-globalised’ as although the global crisis that already started in 2008 defined for many the end of neoliberal globalisation age. However, the processes that it engendered are still in progress and many changes that it caused are now irreversible (Kagarlitsky 2015).

### **Mass tourism, cultural tourism and heritage**

Marco d’Eramo has recently argued that tourism is perhaps one of the most important contemporary social phenomena, to the point that we can consider our age as the ‘Tourism age’. Nevertheless, tourism paradoxically remains controversial in itself: together with other activities, such as sports and advertisements, it belongs to that category of social phenomena which, although ever-present in our everyday life, is in any case ‘undigested’, not totally accepted by people (d’Eramo 2017).

Perhaps, as Maximiliano Korstanje has observed, the point is that “tourism plays a vital role in drawing a symbolic platform in order to replicate the cultural values enrooted into capitalism” (Korstanje 2017: 76). We may observe that today this symbolism has practically lost its meaning: borders between social classes are not so well-defined and the lives of most people are inescapably characterised by the rhythms of capitalism and work. Nevertheless, this element seems still relevant and tourism has nearly always been seen by the intellectual establishment and higher-educated classes as something negative.

Recently, the idea that tourism, together with social networks and selfies, is killing the appeal of ‘travel’ as a unique experience, making it accessible to all, is floating around. In reality, this is nothing new: during the 18th century, only young aristocrats used to travel for pleasure, accompanied by their preceptors; then, the sons of the big bourgeoisie began such travel, and were labelled as ‘tourists’ by the aristocrats. In the mid-nineteenth century, the first travel agencies and tour guides were born and, with them, the first excursions of the middle class – such as doctors, lawyers, notaries – which were looked upon with contempt by the big bourgeoisie. And so on, because tourism has always been characterised by the fact that the lower classes tend to imitate the behaviour of the well-off classes: once the goal is achieved, those practices are devalued or proletarianised. From this perspective, the demand for ‘authentic’ experi-

ences in tourism, connected to local traditions and lifestyles – just to mention a recent social phenomenon – reflects a typical contemporary issue: in each moment of our life we are in search of authenticity which our research, in itself, makes inauthentic (d'Eramo 2017).

In 1936, the writer Gilbert Keith Chesterton, talking about travels in his autobiography, wrote: “The traveller sees what he sees. The tripper sees what he has come to see”<sup>2</sup> (Chesterton 1936). Evidently the difference between travelers and tourists has always existed, maybe as a ‘snobbish’ distinction – although Chesterton declared the opposite – or maybe only as the sign of the increase of the mass tourism phenomenon over time.

As a starting point, we must consider the myth of travel, influenced by the famous travellers of the *Grand Tour*, enriched by travel literature over the centuries, politicised by the Hippies during the 1970s, and then revitalised thanks to some fascinating personalities, such as V.S. Naipaul or Bruce Chatwin. According to this orientation, travelling is something that enriches personal knowledge and spirituality. Thus, the verdict on tourism is heavy: as Chatwin wrote “Walking is a virtue, tourism is a deadly sin” (Chatwin 1990: 103).

From this perspective, pilgrims along the Santiago de Compostela routes seem to be the last real travellers. Successors of a tradition dating back to the 9th century, which was aimed at earning a plenary indulgence, the modern backpack pilgrims follow the Camino (walking) routes, walking a minimum of 100 km or cycling at least 200 km, as a form of spiritual path or retreat for their spiritual growth (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, at the end of the Camino, in the square of the Cathedral of St. James, religious and non-believer pilgrims, luxury tourists and groups of ‘hit-and-run’ tourists meet together, taking selfies with one hand and holding a scallop shell – the symbol/brand of St. James – in the other.

The distinction between different typologies of tourists today is vital for the tourism industry; nevertheless, it seems to represent only an enlargement of the touristic offer, without relevant effects on the conservation of the cultural heritage. The question is if tourism – whatever its variations – can have a negative impact on heritage. In this perspective, we can observe that the addition of the adjective ‘cultural’, seems to be of little use in elevating tourism to the rank of a non-exclusive leisure activity.

We know that, in theory, there should be a difference in terms of knowledge between a ‘cultural’ tourist and an ‘ordinary’ (or mass) tourist. Thus, a not-so-highly educated tourist could misunderstand or minimise the meaning of a cultural site, a monument, and so on (Figs. 2-3).

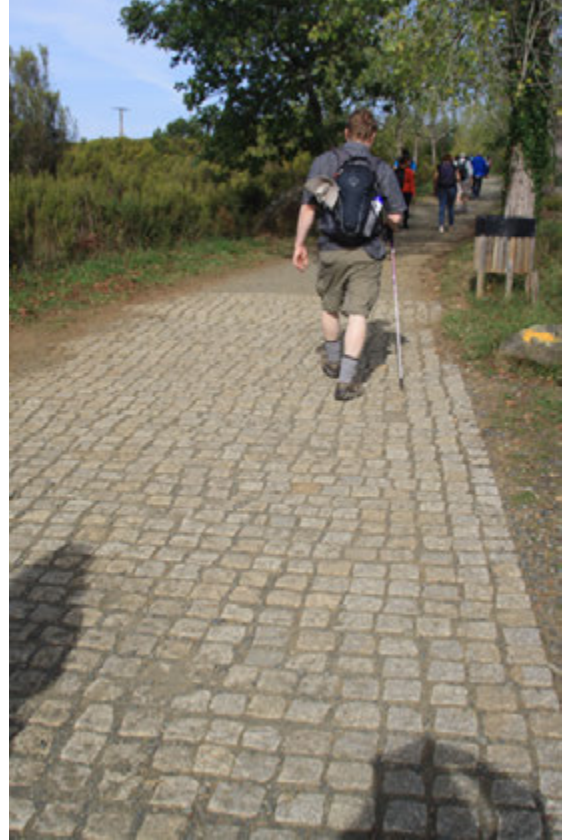


Fig. 1. Typical backpack pilgrim walks along the Camino de Santiago.



Nevertheless, it is only a conjectural distinction: what is actually different is the product offered in the tourist market: heritage, culture, ethics, ecology, sustainability, religion, etc. Everyone can buy a specific offer, independently of his education, social status, objectives of the journey, etc. (although financial status is still a limiting factor). In addition, a wrong interpretation, in itself, never produced permanent physical damage to a monument. At worst, the visitor might not be 'enriched' by the cultural experience. The distinction between cultural and mass tourism should lie rather in the behaviour of tourists in terms of litter, vandalism, etc. (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, no data or evidence on the fact that a tourist that bought a cultural tourism offer has a more responsible or sustainable behaviour in comparison to an 'ordinary' tourist exists.

In addition, we must consider that, despite the theoretical distance between culture and tourism, these two fields have seen a symbiotic development in the last three decades. One of the largest, most pervasive and fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry today is that of people visiting cultural sites. As is well known, increase in the demand is also related to the increased number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In addition, in the last few decades, cultural and heritage tourism has grown much faster than other forms of tourism, especially in the developing world and in economically depressed areas, as it is considered an important potential tool for poverty alleviation and community economic development. In the not so distant past, just to mention a very clear example, many locations concentrated their promotional efforts on boosting tourism via the so-called 'three Ss' model (Sun, Sea and Sand). Today, the same locations have realised the importance of cultural heritage as a resource for tourism, so they have re-mixed their offers to include heritage attractions (Timothy, Nyaupane 2009).

As Nicholas Stanley Price has observed, the authenticity of the past depends in the end on the observer, not on the observed, so "it is the visitor who should be treated, and not the building" (Stanley Price 2009: 43). Moreover, from the perspective of physical conservation of heritage, there are no differences between typologies of tourism: it is merely a problem of quantity of tourists, and of their eventual physical negative impact on heritage, and not of the quality of the tourists.



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Fig. 2. A couple of 'cultural' tourists visiting monuments in Santiago de Compostela.

Fig. 3. A couple of 'ordinary' tourists according the hyper-realistic artist Duane Hanson (Tourist II, 1988) (by <[https://www.saatchigallery.com/artists/artpages/duane\\_hanson\\_tourists\\_2.htm](https://www.saatchigallery.com/artists/artpages/duane_hanson_tourists_2.htm)> accessed 13 June 2019).

Fig. 4. Rubbish along the Camino: a product by cultural or ordinary tourist?



### Heritage, packaging and conservation practices

According to the famous anthropologist Marc Augè, 'cultural tourism' increases knowledge but without a real change in personality: "The tourist consumes his life, the traveller writes his"<sup>3</sup>. Augè's viewpoint on tourism is certainly one of the most pejorative. Nevertheless, his unenthusiastic judgment seems to be the key factor around which to examine the tension between tourism and cultural heritage: the trips, according to Augè, are presented as more or less elaborated 'products' that people can buy (Augè 2004: 50). Thus, the 'cultural' offer of the tourism industry seems to be a sort of catalogue. Heritage tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, ethic tourism, sustainable tourism, dark tourism: everyone can buy a 'kit' that guarantees the satisfaction of personal tastes, inclinations or social aspirations.

A study published in 2000 described the commodification of heritage carried out by tourism as a transformation of a cultural artefact – a church, an archaeological site, a ruin, a historic centre, etc. – into a product 'packaged' and sold within the tourism market (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000: 143).

According to this process, what is commercialised is not an ancient artefact or a historic town in itself, but their meanings or, more exactly, a specific interpretation of their past. In addition, following this theory, we should consider how commodification of heritage is not generally based on the supply – the characteristics of the artefact or the historic town – but is extremely influenced by the demand – the tourists' or tour operator's requests. The tourism demand is extremely varied and unstable: that means that heritage may have different meanings according different typologies of tourists; or it may change according to the trends of the moment. Furthermore, that means that the same artefact may have a different past to narrate to the visitors. This process is not necessarily negative or, at least, it is not negative for sociologists, tourism studies and, marketing scholars: the conversion of heritage into 'product' for "contemporary consumption of history" represents nothing more than "a specific aspect of tourism supply to be marketed to an identified tourism demand" (Ashworth, Larkham 2013: 164).

But what are the effects of these processes on cultural heritage conservation? Does the tourism industry influence in some ways conservation practices?

An attempt to investigate the relationships between the tourism industry and conservation practices was proposed by Gregory J. Ashworth and John E. Turnbridge in the 1990s (Ashworth, Turnbridge 2000), through a study on processes of social production of heritage in historic cities. The two scholars introduced the notion of 'Touristic-Historic City' as the result of different actions carried on both in the field of tourism and of conservation management: "both a particular use of history as a tourism resource and a use of tourism as a means of supporting the maintenance of the artefacts of the past and justifying attention to the historicity of cities" (Ashworth, Turnbridge 2000: 3). The research was based on three main postulates: tourism plays a critical role within heritage issues; conservation plays an equally significant role within the tourism industry; the symbiosis between tourism and conservation has become a significant element for contemporary urban development. In this perspective, the Touristic-Historic City is not the place where tourism and conservation occur, but a system which is the consequence of their occurring.

Another problem is evaluating whether commercialisation and presentation of the past entail damage in terms of expression of values of heritage (Newby 1994). In other terms, are conservation activities influenced by tourists' feedback? How much conservation is influenced by the need to generate tourist expenditure rather than by the cultural element itself?

Obviously, there is no answer to these difficult questions and we can only try to propose some considerations. In the outlined perspective, for example, the operation of reconstructing vanished artefacts or ruins – an operation traditionally considered controversial in itself in the heritage conservation debate – seems to be debateable also if we look at it in this context: do we generally accept it because of its benefits in terms of architectural or archaeological knowledge or because of its affordance and attractiveness in terms of positive tourist feedback?

The term 'reconstruction' in the field of restoration, evokes again Eugene Emmanuelle Viollet-le-Duc. Nevertheless, it is not a banal reference: thanks to the restoration of the church of Madeleine – just to mention one of his famous works – the village of Vézelay was reborn as a destination for "pilgrims of a uniquely modern sort: tourists in search of a vessel for transcendental speculations and ruminations on the identity of France" (Murphy 2000: 7). More in general, Viollet-le-Duc's restoration works seem to represent well a new relationship between cultural heritage and tourism in the context of globalisation processes. Pierrefonds and Carcassonne castles, among the other ones restored by the famous French architect, spread a stereotyped model of fortification around the world over the 20th century. Clearly, the intention of Viollet-le-Duc was not the globalisation of French architecture of the middle ages, although it is very striking that Walt Disney was inspired by that model in the construction of the Sleeping Beauty Castle at Disneyland Park in 1955 (Pugh, Aronstein 2012) and 'disneyfication', as is well known, is a very common term in recent years to outline the effects of tourism and globalisation on monuments and sites.

We should concede that reconstructions – among different fields, archaeological, architectural, urban, etc. – has always been major touristic attractions, certainly more than ruins or incomplete monuments and buildings.

This process is evident in the field of management and conservation of archaeological sites. The problems concerning the presentation of archaeological remains is a much-studied theme: as is well known, it involves not only topics regarding physical protection solu-

tions, such as protective structures, sheltering, materials, etc., but also the study of strategies aimed at making the ancient artefacts more understandable to the visitors, often 'displayed' in a way recognisable only by archaeologists. Without going into the matter, here we want only to underline how, usually, reconstructions or anastylosis have been the most used – and abused – strategies to solve the problem, and to obtain major feedback from the public. It is a well-known practice and concerns very famous examples, especially in developing areas. Where heritage tourism represents one of the few potentialities to shake up the local depressed economy, reconstructions have become an important point of many governments' agenda (Fig. 5).

The term 'packaging' seems to be very appropriate to describe the vast catalogue of interventions within historic cities, aimed at 'spectacularising' architecture: the so-called 'archistar' projects. Initially consisting mainly of the insertion of contemporary architecture within the historic urban fabric, more recently, this kind of intervention has moved also to existing buildings. This is the case, just to mention a very famous example, with the project by Herzog&de Meuron for CaixaForum in Madrid (2008), a multipurpose socio-cultural centre with facilities such as exhibition halls, restaurants, bookshop, offices, parking, etc. Here the pre-existing building, a dismantled hydroelectric power plant and gas station considered as 'unspectacular' by the designers, has been heavily altered through a 'spectacular transformation' and literally 'packaged' by a Cor-ten steel cladding (Fig. 6). The removal of the base of the existing building left a covered plaza that, according to the designers "offers shade to visitors who want to spend time or meet outside, and at the same time, it is the entrance to the Forum itself" (Herzog, de Meuron 2008). The touristic intention of the designers is not too veiled: creating a "urban magnet attracting not only art-lovers but all people of Madrid and from outside". However, from a conservationist point of view, the result is the 'complete estrangement' of the pre-existing structure which becomes a 'mere pretext for a new architecture' (Pane 2016).

The strategy of 'spectacularisation' has also been used in the historic landscape context. The colossal project for Ciudad de Cultura de Galicia (City of Culture of Galicia) along the walking pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, by Peter Eisenman (1999-) is a case



Fig. 5. A flood of tourists in Ephesus, Turkey. The archaeological site, as is well known, has made attractive also by the relevant reconstructions and anastylosis.

Fig. 6. The Caixa Forum in Madrid by Herzog&de Meuron. A 'packaged' historic building? (by <<http://catalogo.artium.org/book/export/html/8165>> accessed 13 June 2019).



Fig. 7. The colossal project for Ciudad de Cultura de Galicia by Peter Eisenman (by <[https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/galicia/2018-05-30/mausoleo-fraga-ciudad-cultura-galicia-feijoo-reactiva\\_1571013/](https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/galicia/2018-05-30/mausoleo-fraga-ciudad-cultura-galicia-feijoo-reactiva_1571013/)> accessed 13 June 2019).

Fig. 8. The recent system of turnstiles introduced in Venice to manage the tourist crowd.

in point (Fig. 7). Suspending any evaluation on the quality, the opportuneness and the impact of this project, it is interesting to underline the touristic industry aim of the operation. In an interview in 2010, Eisenman explained that the idea behind the choice of the location for the City of Culture is that the pilgrimage route passes through it before descending into the town of Santiago: “a passage through the secular to reach the sacred” (Gómez-Moriana 2010). According to the famous architect, the local leadership realised that Galicia “could not enter the modern world without secular culture”. Thus, the City of Culture’s objective is to diversify Galicia’s tourist’s industry, attracting not only pilgrims but also additional tourists who come for the architecture, “just as they come to Bilbao” (Gómez-Moriana 2010).

### **An actual risk: from protection to protectionism**

In contexts of heritage-based tourism, tension between residents and tourists is frequent: when, for example, a historic centre is transformed into a tourism resource, inhabitants see tourists as invaders of their private spaces, traditional homes, and cultures (Fig. 8). In addition, another significant problem is the displacement of local populations. Clearly, tourism has a significant role in the ‘gentrification’ of most historic cities. At the same time, we should admit how heritage conservation policies often become accomplices in this process.

More specifically, cultural change is often cited as one of the most significant negative impacts of tourism, although according some scholars not all cultural commodifications are negative, especially in the poorest and developing areas (Ashley, Boyd, Goodwin 2000; Timothy, Nyaupane 2009). There is common agreement among anthropologists and other cultural studies scholars that tourism, including heritage tourism, is partially responsible for destination societies losing cultural traditions or undergoing cultural modifications. One of the most cited side-effects of tourism is cultural commodification, through which culture becomes a product that is packaged and sold to tourists. In this process, for example, traditional art forms are altered to meet the needs of tourists, losing their original values and becoming “mass produced, meaningless, and inauthentic tourist kitsch” (Timothy, Nyaupane 2009: 62).

The fact is that the more social life is mediated by the global market of lifestyles, places and images, the more cultural identities detach from local traditions, places and representations. The consequences of this process, as Stuart Hall observed already in the 1990s, are at least three: the erosion of local cultural identities, with the subsequent loss of heri-



tage; the attempt to resist this phenomenon through the reinforcement of local identities; the hybridisation of cultures and the creation of some new cultural identities (Hall 1990).

During the last three decades – nearly corresponding to the rise and fall of global capitalism – the response by politicians and intellectuals to the changes occurring to culture and societies among the countries splits essentially in two camps. They have proposed equally unconstructive approaches: one has been to ignore reality and to try to prove that capitalism was the reason for all the evils; the other tries to mythologise the changes, looking at globalisation as an opportunity for the development and the alleviation of poverty around the world (Kagarlitsky 2015).

In the field of cultural heritage, the approach generally has been the first one: preservation actions, such as restoration and conservation, have been traditionally used, as ‘bastions’ in opposition to the attacks of globalisation and, more often, as tools aimed at reinforcing the sense of belonging of communities to their lands and traditions.

Suspending any evaluation on globalisation, we have to recognise that its effects are permanent by now, from the most multiracial towns to the most peripheral contexts, making cultural borders more and more undefined. What yesterday, in a globalising world, was considered a risk and sometimes declared only a pathological distortion of the presumed original pureness of a local cultural identity, today, in the post-globalised world, is the rule.

Therefore, is it still reasonable to consider globalisation a risk when nearly everything is already globalised? Is it still possible to look at conservation practices only in terms of ‘resistance’? Should we be looking at new strategies to adapt heritage to the current reality? Otherwise, fighting against negative trends, such as the tourist industry and uniformity of meanings and values, may produce a pejorative condition, turning the ‘protection of cultural heritage’ into an anachronistic ‘cultural protectionism’.

Obviously, developing new strategies may imply drastic solutions or, at least, sacrificing some of the interests at stake. In his 2011 book *The Globalization Paradox*, the economist Dani Rodrik argued that “we cannot simultaneously pursue democracy, national determination, and economic globalisation” (Rodrik 2011: 232). Maybe we can replicate the Rodrik’s paradox in the cultural heritage field: we cannot simultaneously pursue conservation, local identities enhancement and tourism industry development.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cortés 2001: 17-19. Translation by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Chesterton used the term ‘tripper’, but today we might easily replace it with the term ‘tourist’.

<sup>3</sup> Augè 2004: 63. Translation by the author.

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*Writing is defending the loneliness one is in; it is an action that only arises from an effective isolation, but from a communicable isolation, in which, precisely, by the distance of all concrete thing a discovery of relations between them becomes possible. Why one writes*  
Zambrano 2004: 35.

This paper discusses the Camino de Santiago<sup>1</sup> within the framework of the themes discussed during the Conservation/Consumption workshop – the impact of tourism on heritage and our responsibility to preserve it in the face of the threat from consumerism.

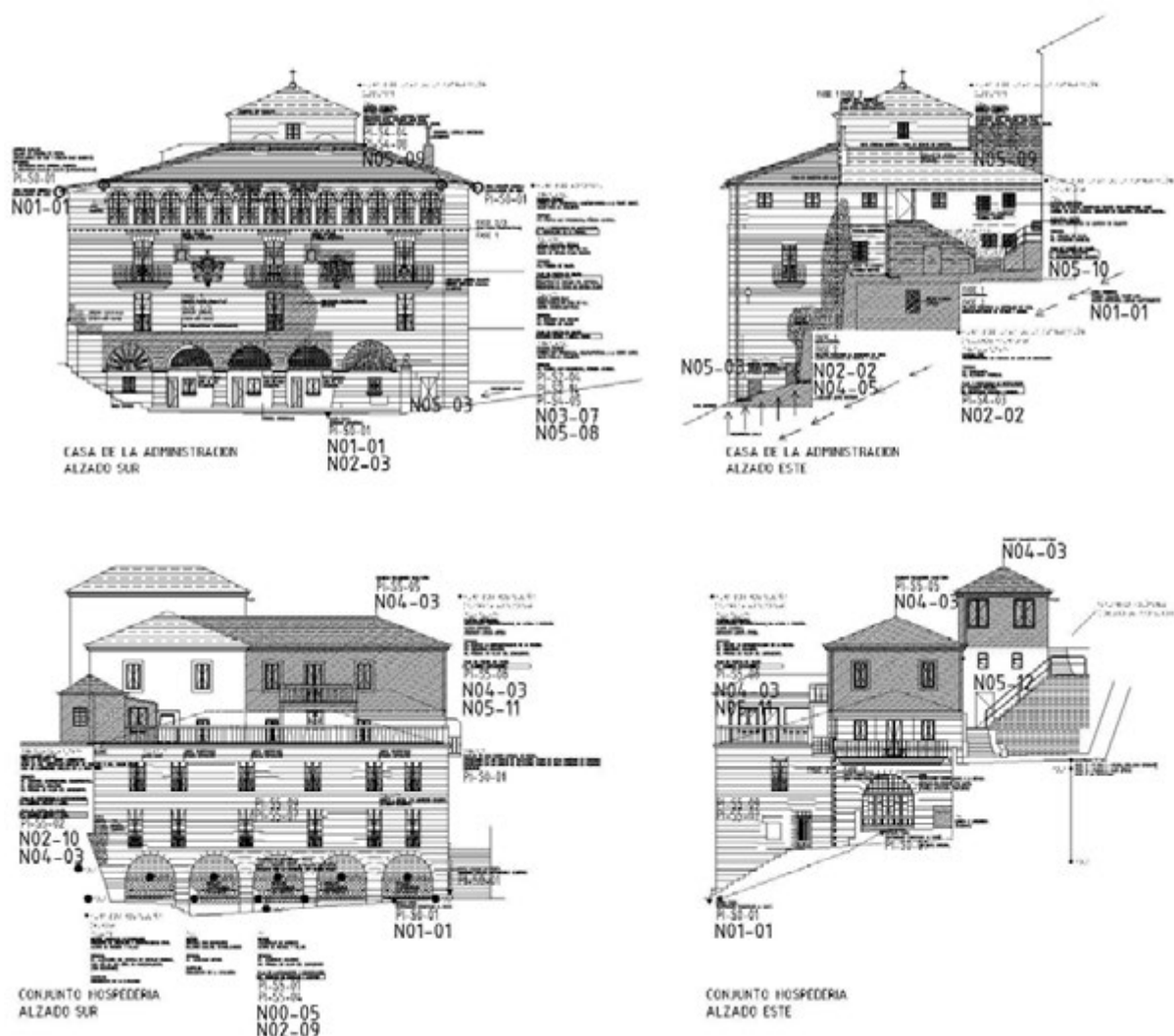
Taking as a departure point the declaration of one of the discussion groups – “We are architects”, the paper analyses a selection of architectural drawings at different scales associated with the Camino. Reflecting about architectural drawing itself, the paper opens the way to an appreciation of the drawings as part of an integral, and also personal, reading of the Camino. Hopefully it may provide thought for wider professional practice, teaching and understanding of issues around heritage and touristic consumerism.

We start by explaining the specificities of architectural drawing, exploring its condition of intangibility, untouchableness – as was discussed in the workshop. The paper brings closer the Camino with a sequence of drawings at different scales.

### **On architectural drawing and its intangible condition**

In his *Architectural Drawing: theory and history of a graphic language*, the architect and professor Jorge Sáinz points out architectural drawing must have an architectural purpose, a *forma mentis*, a being where its specificity will reside (Sainz 1990). We can stand in front of drawings that have architecture as a motive, but not as its essence, drawings which use architecture as theme and others that have architecture as their substantial essence, having an architectural purpose. Of particular focus is the qualities that can be extracted directly from the representation systems used (multiview, axonometric, perspective...) and also from the techniques used (pencil, ink, hand or computer-aided). This permits us to appreciate the same reality in different ways (abstract, ambiguous, apparent, intuitive, expressive...). A critical choice of systems and techniques may, therefore, induce a determined interpretation of reality.

In relation to drawing's intangibility, the philosopher María Zambrano notes: “drawing belongs to the rarest species of things: those that barely have a presence: that if they are sound, they adjoin the silence; if they are words, with mutism; presence that of so pure, abuts with the absence; gender of being on the edge of non-being (...). Life and death.



FIGS. 1a-1b. Master Plan of Monumental Ensemble Santuario da Nosa Señora das Ermidas, O Bolo, Galicia. CAD drawing: ERBA, Architects Beatriz Hermida & Tomás Valente (Hermida Calviño, Valente Lloves 2013).

Drawing is defined by crossing opposites and joining them. Drawing manifests the first and the last of the material presence of things (...). And so drawing participates in the 'Noli me tangere' of intelligence. It is intangible, gift only of vision".

Distinguishing between painting and sculpture, he observes that: "Sculpture and even painting are transcripts of bodies. In them there is the weight of bodies, the relations of matter, their way of existing. And that call that makes every living being to be touched"<sup>2</sup>.

These texts, analysing the drawings of Picasso, present an idea of the intangibility of drawing, a delimiter of voids by the use of lines. In front of painting, sculpture and ar-

chitecture (built), where there is weight, materiality, a 'call to be touched', drawing thus invokes an immaterial dimension of things.

For the architect, accustomed to living with drawings and seeing constructed and material architecture re-presented or expressed on paper (Figs. 1a-1b), this immaterial valorisation goes beyond immediate instrumentalisation and stimulates an ideal relationship. The appreciation of drawing as an intangible *alter ego* (drawn architecture) of what it represents or expresses (constructed architecture) stimulates attention to the discipline, one that is more qualitative and timeless, both in professional practice and teaching.

This idea of the intangibility of drawing, expressed inspiringly by philosophers, is akin to the terminology used by lawmakers which sees ethnographic intangible heritage as part of immaterial goods.

This chimes with the treatment of design by Alberti in Chapter I of his *Re Aedificatoria*, where he argues that "design does not depend intrinsically on the material, (...) and it will be possible to project the forms in their entirety in mind and spirit, leaving aside all the material"<sup>3</sup>.

The different declarations that historically shelter and recognise the Camino as a patrimonial asset influence in various ways its material or immaterial condition. There are approaches that address its materiality, including those of Spanish policy-makers (at national and autonomous community levels). More recently, there is stress on the immateriality of the Camino. The Cultural Route Charter of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 2008) clearly contemplates this double condition when it enumerates and describes the Camino's defining elements<sup>4</sup>.

### **Architectural Drawings of the Camino**

Published drawings that represent and express aspects of the Camino from a disciplinary perspective are examined. They are architectural drawings, which recognise drawing as a means of analysis and which also value what is drawn from an explicitly patrimonial interest. They establish a hierarchy of values among the various aspects of that reality (Sainz 1990). The selected drawings are presented at different scales and are presented with the double focus of expressing ideas and immaterial production.

### **Territorial scale of the Camino – the field**

The Camino is classified in Spain as a *Bien Patrimonial* (a patrimonial asset) with a unique particular territorial dimension. Its concrete definition is relevant in operational terms at the local level and is formalised through its own delimitation mechanisms in regulations<sup>5</sup>. As it expands, it loses the capacity to express, recovering the very idea of its territorial scale. Architecture addresses directly this territorial scale from urban design. It may be seen as an architectural fact.

Figure 2 was drawn by the architect, urban planner and professor Juan Luis Dalda Escudero and Figure 3 by students of the School of Architecture A Coruña University (ETSAC-UDC) (Figs. 2-3). Both are hand-made, with a minimum of technical assistance. They use orthogonal projection. The first is a preliminary sketch, the second a final, presentation drawing.

The territory is approached from a formal perspective and its forms are explained as an evolution of what Galicians refer to *cultura castrexa* to describe the material Celtic culture of

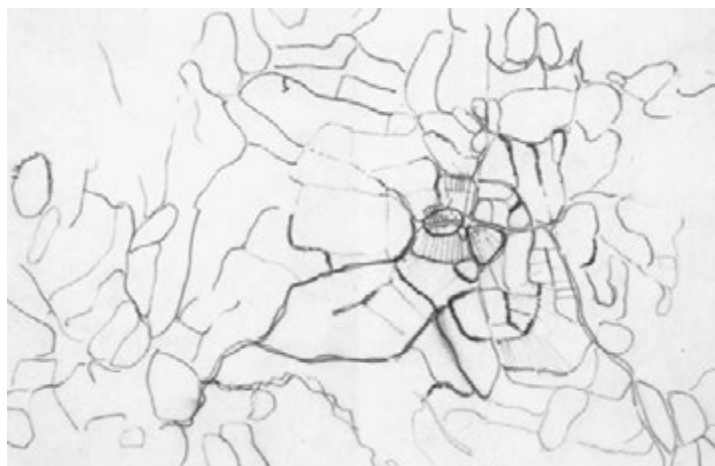


FIG. 2. Sketch of territorial forms of Carnoedo Village. Hand-made drawing: Juan Luis Dalda, 1983 (Dalda Escudero 2011b).

FIG. 3. Territorial plan of the village of Mariñán Village. Hand-made drawing: students X. Besiga, M. Canedo, X.D. Moscoso, A. Salgado. Urban Design II ET-SAC-UDC, 1989-90 (Dalda Escudero 2011c).



the north-western Iberian peninsula. This *castrexa* influence and also the agrarian nature of these forms are explained by the geographer Abel Bouhier<sup>6</sup> and Dalda Escudero who process this territory as architecture, as constructed fact. Of interest is how this territory is represented by drawing; “of the territorial forms we are fundamentally interested in discovering, revealing, representing and drawing, both in plan and in volume, this topology that escapes from the straight line”<sup>7</sup>. Dalda Escudero explained this methodology in his *El dibujo del territorio* in which he argues that “the analysis begins with a plan view drawing where all the elements that constitute permanent expression of the construction moment are drawn”<sup>8</sup>.



This process, always in plan view and using scales from 1/2000 to 1/5000, progresses from the approximate sketch, to the most diagrammatic and purely analytical drawing and embraces what we could interpret as painting<sup>9</sup> when analysing patterns of land use. The naturalness, ease and immediacy of the pencil sketch seems to facilitate an immediacy in the unveiling of the forms without the search being hindered by the technique. As it moves towards the definitive shape, the ink drawing precisely fixes and definitively separates the delimited voids.

Building on recent interest towards territory in the form of landscape and the need for its conservation, these drawings convey a critique of the modern way of understanding the countryside.

Both are architectural drawings. They have an architectural purpose that lies in recognising the territory as a constructed fact. As Sainz observes: "It is no longer a matter of faithfully reproducing the constructed reality, but rather of extracting from certain architectural objects observed certain compositional elements that have especially attracted the attention of the draftsman". In this case, these elements are the rounded forms that delimit and organise the underlying agrarian structure, the volumetry of the territory. Multiview projection has an "intuitive character and an abstract quality"<sup>10</sup>. These drawings allow us to intuit the fragility and complexity of this territory but also its abstract quality, a living organism and therefore our responsibility to maintain its vitality.

### **Object scale of the Camino – auxiliary construction**

At the opposite end is the scale of the object, not properly architectural (Zevi 1998) but it can be considered with the tools of the discipline. The scale of the detail, around 1/10, shows a particular type of building that is repeated along the Camino.

It is the drawing of the *hórreo* (Fig. 4), a raised granary for storing and drying corn. This drawing has been selected by reason of the representation system and its technical approach. It is a drawing by students of architecture and is an academic output of a research project, *Construcciones de Junta Seca en Galicia*, promoted by the Department of Architectural Technology of ETSAC-UDC<sup>11</sup>.

It is a final drawing made in CAD, represented in exploded axonometric view. It is a presentation drawing, with the precision and rigour made possible by computer-assisted mathematical drawing. The type of projection chosen allows us to dematerialise and unveil the mechanical reality of these artifacts<sup>12</sup>. This is done by assembling pieces, which over time and spread throughout the territory, have achieved a high level of constructive specialisation, including the *tornarratos*, the plates between the pillars and the *hórreo* which prevent the entry of rodents.

The project is included in *Seca: Construcciones de Junta Seca en Galicia* (Rodríguez Cheda et al. 2002), in which they draw attention to these kinds of minor, one might say auxiliary, structures. It was sought to describe, illustrate and document certain construction processes refined by use over a long period of time. The set of documented artifacts<sup>13</sup> are presented as decisive elements of landscape architecture. This project is part of a central preoccupation of modern architecture – the relationship of architecture, form and construction. Modern architecture is thus given a fresh approach to auxiliary constructions; the bearer of an idea of modernity, in a context recurrently tinged with tradition, history and, looking further, with folklorism and thematisation. The question that arises

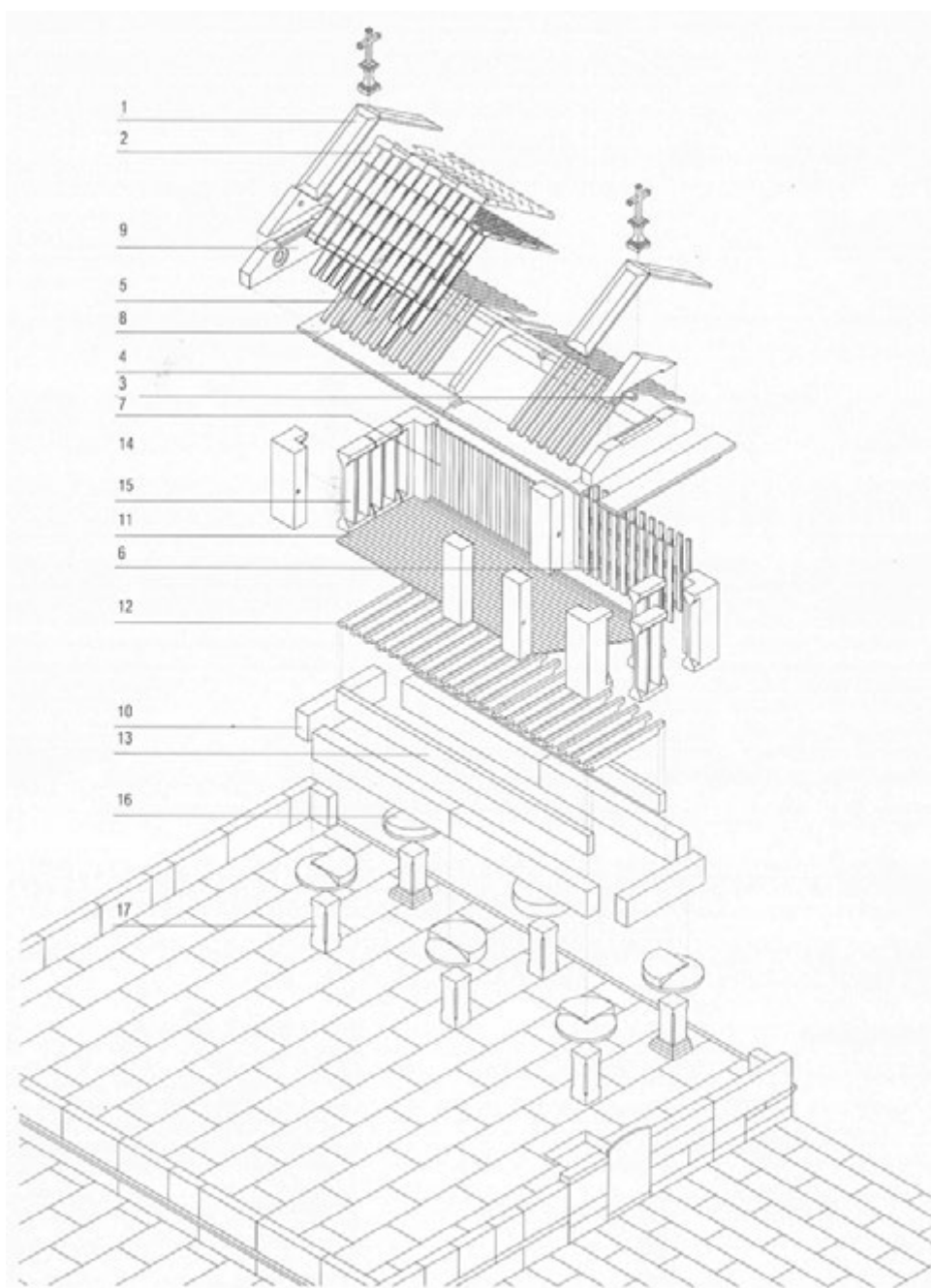


FIG. 4. *Hórreo*. CAD drawing: students L. Cuervo, O. Fernández, M. González-Ferro, E. Míguez. ETSAC-UDC, 1994 (Rodríguez Cheda et al. 2002).

implicitly from his drawing is how to implement new technologies that arrive from urban contexts in this fragile context. The example of auxiliary buildings can be useful here.

It is a drawing which seeks to value the *hórreo* as a constructed fact, applying from architectural theory an idea of technology and modernity. The chosen type of projection reinforces this idea. The specific features of the axonometric projection are the “high level of abstraction and ambiguity”<sup>14</sup>. This stimulates a vision which is open to the consideration of high technology, sophistication and innovation of construction. The ambiguity allows for a controversial approach which revises what is currently thought to be auxiliary and what is essential. It asks what are the new auxiliary constructions and what which was previously essential could be now, in some cases, become auxiliary. Its unfolding enables us to interpret this construction as a building, as a unit of furniture, as an industrial product...

### **Inhabitable scale of the Camino – the house**

Between the territorial scale and the detail scale is the scale of what is directly inhabitable, the house, the most immediately architectural.

A drawing of a sequence of compound elevations of the village of Ligonde, provided by the organising committee has been selected (Fig. 5). These drawings, published in *Arquitectura do Camiño de Santiago. Graphic description of French Camiño in Galicia* (Franco Taboada, Tarrío Carrodeaguas 2000), are the product of collaboration between the Xunta de Galicia (the regional government) and UDC to develop an inventory and planimetric survey of the monumental heritage of Galicia and the architecture of the Galician stages of the Camino de Santiago.

As explained in the introduction of the book, the Camino is “much more complex than a succession of religious architectures”. This inventory and survey had to take into account minor works such as fountains, bridges, auxiliary buildings, small hamlets... One of these drawings is used here. The survey and the base inventory of the Camino was undertaken in the 1993 Holy Year under an agreement between the same institutions which was directed by the architect and teacher, Pedro de Llano. All drawings were redrawn during the 1999 Holy Year. In accordance with the agreement, the drawings of the two phases were made by architecture students as part of their training “how to reduce an architectural or urban space, often complex, to a two-dimensional representation”<sup>15</sup>.

It is a definitive survey drawing ranging from a whole scale (1/250) to scales of more detail where constructive aspects and buildings of interest are highlighted. It was initially drawn by hand, using vegetal paper and Chinese ink, and subsequently drawn in CAD for publication. It explains how the work is organised. General criteria for the representation in the final phases are listed<sup>16</sup> (presentation drawing).

The system of representation chosen is the orthogonal projection, “an enhancement of a greater critical reflection”<sup>17</sup>. The elevations are chosen here. For the publication they are accompanied, quite rightly, by the plan views, both being understood as a unitary representation.

The representation of the general elevation expresses an organised body which rests on an immanent land line and develops on a vertical pattern of regular linked forms. This ruled organisation, readable from an open ‘cartesian’ order, is capable of integrating variations that reveal an underlying individuality. From the perspective of the inhabited space, it expresses a community, intimately related and organised, attached to a place in which the individual is still recognisable as an original and corporeal expression of inhabiting.

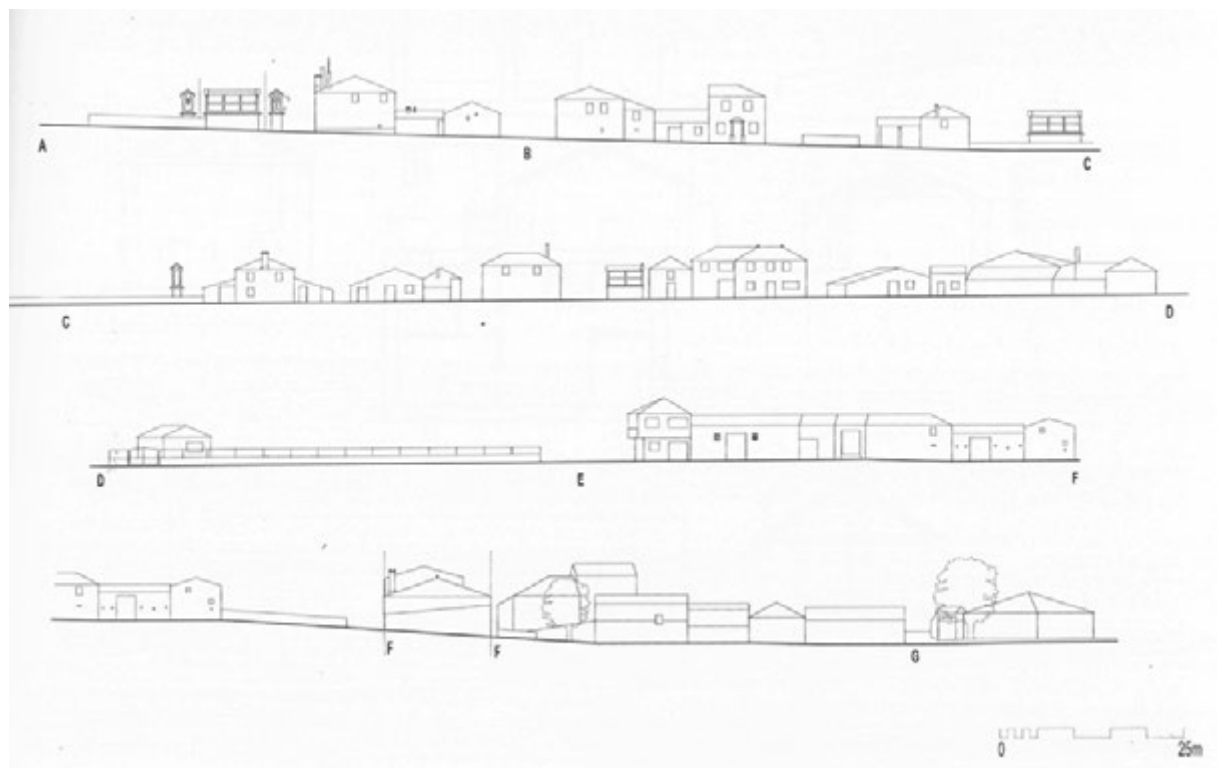


FIG. 5. Ligonde Village Elevations. CAD drawing: students ETSAC UDC (Franco Taboada, Tarrío Carrodeaguas 2000).

This varied order interpreted here recalls the design work done in the village of Esquivel by architect Alejandro de la Sota where it is also projected by drawing an ordered pattern and introducing variations<sup>18</sup>. This again brings an eloquent pedagogical reading to the case, using pattern and variation, order and randomness.

As for its specificity as an architectural drawing, its architectural purpose lies in being a pedagogical instrument – part of the training of architects. It is an exercise of drawing, but fundamentally of critical reflection through drawing. Discerning what to draw and what not to draw together with different scales implicitly brings a critical reflection on that reality, moving from the general to the particular, to separate what is essential from what is accessory or apparent.

Again, the multiview projection has an “intuitive character and an abstract quality”<sup>19</sup>. Being unreal, it allows us to intuit, even from the child’s imagination<sup>20</sup>, a familiar place to live, people and houses. The attachment of the whole to the land line and the proximity evoke that ‘calmness and tranquility’ attributed by Alejandro de la Sota to good living in a village. At the same time, it presents an analytical, diagrammatic, codifiable, typifiable reality.

The constructed facts referred to in the drawing are the densest of the sections that we walked. The weight of these constructed forms bore down on us, made us halt and ponder many particularities. Probably the memory of passing through these villages is as close to the elevations presented, even more than the fact of visiting the place<sup>21</sup>.

### Inhabitable dimension of the Camino – a *carballeira*

On this same scale, if the drawing of the houses expressed the private sphere or the intimate, now the drawing of the *carballeira* (a group of oak trees comprising a community-owned space) expresses the scope of the public.

This drawing (Fig. 6) is made by the architect and professor Amparo Casares as part of research that values a fragment of nature of special local significance in material and immaterial terms such as the *carballeira*. A substantial part of this work, which consists of 243 files, details the many *carballeiras* located along the Camino Francés. A subsequent publication entitled *As Carballeiras in Galicia* (Casares Gallego 2008), highlights the patrimonial nature a space which though formed by trees transcends its material characterisation. Moving beyond seeing it simply as a group of trees, it traces their anthropological, ethnographic, religious and psychological significance. From an initial tree-person approach rooted in anthropological, ethnographic, religious and psychological visions there is a second *carballeira*-community approach which explains its conformation as an existential and productive space and its historical evolution in terms of ownership.

The drawing that is presented is a survey made on 1/1000 scale, freehand and in ink. It is represented in multiview projection by the plan view. It belongs to a file that has two elements, one graphical for the survey and another textual where objective and subjective data<sup>22</sup> are collected. This serves as a prelude to normative elements used for the protection, conservation and improvement of heritage such as catalogues and inventories which comprise planning and project documents.

There is a prior awareness here of the need to address the issue of identity, the de-naturalisation of urban environments and environmental awareness on a global scale. The approach takes place from architecture, recognising in the scale a substantial value of this space.

It is a drawing of architecture, as it seeks to value the *carballeira* as an inhabitable, multifunctional space, as a public space, recognising the artificiality that underlies its apparent naturalness. This artificiality is understandable in its configuration in plan, defining the limits, the projection of the contour of the foliage, but fundamentally the meshes of trunks that mark the space occupying it and which alter its scale. They are drawings made by hand that show an attention to the dimensional reality and a selective criteria towards what one wants to represent.

The multiview projection has an “intuitive character and an



FIG. 6. Santa Irene Carballeira (O Pino Village). Hand-made drawing: A. Casares, 2008 (Casares Gallego 2008).



abstract quality”<sup>23</sup>. The vision of these drawings of the *carballeiras* in plan view marked with the mesh of trunks allow us to intuit other hypostyle architectural spaces, *basílicas*, mosques, Greek agoras and Roman forums... that move us to public spaces, the community and the institution.

The boundaries suggest an enclosure, the dotted trunks an order and a collectivity. The projection of the tree canopy suggests a ceiling and the occasional appearance of benches and fountains an idea of usability. These qualities are not far from those of a garden, but this time with minimal and essential design operations, patented synthetically by the mark of trunks. This essential attitude of nature management is not alien to contemporary actions in the field of performance art, land art<sup>24</sup> which seeks to explicitly transcend an integral vision of the individual, community and nature.

### Corollary

The architectural drawings here presented construct an immaterial approach to the case study. In them we intuit a reality, prudently moving away from or seeing it from above or by foreshortening, abstracting it diagrammatically and analytically, even unfolding it in other possible interpretations. The changes of scale present fragments approaching us or moving away, appearing in each zoom a particular subject. Sometimes they represent objectively and provide a quantitative assessment. Elsewhere they express subjectively transferring a desirable emotion.

The territorial scale brings to the scene a substantive, hand-drawn, fragile complex and a logical place that must be attended to, as well as an idea of construction of its forms that suggest an active and continuous dynamic of reconstruction, rehabilitation and reaction. Note that these drawings do not represent the contour lines of the cartography that are unavoidable in the layout of infrastructure projects (highways, railway lines,...) – probably because this territory operates at another speed. Compatibility with the large projects of the contour line (high speed/high capacity) will cause conflicts that will be necessary to project. “Be careful with heavy machinery” warned Ramón Otero Pedrayo<sup>25</sup>.

The object scale takes us to a modified auxiliary place, drawn in CAD, highly specialised and efficient, technified and eager to be innovated. It leads us in parallel to a programmatic context of uses that assist, equip, complement and subsidise. This assessment allows us to contemplate a possibility of local incorporation of modernity.

The inhabitable scale presents two places, that of the individual and that of the community.

The place of the individual, already drawn in CAD, leans on the ground, seeks proximity, ruled organisation, calm and tranquility, but leaves degrees of freedom that allow individuals to express and not to annul themselves. That intimacy is hidden and protected behind the elevation. Their lifestyle is expressed from the street without drawing what is behind. The overall drawing shows us that the street here is still an individual inhabitable place. Perhaps there lies the hospitality of the village.

The place of the community is still drawn by hand, and it is a mesh of points that tends to infinity as if wanting to become global. This is limited only by issues of ownership or, more properly, of domain, of its inhabitable scale. It is essential, multifunctional, adaptable and transcendental. It unites nature and the community, the tree and the person. It is a community-related nature or a naturalised community that takes us to the role of the tree in our culture and the role of the person within the environment.

## Conclusion

Territory scale. Consumerism, tourism and any other subject, will be conflictive if they adopt the form of the 'contour line', of the infrastructure, of the massive expression; the ability to adapt these subjects to the existing constructed territory, of forms and volume, will approach them to the preservation of this context.

Inhabiting scale. It is a place for living, for living in community, rooted to its land line; intimacy exists but it is not directly represented in the elevations, even it is suggested, remaining hidden behind. These themes should preserve these conditions. This place for living has been presented in an integrated vision of the individual and the community, the houses and the *carballeira*; it suggests that ways of living that don't consider community could be incomplete in this context.

Object scale. It is an open place to modernisation and to import new ways of doing, even generic ones; these themes (consumerism and tourism) could do it, stimulating this place; but this importation should be adapted; the evolution of this adaptation could give rise to specialisation; imposition without adaptation could be a threat to this place. Consumerism and tourism could be considered as new auxiliary facts and maybe we could expect that their capacity could generate new constructed forms that contribute for future heritage in this context.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> A network of pilgrims' ways leading to the shrine of the apostle Saint James the Great in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia.

<sup>2</sup> Both quotes derive from Zambrano 1991: 151, 153. Translation by the author.

<sup>3</sup> Alberti 1991: 61. Translation by the author.

<sup>4</sup> Distinctive elements: context, content, value of shared set, dynamic character and surroundings of the cultural Itineraries... must be supported by the existence of tangible elements... physical confirmation of their existence... Intangible factors contribute to providing sense and meaning...

<sup>5</sup> Decree 227/2011, of December 2, which approves the delimitation of the main route of Camiño de Santiago, Camiño Francés, from the entrance to the municipality of Pedrafita do Cebreiro to the limit of the municipality of Pino. DOG nº 237, of December 14, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> "This work on the Agrarian Geography of Galicia is the result of a seventeen years' work, undertaken in the framework of the preparation of a doctoral thesis. The goal I set myself was not to establish a rapid, superficial and therefore trite contact with the rural environment nor to study a crude duality of yesterday-today but instead to penetrate more profoundly the richness of agrarian peasant reality" (Bouhier 1979: 7; translation by the author). Bouhier's work has an attractive power for architecture because besides writing about that landscape, it draws it profusely. Landscape is not treated as architectural drawings because they do not have this purpose, having instead the objective to analyse from the geographical perspective. In any case, it represents in orthogonal

projection, exclusively in the plan view, and the abstract quality of these drawings immediately make its transferable to architecture.

<sup>7</sup> Dalda Escudero 2011a: 42. Translation by the author.

<sup>8</sup> Dalda Escudero 1985: 9. Translation by the author.

<sup>9</sup> If we draw on María Zambrano's appreciation of the tangibility of painting in the face of the intangibility of drawing, we could here accept the use of colour as a necessity within the process of representation and analysis of the territory, a way to provide weight, matter, to show what is being produced from the intangibility of the pure drawing.

<sup>10</sup> Both quotes derive from Sainz 1990: 88, 122. Translation by the author.

<sup>11</sup> *Junta seca* is used to describe building methods which do not use water, a process of assembling pieces – whether in stone, timber or metalwork.

<sup>12</sup> "Machine researchers and inventors had no problem using this type of drawing and taking advantage of its practical benefits" (Girón 2005: 25; translation by the author).

<sup>13</sup> Granaries, rafts, hives, crosses, dolmens, trellises, ovens, greenhouses, straw lofts, bridges, silos, high voltage towers, fences...

<sup>14</sup> Sainz 1990: 139. Translation by the author.

<sup>15</sup> Both quotes derive from Franco Taboada, Tarrio Carodeaguas 2000: 14, 16. Translation by the author.

<sup>16</sup> "1. The drawings should provide the essential information for the understanding of each element, avoiding any type of graphic excess that could interfere with your reading. 2. They should offer a global image, in the case of complex sets or buildings, in

which the volumetry over the detail prevailed. In case this was absolutely necessary, it would be the subject of specific drawings. 3. Finally, and although it is a concept of more difficult concretisation, it was that the drawings made possible, by the very nature of the system of representation chosen and the form of its writing, an analytical reflection in depth of the architecture represented" (Franco Taboada, Tarrío Carrodeaguas 2000: 16; translation by the author.).

<sup>17</sup> Franco Taboada, Tarrío Carrodeaguas 2000: 16. Translation by the author.

<sup>18</sup> "These notes or details were numbered, the parallelepipeds of the houses and their voids were also numbered; all well resolved within an Andalusian hat, and luck..., its random variation emerged as the fate of a little bird". Text by Alejandro de la Sota on the Esquivel Project; translation by the author. See <<https://archivo.alejandrodelaSota.org/es/original/project/146>> [Accessed 11 February 2018].

<sup>19</sup> Sainz 1990: 122. Translation by the author.

<sup>20</sup> I showed my three children, aged 9, 10 and 12, the drawing and asked them separately what they saw. All responded the same: houses.

<sup>21</sup> "Upon receiving the assignment, Andalusia was lived. There were trips, stays but without photos or notes. Everything according to the memory of our own 'computer'. Then, forgetfulness, Time passed and details were drawn from the memory"; translation by the author. See <<https://archivo.alejandrodelaSota.org/es/original/project/146>> [Accessed 11 February 2018].

<sup>22</sup> Objective data: place, parish, county, province, legal protection and enclave. Subjective data: class or type, description, status, use, related elements and proposal.

<sup>23</sup> Sainz 1990: 122. Translation by the author.

<sup>24</sup> 7000 eichen de Joseph Beuys, The lightning field de Walter de Maria, Secant de Carl André, Richard Long. See <<http://www.7000eichen.de/index.php?id=2>>; <<https://www.diaart.org/visit/visit/walter-de-maria-the-lightning-field/>>; <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/hart/x-147275/06d103061>>; <[www.richardlong.org](http://www.richardlong.org)> [Accessed 11 February 2018].

<sup>25</sup> This eloquent comment is attributed to the Galician geographer Ramón Otero Pedrayo (Rivas 2008).

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## THE IMMATERIAL INHERITANCE OF THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTES IN THE GARGANO AREA

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### Introduction

The presence on the Italian territory of historical paths, along which have arisen networks of religious buildings, draws attention to a very rich architectural and landscape heritage, today largely ruined or reduced to conditions of advanced neglect. Since the 6th century, a network of abbeys, churches and monasteries, linked to the cult of St. Michele Arcangelo and widespread in the Garganic land, supported the sacred routes travelled by pilgrims, often on the track of the oldest paths. Nowadays very little of that system remains: the ancient routes have been forgotten or replaced by new infrastructures; few buildings are still in use and in a good state of conservation, but many others are reduced to ruins, mainly due to their distance from urban centres and traffic routes.

This paper tries to retrace the articulated story of some of these buildings, based on careful readings of their geometry, formal structure and residual material. In addition to the establishment of a network linking buildings that are each inseparable from their own context, and often with a strong impact on the landscape, the paper provides a necessary underpinning for wide-ranging restoration projects. These must be free from confusion between conservation and speculation and supporting enhancement and proper recovery actions

### The network of paths as a heritage to be preserved

For centuries, Europe has been crossed by peoples from all over the world, united by religious and spiritual values and directed towards Rome and Jerusalem, giving life to a rich network of pilgrimages in the name of faith.

The Way of St. James in Spain, which was declared a 'European cultural itinerary', and the Via Francigena in Italy are among the oldest and most important pilgrimage routes. The latter reaches the Gargano land from various directions, joining other historical routes already present in the area. It turned into one of the largest centres of European pilgrimage, stimulated and nourished by the most varied cultural currents that were drawn together on its land. As with the Way of St. James, it retains its ancient essence and crosses landscapes of unique beauty. The landscape is one of the main reasons for charm of this route being the context in which the material and immaterial values merge with cities, religious and civil artefacts, spiritual and psychological meanings.

### The case of the Gargano area

The Gargano area performed an essential role as interface between East and West: its history is rich in traditions and myths closely linked to the cult of St. Michele Arcangelo,

making the promontory the ultimate sacred mountain in the Christian tradition from the 5th century AD. The Byzantine reconquest of southern Italy in the 10th century especially left its indelible mark on the regional culture (Calò Mariani 1984; Belli D'Elia 2003): the urban structure developed by the Romans had been severely disrupted, modifying also the church organisation of the 5th-6th century A.D. The Capitanata land was crossed by several pilgrimage routes and covered by Benedictine monasteries, hostels and places of worship related to the St. Michele sanctuary. Today, considerable evidence of these elements remains in a precarious state of conservation mainly due to their distance from urban centres and traffic routes.

This paper is part of a developing research programme about religious buildings on the Garganic area. The aim of the research is to unravel the complex history of some of the architectural foundations in the western part of the promontory and inland, along a system of routes linked to three main roads. The via Sacra Longobardorum is the most famous route, through it the Longobardian kingdom merged its expansionist aims with those of Christian culture, finding religious conversion an effective way. From the early years after the first millennium, when the Langobardic domination took over the Frankish one, the way was called Via Francigena. The St. Michele pilgrimage was promoted to become an international phenomenon incorporating the Gargano area into a much more complex road system than the Via Sacra Siponto-Grotta dell'Arcangelo and the Johannes Schuler<sup>1</sup>. Starting from Lesina Lake situated in the northern part of the region, the route arrived in Monte Sant'Angelo, crossing a landscape populated by chapels, hermitages, churches and small monasteries. Among these buildings are St. Maria di Càlena abbey, Holy Trinity in Monte Sacro abbey and St. Giovanni in Piano church, which are all today reduced to an advanced state of ruin (Fig. 1).

The settlement of St. Maria di Càlena near Peschici dates from 872 A.D. (Fig. 2). Written references establish its existence in the 11th century as evidenced by an act of 1023, concerning the gift of an "ecclesia deserta in loco qui vocatur C(K)àlena, cuius vocabulum est sancta Maria" by the bishop of Siponto to the Benedictine monastery of St. Maria di Tremiti (Petrucci 1960: 24). In 1058 the papal bull *lustis petitionibus* confirmed its territorial assets and recognised its independence from Tremiti. As a result, the cenobio became a powerful abbey, whose properties – among them the Monte Sacro abbey until 1198, extended far beyond the Garganic area. The union with the latter abbey gave birth to a very authoritative centre, attracting the attention of the Montecassino abbey, one of the medieval culture hubs in Italy (Leccisotti 1938: 23; Corsi 2003: 64).

In 1256 the Benedictines were replaced firstly by the Cistercians (De Grazia 1913: 76) and afterwards, in 1446, by the Regular Canons of St. Agostino – called Laterans – who built a second church, also dedicated to St. Maria delle Grazie, and the associated sacred and civil, which were subsequently destroyed many times, reinforcing them with tall and solid walls, for defense and to protect pilgrims (D'Amato 2008: 288). The abbey expanded thanks to important concessions and privileges conferred by princes, popes, emperors and the faithful who disembarked here, landing on the northern Apulian coasts on the way to St. Michele sanctuary. In 1508, the temple of Càlena was still worthy of veneration, even though most of the buildings had almost collapsed, except for those restored or reconstructed by the Canons (Cocarella 1989: 76). By the end of the 18th century, the St. Maria di Tremiti abbey was suppressed and its possessions, including those of Càlena, were confiscated by Regio Demanio and sold to private citizens (D'Amato 2008: 290).





FIG. 1. Hypothetical graphic representation of the ancient sacred routes of the Gargano area (processing by C. Verazzo and M. Bitondi).

Even if the structure now is particularly stratified (Manfredi 2017), the original architectural tradition of Apulian model is recognisable in the oldest church: a three-naved basilica divided by rectangular pillars, with domes on the central axis and barrel vaults in the lateral ones. In the 12th century, this system represented dominant cultural model, which was improved in the Benedictine environment and then widely spread throughout the region, from the Gargano to Lecce. The lateral aisles are still accessible and the central one is uncovered; the interior presents the spans with the signs of the arrangement for the cross vault. However it seems to have had a pitched roof with wooden trusses. The wall surfaces are simple while the capitals have similar details to Cistercian ornaments, such as in the Santa Maria in Tremiti abbey, the leading monastery of Càlena. The so-called new church, in which the Madonna with child's image is exposed, was added to the oldest building (Petrucci 1976; Pepe 1981a; Piemontese 2008; Rauzino 2008).

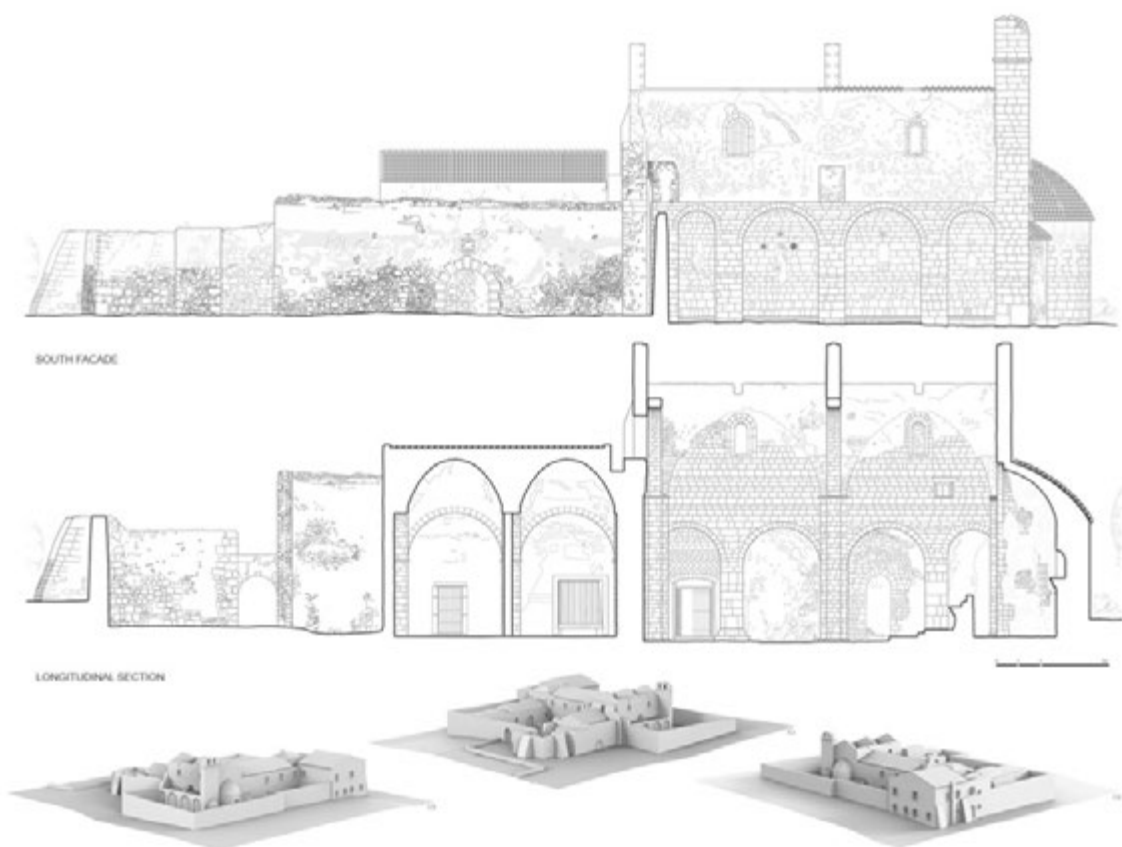


FIG. 2. St. Maria di Càlena abbey, the church. South facade, longitudinal section and render (Manfredi 2017).

Since 1917, the Càlena abbey has been regularly inserted by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage into the list of the cultural places and has been recognised as a national monument since the 1950s. However, the building now lies into a state of worrying neglect, and suffers from vandalism and theft. The lack of roofs covering results in capitals and frescoes being attacked by weather and humidity; the ornaments are almost completely buried by alluvial deposits and show abrasive marks; the flat-roofed belfry, completely covered by vegetation, is slowly crumbling. Therefore, Càlena became the symbol of the fate of many neglected monuments in the Garganic area, for which the public opinion has long been mobilised to solicit responsive actions. The purpose is to enhance the complex and to guarantee its public use under the provisions of the Law n. 1089/1939 and all successive laws addressing the under-protection of cultural objects, and in order to avoid any property speculation<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately, the protection of the monument has been completely disregarded, both by the owners, who use Càlena as a masseria, and by the institutions in charge of its supervision. But, despite an inspection by the Regional Superintendency in 2012, the site has not yet received any recovery action.

One of the best-known cases of ruins that are in need of appropriate enhancement is the abbey dedicated to the Holy Trinity of Monte Sacro, located in a hardly accessible site

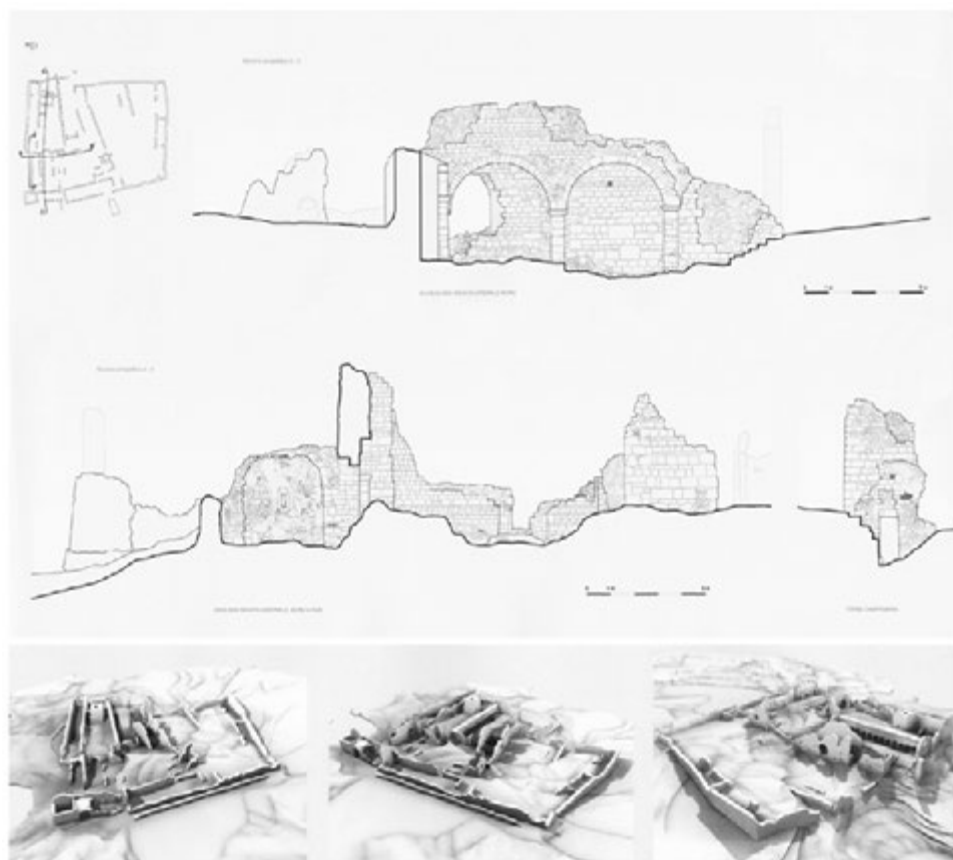


FIG. 3. Holy Trinity abbey. Sections and render (Berardinucci, Minervino 2008).

in the municipality of Mattinata (Fig. 3). A small cenobio was created by a group of Benedictine monks; it belonged to Càlena, as evidenced in a papal document dated 1058. In the first half of the 12th century, the monastic settlement gained more religious, economic and political power thanks to the pilgrims travelling towards Monte Sant'Angelo and to their frequent donations. The decision to create a new cultural centre near the St. Michele sanctuary fell on the small cell in Monte Sacro. Here, the abbot Gregorio built a huge library making it one of the most important cultural centres of Apulia in the Middle Ages. Later it acquired the functions of an abbey until earning independence from Peschici in 1198 (Fiorentino 1979; Pepe 1981b; Kindermann 1995).

Historical circumstances, especially economic ones, especially those that occurred after it came under the jurisdiction of the Siponto archbishopric in 1481, brought about its end (Prencipe 1952). A long period of decline, marked by scant documentation, was starting (Petrucci 1960). That certainly explains the provision whereby Monte Sacro properties were confiscated by the King of Naples and were later, in 1820, granted to Cardinal Ruffo as a reward for his services offered to the Bourbons (Fulloni 2006), beginning a long story of successions linked to the decline of the complex. A contributory factor may have

been the disastrous Gargano earthquake of 1893 which wrecked Mattinata and probably caused further damage to the abbey's buildings.

Between 1989 and 1992 the site has been the object of archaeological digs. Despite its serious abandonment and its progressive destruction over the centuries, the surveys revealed the original configuration to have had an irregular layout, as witnessed by the remains of cellars, refectory, cisterns, warehouses, stables and places of worship, such as the square baptistery, the cloister, the church and the narthex. The church had a three-aisle plan developed along an east-west axis, with apsidal termination and without transepts. The interior was marked by pillars, which probably at first supported wooden trusses, and then the barrel vault of the main nave. At the southern apse there was a bell tower with a square plan, of which today only part of the first level remains, characterised by well-worked and squared stone blocks. The facade fronted a narthex with three spans covered by cross vaults, of which today only the left one remains. In this latter part what remains of the decorative scheme is better preserved: the presence of acanthus capitals, rosettes, floral motifs and scraps of a fresco representing a Madonna with child and two Benedictine saints (Fulloni 2006; Massimo 2013), is evidence of the value of the building.

The state of neglect has not changed although the complex has also received public and private contributions for the maintenance of the access through permanent and extraordinary works. But the protection of the ruins needs also the conservation of landscape, which conveys an important aspect of their value and evocative meaning in the Gargano National Park, in which the monastic complex is located<sup>3</sup>.

The derelict complex of the church of San Giovanni in Piano, near Apricena, is equally in need of care (Fig. 4). The original monastic settlement probably belonged to the Benedictine order<sup>4</sup>, judging by a donation of 1054 (Leccisotti 1940). However, its most prosperous period coincided with the settlement of the Celestines, which linked the fate of the Apulian monastery to that of Santo Spirito in Sulmona (Vendola 1939; Leccisotti 1938). In 1627 a violent earthquake hit the Garganic territory and damaged the building. That event should explain the second construction phase of the complex, presumably by the monks themselves, between the 17th and 18th centuries, according to the even now visible stylistic elements. It is not possible to make any further hypothesis about the state of the building. It was later abandoned in favour of the safer headquarters of the Holy Trinity in San Severo<sup>5</sup>. As a result, a slow and gradual neglect of the religious complex began, and in 1806 it was acquired by a private citizen and joined to a pre-existing masseria, triggered by the suppressive measures of the House of Savoy in the region<sup>6</sup>.

The surveys reveal valuable information on the construction phases (Placentino 2017). The original large nave is still legible along the southern facade, thanks to the presence of seven stone *monofore* on a limestone wall built with plenty of mortar: the free joint on its western end marks the collapse of the facade, probably due to the earthquake of 1627. In the work of reconstruction, in late Baroque form, the great medieval nave was divided; the facade was not rebuilt but was replaced with a new wall. Large windows were created, in a classical design marked by brick jambs and cornices and surmounted by elliptical brick oculi in the upper part of the wall. The presence of a diastasis on the southern front supports the hypothesis of an addition towards the east with a further building and an external staircase, built in more recent times to allow access to the upper floor, when it was probably transformed into a residence, as the interior seems to indicate.

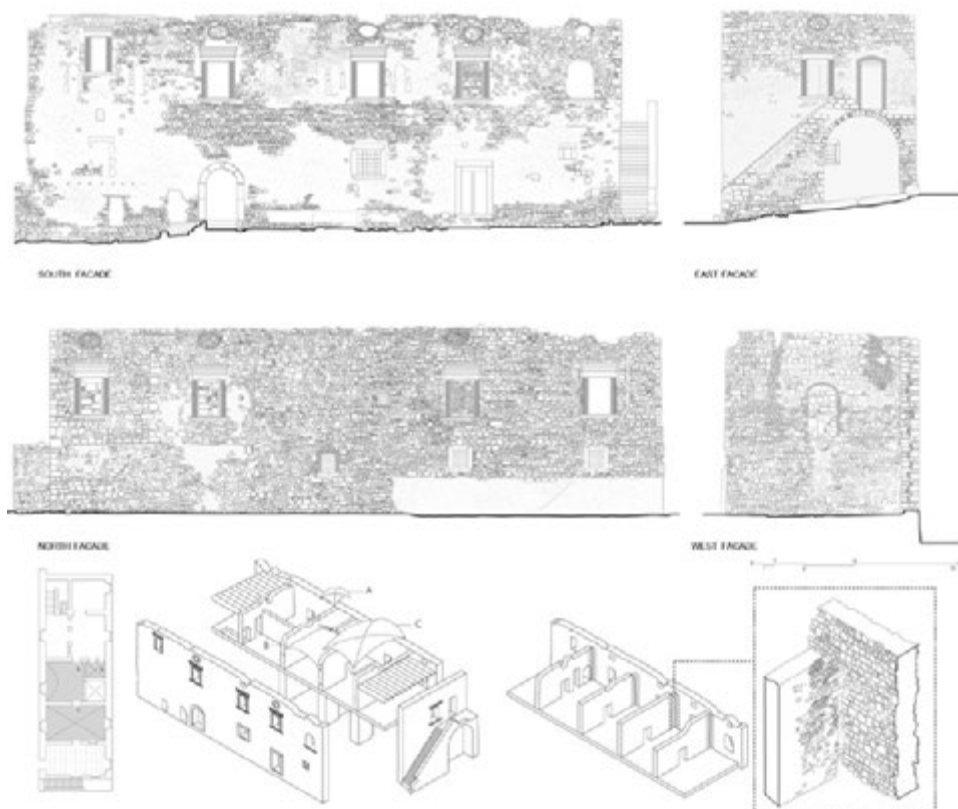


FIG. 4. St. Giovanni in Piano. Facades and interior schemes (Placentino 2017).

Even in this case, the current situation shows a serious state of neglect. The former religious building, lacking a roof covering<sup>7</sup>, is used as stable and storage for farming materials and tools. Moreover, there are no signs of the plan of the convent, which the chronicles of the early 20th century indicate as desolate and crumbling (Pitta 2002).

The complexes examined provide evidence of the lively religious and economic life of the Gargano area in the medieval period. They are also exemplary evidence of the effects of marginalisation in terms of their state of conservation and of the condition of their remains, where architectural survey represents the main evidence for their former material and formal composition. Although they do not represent a complete scenario about these topics, they still highlight fundamental issues, such as the advanced state of neglect and the need to give back value to places of worship which are today far from traditional tourist routes, but are part of an extraordinary beautiful landscape, making them easily accessible and useable.

The design choices within the project are aimed to the definition of a new system of religious and nature tourism on a territorial scale, through the systematisation of a network of paths that can guarantee greater knowledge and recovery of these places. The focus is on slow mobility, part of an international scenario based on the enhancement of the historical and cultural heritage.



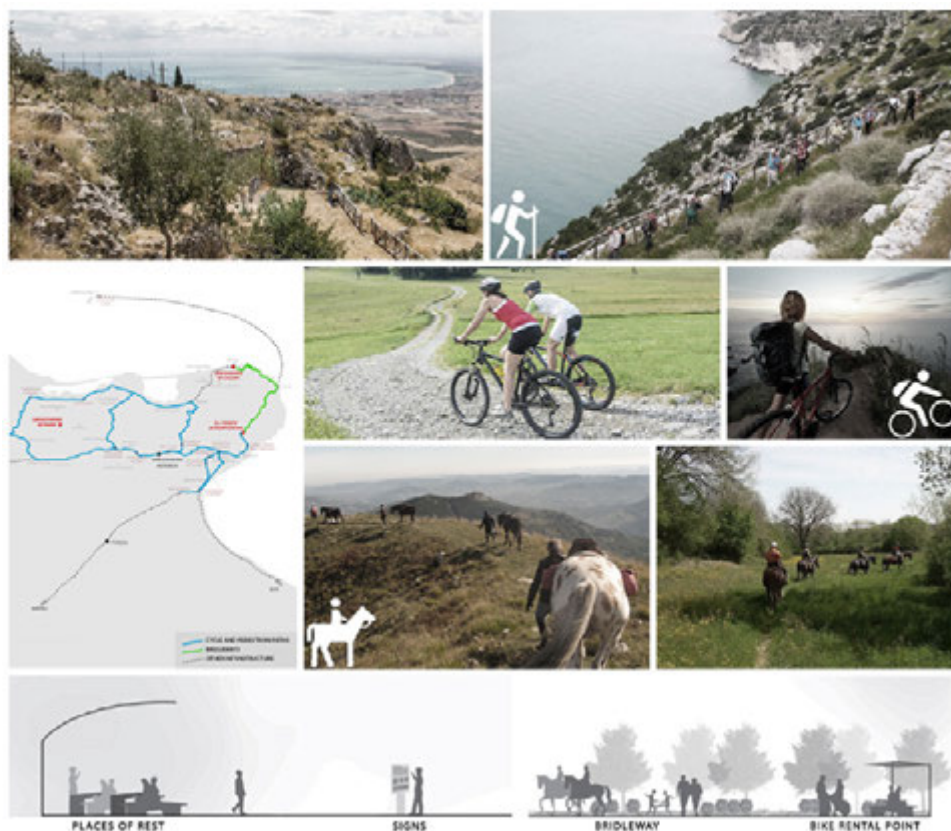


FIG. 5. Design concept (processing by C. Verazzo and M. Bitondi).

The activation process of accessibility for the community and the recognition of its identity values start from the most attractive urban centres – such as Bari, Foggia and San Giovanni Rotondo. The network develops on the existing ancient paths – such as the Via Sacra Longobardorum, the Via Sacra Siponto-Grotta dell'Arcangelo and the Johannes Schuler – that are implemented by the creation of new cycling, walking and naturalistic routes. There is also the possibility to create brideways and walkways for skilled trekkers. Moreover, the presence of areas dedicated to horse breeding for touristic and therapeutic purposes would facilitate tackling the impervious routes, for example, to Santa Maria di Calena and Montesacro. Based on European experience, the project involves the use of accommodation for families, individuals or groups, matching the new facilities to those already present in the area, such as campsites and hotels. In this regard, it is necessary to provide the specific equipment for it: signs, navigation systems and maps of routes and services. Service areas, bike rental points and intermodal exchange (bus terminal, stations and parking lots), places of rest for tourists near the places to visit and in the most scenic points of the Gargano territory will be required (Fig. 5).

The proposed plan develops a territorial level strategy, made up of works with low environmental impact. The definition of a reference walking plan to allow the understanding of the sites within the nature park, and the design of a route that guides the visitor

through the far from easy interpretation of the surviving ruins will therefore be fundamental. In order to respond to the question about the ruin restoration, the design concepts are based on the maximum respect for pre-existing buildings and are not limited to the reconstruction of the site but to a series of timely actions aimed to securing and consolidating the walls residues. In the same direction go the other actions aimed to restoring continuity to the perimeter of the ancient sacred places: partial reconstructions, used for closing breaches and gaps and for suggesting the lost masonry continuity, are built with traditional materials. In some cases, the reconstruction of the lost wall perimeters could be done through stone blocks at head-level that allow the permeability of the margin and induce to mentally complete the ruins. Where the collapses are more significant and where the reconstructions could change the nature of the places, the plan envisages using greenery, drawing both on historical examples and on recent restoration experiments relating to the use of different species of trees in the accommodation of ancient ruins.

## Conclusion

As shown by the EAAE studies and being aware of the material and immaterial values linked to the issue of the journey, it is believed that the most valid approach is to accept these ruins, considering them to be irreplaceable evidence of the places' spirit because of their fusion with the landscape and environmental context, and to make them authentic resources of the Gargano territory. They can be considered as an open-air museum by means of enhancement and virtuous recovery actions. The leitmotif of the whole project can be to suggest a reinterpretation of the places strongly connected with the environment, as well as to emphasise the religious nature of the places thanks to the sacredness of the surrounding landscape, itself considered a container of beauty.

The ruins represent the material sign of the passage of time and, in this sense, tourism takes on a new meaning. As in the case of the Way of St. James, the pilgrimage route today is not just a way to rediscover one's religiosity, but also a cathartic journey in search of oneself, through the ancient paths that once welcomed the faithful.

A cultured tourism – as alternative to mass tourism – is part of the new ecological and eco-sustainable trends, which focus on the issue of slow paths, zero-kilometre food and informal vacation places, in the name of physical and spiritual well-being.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Via Sacra Siponto-Grotta dell'Arcangelo started from the paleo-Christian basilica of St. Maria di Siponto (12th century AD), in Manfredonia, and crossed a land characterised by valleys, paths and cave churches. The Johannes Schuler, instead, started from St. Leonardo in Lama Volara (12th century AD) passing through the ancient Siponto, and it climbed up Pulsano's hill, where the homonymous abbey is located (12th century AD); after crossing Monte Sant'Angelo and reaching the Holy Trinità abbey, it went to the St. Maria di Càlena abbey through a cattle track towards Peschici, and to the Tremiti Islands and Croatia across the sea. On this path there were

several abbeys, hermitages and necropolis (Serafini, Verazzo 2017: 457-461).

<sup>2</sup> On 27th December 2007, the Superintendence for Cultural Heritage of Apulia officially notified to the Peschici Municipality the integral restriction concerning the abbey.

<sup>3</sup> It was considered a Community Site of Importance (pSIC, Directive 92/43/CEE) since 1995 as well as a Special Protection Zone (SPA) since 1998.

<sup>4</sup> Archivio Comunale di Lesina (ACL), 1737. "Origine del Monastero di S. Giovanni in Piano, e sua unione col Real Monastero della SS.ma Trinità de' PP. Celestini di San Severo", in *Platea autentica di tutti li beni stabili, cenzi attivi, e passivi, e privilegi, e cittadinan-*

ze del regal monistero della SS. Trinità dei PP. Celestini di San Severo. Lesina. c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ivi, c. 6v.

<sup>6</sup> Biblioteca comunale di Apricena, 1812. *Catasto Storico della città di Apricena*, n. 352.

<sup>7</sup> The church was not already covered in the depiction of the *Atlante delle Locazioni del Tavoliere di Puglia* by Antonio and Nunzio de Michele, published in 1686, but probably written decades later, because the monastery is clearly recognisable in the same representation.

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## LA CONSOMMATION DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL EN FRANCE: INTERACTIONS ENTRE SAUVEGARDE ET TOURISME COMMERCIAL. L'ÉTUDE DE CAS DU QUARTIER DU MARAIS A PARIS

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### Introduction

De nos jours, un certain nombre de facteurs influencent sensiblement le patrimoine. Il s'agit de phénomènes que dans les années à venir deviendront des changements majeurs et exigeront que les impératifs en matière de sauvegarde et de valorisation soient abordés selon des perspectives nouvelles. Parmi eux se situe la mondialisation. En propulsant les lieux culturels sur la scène mondiale, elle a définitivement affirmé leur fonction économique, les transformant en un véritable instrument capable de produire de la richesse, en particulier par le biais de la consommation touristique. Mais cette ouverture des 'héritages' – compte tenu de la diversité des cas existants – au tourisme global présente de gros risques. Les problèmes de sur-fréquentation, de banalisation des traits distinctifs, de perte d'identité doivent être attentivement analysés en tant que tels et avec prudence, afin de ne pas répéter les erreurs du passé.

Dans cette optique, le IV Séminaire du EAAE Thematic Network on Conservation qui s'est tenu dans la ville portuaire de La Corogne en Espagne, le 27-30 septembre 2017 a abordé le sujet, invitant à réfléchir sur effets et conséquences de la consommation du patrimoine culturel, à partir de l'analyse d'un cas certainement emblématique: le chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, aujourd'hui l'un des symboles les plus éloquents de la politique de légitimation de la mémoire européenne.

S'il est certain que le tourisme peut contribuer à l'accroissement de nombreuses destinations touristiques, l'indéniable évolution économique de certains pays s'accompagne d'atteintes – parfois irréversibles – à l'environnement naturel et anthropique. Ayant généralement des effets dévastateurs, la globalisation du tourisme et ses invasions ont permis quelques fois de ressouder des populations "autour d'une vie oubliée et ainsi de permettre la reconquête d'un patrimoine culturel en perdition ou la protection d'un site menacé" (Furt 2011: 159). Cela semble être le cas du Camino de Santiago que, dès les années 1980, parallèlement à l'augmentation de sa notoriété, a vu naître de multiples associations civiques et citoyennes qui jouent le rôle de garants de son authenticité. Ayant pour but de remédier aux carences des actions des administrations soit religieuses que publiques, elles se sont implantées tout au long de la route – se partageant en secteurs le territoire concerné – et contribuent activement à sa préservation "en tant qu'espace par lequel transitent la foi et la culture" (Cerezales 2013: 5). Les associations essaient de veiller, en effet, au maintien des valeurs 'ancestrales' – notamment l'hospitalité et l'authenticité –, qui sont susceptibles de faire resurgir la tradition médiévale qui caractérise tout particulièrement ce parcours sacré.

Ce sont notamment ces caractères de sincérité, de vérité et de spontanéité qui concourent à définir l'esprit des lieux qui sont davantage menacés par le tourisme. Le tourisme de masse, en particulier, agissant à travers une démarche *marketing* focalisée sur des

consommateurs potentiels souvent extérieurs – classes moyennes et supérieures, vacanciers (Billen, Decroly, Van Criekingen 2002) – remodèle ces territoires pour les transformer en sources de valeur (Bonard, Felli 2008). À la fois donc porteur de ‘développement’ et de bilans bénéfiques et vecteur de ‘mal-développement’, celui du voyage est sans doute un univers fort complexe et varié qui semble désormais lié au patrimoine selon un rapport de réciprocité.

Si le tourisme profite du patrimoine pour faire face à l’universalisation des marchés et des déplacements, en revanche le patrimoine a plus que jamais nécessité du tourisme pour pouvoir exister, résister et, d’une certaine manière, se préserver.

En France, paradoxalement, une telle situation semble prédominante surtout dans les lieux où une protection urbaine du patrimoine a été établie. Au sein des ‘sites patrimoniaux remarquables’, le tourisme est de plus en plus considéré comme l’un des moyens de valorisation le plus performants ainsi qu’un puissant levier économique. Cela présente toutefois une contrepartie: des mutations importantes des marchés traditionnels impitoyablement remplacés par de grandes enseignes et une inéluctable réduction de la fonction résidentielle, au profit d’une vision très contemporaine – et éphémère – de l’hôtellerie.

La stratégie patrimoniale mise en place dans ce pays a couramment permis d’éviter la destruction ou la défiguration des éléments bâtis de nombreux de ses centres anciens. Toutefois, malgré les énoncés de principe, elle a conduit inéluctablement à des changements dans leurs morphologie sociale et fonctionnement collectif. Le quartier du Marais à Paris représente un cas emblématique dans ce sens. Aujourd’hui de plus en plus concerné par un processus de gentrification qui semble être la directe conséquence des efforts menés pour sa sauvegarde, il risque de ne plus être considéré et reconnu que comme le superbe scénario d’un centre commercial à ciel ouvert – véritable paradis de la consommation – et chef-lieu d’une praxis de l’hébergement touristique dérégulé.

Bien qu’établir une comparaison soit un peu hasardeux, on y retrouve déjà très visibles les signes d’un processus d’exploitation très agressif capable de substituer les citoyens par les clients et les résidents par des ‘marchands de sommeil’. Ainsi, toutes les activités ‘traditionnelles’ sont transformées en services pour les touristes et chaque signe distinctif en *brand*, qui inéluctablement s’entrevoit au long du chemin de Saint-Jacques et, notamment, à Santiago (cages à souvenirs, remplacement du commerce traditionnel ou des activités rurales par des activités au services des pèlerins, œuvres grossières de remaniement et d’adaptation audacieuse de bâtiments au changement d’usage touristique, etc.).

À travers une analyse de l’étude de cas du Marais, menée à la lumière d’une réflexion personnelle qui découle du débat développé à La Corogne, ce travail se propose d’approfondir les relations et ambivalences entre les dynamiques patrimoniales et commerciales/touristiques qui ont forgé cet espace urbain, et évaluer leur admissibilité, en vue d’un développement durable respectueux du passé et de ses stratifications.

### **Le quartier du Marais à Paris entre mesures de sauvegarde et revirement fonctionnel**

Situé dans la partie la plus orientale des marécages qui s’étendaient autrefois sur le lit d’un bras nord de la Seine, aujourd’hui disparu, ce quartier historiquement aristocratique et royal, puis industriel et artisanal fut ensuite épargné par l’haussmannisation;



de ce fait, il est le quartier parisien le plus protégé et riche en monuments historiques (Gady 2002). En 1925, le plan Voisin de Le Corbusier proposa de démolir la rive droite de Paris – et donc le Marais – pour bâtir dix-huit gratte-ciels de 60 étages pouvant accueillir jusqu'à 700.000 personnes. Les églises anciennes auraient été sauvegardées et réintégrées au milieu des verdure, dans un cadre transformé – c'est vrai –, mais néanmoins amélioré par rapport à l'actuel, triste et laid (Le Corbusier 1924). Heureusement ce dessein ne fut pas réalisé, mais, plus tard, le réaménagement de l'îlot n° 16, placé au sein du 4<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, s'attaquera à ce lieu "essentiellement insalubre et scandaleusement sur-habité"<sup>1</sup>. Confié aux architectes Albert Laprade, Michel Roux-Spitz et Robert Danis, le projet aura pour conséquence la disparition de nombreuses maisons anciennes et des bouleversements importants dans la composition sociale du quartier. Cependant, cette expérience servira de catalyseur d'idées qui permettront à une nouvelle conscience archéologique de se développer (Backouche 2016). Des esprits clairvoyants commenceront donc à comprendre l'importance du patrimoine artistique et historique du Marais. Toutefois, il faudra attendre l'approbation de la loi Malraux pour qu'une réelle politique patrimoniale à l'échelle urbaine, dont le quartier avait besoin, se mette en place.

En 1964, l'État créa donc le secteur sauvegardé du Marais. Ville à l'intérieur de la capitale, le site protégé s'étendait sur 126 hectares et concernait à l'époque une population très cosmopolite de 82.000 habitants, avec une densité de 900 habitants à l'hectare. Son patrimoine immobilier était en grande partie mal entretenu et défiguré par un vandalisme inconscient. Les logements avaient un indice de confort très bas à cause des faibles équipements et les espaces verts étaient très restreints.

Un plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur (PSMV) fut ainsi rédigé par les architectes Louis Arretche, Michel Marot et Bernard Vitry. Malheureusement, selon une praxis qui sera commune dans la première décennie d'application de la loi, ce plan proposait une image ambitieuse de la remise en valeur du quartier (Versaci 2012). Centré sur une idée de "grande œuvre sociale à accomplir au profit de ses habitants"<sup>2</sup>, il prévoyait à cet effet de très vastes démolitions visant à dégager les cours intérieures des hôtels particuliers classés ou inscrits à l'inventaire des monuments historiques, des constructions parasites et disparates qui les avaient progressivement encombrés. Recalé en raison de l'ampleur des rénovations prévues et des relatives prévisions de desserrement démographique et de délocalisation des activités économiques (notamment le commerce en gros et demi gros) à l'extérieur du quartier, il fut révisé une première fois en 1976 afin d'assouplir ses propos. Toutefois, l'importance des curetages à nouveau envisagés risquait d'entraîner la disparition de très nombreux logements et d'une grande partie des fonctions économiques du quartier (notamment, les petites industries de confection, bijouterie, optique, etc.) et, par conséquent, de sa forme d'animation. En effet, les prescriptions du plan exerçaient encore une fois une certaine pression sur les activités existantes, les plus dynamiques, en vue de leur disparition.

Suite à l'examen de cette deuxième version, le Conseil de Paris demanda de nouvelles adaptations plus conformes au 'vrai Marais', visant, en particulier, à la conservation des nombreuses entreprises industrielles, artisanales et commerciales, alors que le plan prescrivait la démolition des locaux affectés au travail de fabrication et excluait pratiquement tout projet d'amélioration ou d'adaptation. Bernard Wagon, représentant d'une nouvelle génération d'architectes du patrimoine dont l'ambition était de conjuguer la conservation



FIG. 1. Boutiques qui ont gardé les devantures anciennes malgré le changement de typologie commerciale.



FIG. 2. Enseigne de mode moyenne que l'on retrouve aussi dans la très proche rue de Rivoli.

à une sorte de rénovation douce, sera chargé de compléter l'élaboration du PSMV. Son étude prévoit l'abandon de certains projets de dégagement et d'alignement.

Le plan enfin approuvé en 1996 contiendra des dispositions très innovantes concernant la prévision d'une 'démolition conditionnelle' selon laquelle le maintien et le réaménagement dans leur emprise des constructions occupées par des activités industrielles, artisanales et commerciales seraient désormais possibles, mais cela seulement jusqu'au maintien de leur affectation. La démolition pourra donc être imposée en cas de départ de ces activités<sup>3</sup>. Une attention spécifique était ainsi consacrée à l'environnement commercial: dans le but de sauvegarder aussi le caractère historique des lieux dans ces aspects visibles, les vitrines saillantes et les panneaux de publicité n'étaient pas tolérés. Toutefois, aucune protection n'était accordée aux typologies des activités économiques à sauvegarder, dont l'artisanat, qui peu à peu sera voué à la disparition.

### ***Brand stores have taken over: la gentrification commerciale et ses conséquences sur le patrimoine***

Suite à l'application de la loi Malraux et grâce à l'impulsion des collectivités locales, la réhabilitation du quartier se mit quand même en marche et aujourd'hui, on peut considérer qu'elle est quasiment achevée. Néanmoins, sa structure socio-spatiale a fortement viré vers un progressif embourgeoisement de la population et une montée en gamme des commerces. À présent on y trouve principalement de l'équipement de la maison et surtout du prêt-à-porter (nouveaux créateurs, marques plus ou moins de luxe). Il est donc devenu particulièrement attractif pour les grandes enseignes nationales et internationales qui l'ont envahi depuis 1990, le transformant en l'un des quartiers les plus à la mode de la capitale. Le Marais porte inévitablement les marques d'une hyperspécialisation de plus en plus axée sur le *shopping* et le tourisme commercial qui a entraîné des modifications importantes dans son image, aujourd'hui en constante évolution.

Si l'adoption de la loi Malraux a, dans des cas ponctuels, causé la disparition du commerce du point de vue fonctionnel et paysager, le mécanisme de réhabilitation du quartier

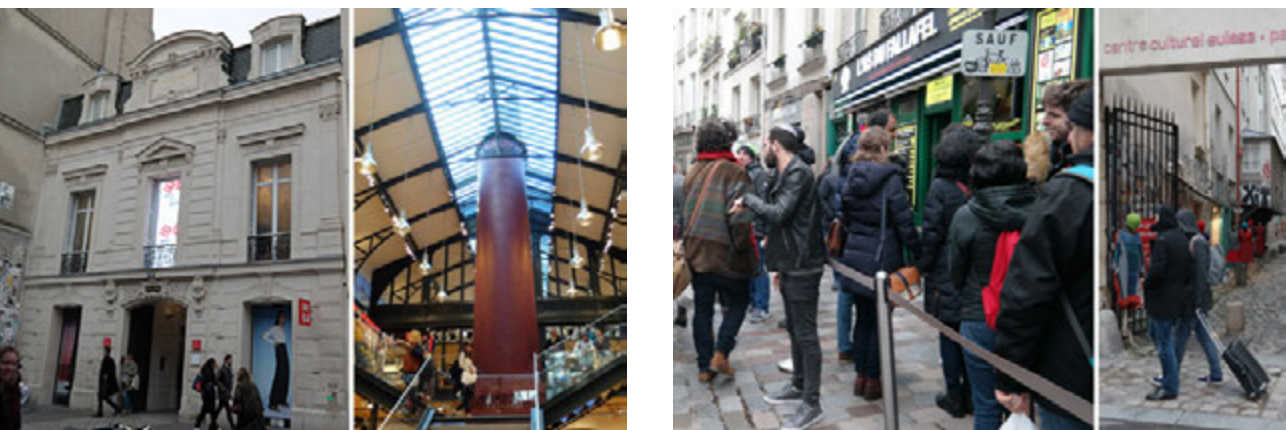


FIG. 3. La reconversion de l'ancienne usine de la Société des cendres.

FIG. 4. Pèlerinage commercial et à roulettes.

n'a pas entraîné la perte de sa vocation marchande (Gravari-Barbas, Mermet 2014). Bien au contraire, c'est un endroit de plus en plus commercial qui semble avoir profité des fonctions esthétiques, mémorielles et symboliques du patrimoine qu'il héberge (Gravari-Barbas, Mermet 2013) en les transformant en surcroît économique. Cela, soit de façon directe qu'indirecte à travers l'intersection entre les diverses sources de modifications qui ont façonné le quartier (politiques de rénovation/réhabilitation, gentrification, gaytrification), l'économie du tourisme et la spéculation immobilière.

En général, l'exigence d'amélioration de la visibilité qui normalement fait partie des stratégies commerciales des grandes marques se traduit par une volonté de différenciation. Elles cherchent à avoir des boutiques originales et non stéréotypées – soit du point de vue matériel que symbolique – en les installant dans des lieux caractérisés par une forte valeur identitaire soit par des éléments extérieurs (devantures, enseignes) qu'intérieurs (poutres, escaliers, plafonds, comptoirs, etc.) d'origine (Fig. 1). Dans le Marais ce processus de marchandisation, tout particulièrement aigu et centré sur le *fashion*, se développe, en profitant des 'vieilles pierres' ou de leur âme pour rencontrer physiquement ou spirituellement l'histoire.

Les résultats ne sont pas forcément négatifs. Bien qu'une certaine tendance à l'homologation de ce quartier unique soit évidente (Fig. 2), l'agencement des boutiques, soumis à l'autorisation de l'Architecte des Bâtiments de France qui en apprécie la conformité avec le plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur<sup>4</sup> (PSMV) et leur implantation dans des bâtiments remarquables ou classés, semble faciliter leur maintien en bon état de conservation. Cela a même donné lieu à des opérations de réhabilitation très intéressantes, comme celle qui concerne l'usine de la Société des cendres, bâtie au milieu du XIXe siècle et l'une des dernières qui ait fonctionné dans le quartier<sup>5</sup>, transformé (hélas, encore) en 'temple de l'habillement', mais en gardant intacte l'atmosphère du site (Fig. 3).

Malgré cela, au Marais, le détournement des fonctions d'origine qui est désormais une pratique courante dans le processus d'exploitation de la ville antique apparaît préoc-

cupant en raison de son caractère purement lucratif, consommateur et éphémère. Même le PSMV ne semble pas réussir à contraster une tendance à la transmutation d'un lieu unique dans un *retail park*, de préférence au bénéfice des touristes, bien que sa révision approuvée en 2013 consacre une attention toute particulière à la préservation du commerce et de l'artisanat<sup>6</sup>.

Aujourd'hui, seulement la production de bijoux arrive à subsister au milieu de l'ancienne rue du Temple et même les boucheries et épiceries casher sont remplacées par des boutiques de vêtements ou des magasins éphémères (*pop up stores*). Une tendance, cette dernière, qui se développe spécialement dans les rues plus fréquentées par les touristes, et cela échappant à toute réglementation existante en matière de sécurité et sauvegarde, ainsi que d'occupation de l'espace public lorsque des files de clients se forment sur le trottoir empêchant les piétons de circuler. Encore, on assiste à la création en série de nouveau fast-food où les touristes ne passent que pour acheter leur *falafel* (ce qui n'a rien plus tellement à voir avec la vie juive authentique qui pourtant avait animé la rue des Rosiers dès la fin du XIXe siècle). Cette transformation dans une destination folklorique où seuls les touristes se dirigeraient, s'entassant dans les rues selon de nouvelles formes de 'pèlerinage commercial et à roulettes', est l'une des grandes menaces qui pèsent sur ce prestigieux centre historique parisien (Fig. 4).

### **La marchandisation touristique du patrimoine: quels risques et quelles solutions ?**

En effet, le Marais ne subit pas seulement les conséquences d'un mécanisme de gentrification commerciale mature, largement dominée par les enseignes avec un fort *turnover*, mais aussi celles d'une forte exploitation des logements en vue de leur commercialisation en tant que lieu de vacances pour des gens désireux de 'vivre comme des vrais parisiens' pour quelques jours.

Même les locataires les plus fortunés qui s'étaient installés dans les quartiers à la suite des restaurations immobilières effectuées grâce aux avantages fiscaux offerts par la loi Malraux, sont obligés de partir à cause des loyers qui – aussi dans le cas des plus élevés – n'arrivent pas à contrecarrer les gains permis par une location de luxe à la journée (Scheppe 2015). Paris est la ville au monde où Airbnb propose le plus d'appartements à la location saisonnière – souvent gérée de façon illégale et non déclarée –, au détriment des hôteliers qui se plaignent d'une concurrence déloyale. Cela accompagné par le fort mécontentement des habitants, gênés par les excès du tourisme de masse et ses multiples nuisances (bruit, comportements individuels non respectueux des voisins, salissures, dégradation du patrimoine, etc.).

Si les résidents n'ont pas totalement disparus du Marais – et surtout les classes laborieuses, car la municipalité s'est efforcée d'y réaliser un certain nombre de logements sociaux (des nouvelles enclaves ?) –, le jeu du marché immobilier et aussi des pratiques ambiguës menées par des investisseurs cupides, tendent à chasser les habitants pour transformer une location à priori de courte durée dans une location 'à plein temps'. Le risque est d'assister bientôt à une disparition pure et simple des communautés locales et avec elles des modes de vie qui contribuent à établir le charme et les qualités du quartier, ce lien dynamique entre patrimoine culturel matériel et immatériel qui seul façonne le vrai esprit d'un lieu.



Mais comment arrêter cette désertification progressive qui n'est pas visible aux visiteurs tant les foules se bousculent dans les rues, et éviter que le Marais perde le côté 'vie ordinaire' se transformant en parc d'attractions? C'est la question qui se pose Gérard Simonet<sup>7</sup>, président-fondateur de l'association *Vivre le Marais*. Créée en 2000 et depuis 2015 l'une des douze membres de la commission locale du secteur sauvegardé du Marais, l'association œuvre pour défendre le cadre de vie des habitants du quartier et, à cet effet, s'inquiète de l'essor de la location touristique par le biais des plateformes numériques qui a certainement empiré un processus de 'touristification' déjà malheureusement entamé.

La location entre particuliers par internet a depuis 2011 investi toute la France – y compris les zones rurales – et surtout Paris, qui pèse à elle seule pour 43% des 360 000 annonces de logements entiers proposés. Paris se distingue nettement par une forte densité de logements sur l'ensemble de ses arrondissements – 75 000 appartements alors qu'elle dispose de 85 000 chambres d'hôtel – et une offre très importante, autour des zones touristiques, dont le Marais (Fig. 5).

Face à cette situation et afin d'éviter qu'un trop grand nombre de logements soient mis sur ce marché, aux dépens de la location classique de longue durée dont la demande est toujours importante, les autorités ont durci la réglementation dans la capitale. Si une résidence principale est louée moins de cent vingt jours par an, la loi sur la location saisonnière à Paris est souple, parce que le logement ne change pas son usage d'habitation. La mairie de Paris fait en effet la différence entre un propriétaire (ou un locataire, dès lors qu'il a obtenu l'autorisation de son bailleur) qui loue de temps en temps pour obtenir des revenus complémentaires, et ceux qui investissent dans des biens à mettre en location saisonnière exclusive. Au-delà de cent vingt jours de location, pourtant, une autorisation préalable de la mairie, via son service d'urbanisme, est obligatoire. Celle-ci choisit d'autoriser ou non un changement d'usage au demandeur, qui lui permettra d'exploiter le logement à usage professionnel, en guise de meublé touristique<sup>8</sup>.

À travers cette loi – en réalité pas très contraignante par rapport à d'autres villes comme Londres, Seattle ou San Francisco où la limite s'élève à quatre-vingt-dix jours – Paris essaie d'inverser un phénomène qui pourrait métamorphoser le Marais en un hôtel géant vidé ou presque de ses habitants et du patrimoine culturel immatériel qu'ils incarnent. Une situation qui pourrait aussi consommer ses monuments et leur cadre urbain jusqu'à les rendre des coquilles vides, un décor d'opérette ou mieux la scénographie d'un vrai cauchemar post-post-moderne qui nous rappelle les visions apocalyptiques de Marc Augé (Augé 1997). Un Marais où l'effet de réalité est plus important que le réel et qui se façonne pour plaire à des visiteurs capables de voir seulement à travers le kaléidoscope illusoire du tourisme qui a théâtralisé les monuments et monétisé le

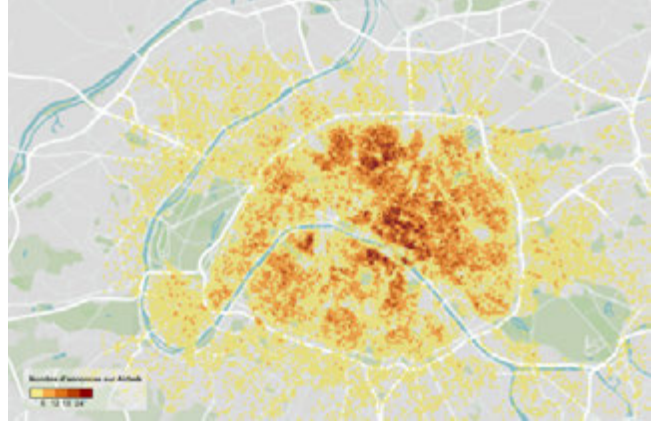


FIG. 5. Paris et la concentration du nombre d'annonces sur Airbnb (by <[https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2017/08/04/paris-et-les-hypercentres-des-grandes-villes-le-business-lucratif-d-airbnb-enfrance\\_5168623\\_4355770.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2017/08/04/paris-et-les-hypercentres-des-grandes-villes-le-business-lucratif-d-airbnb-enfrance_5168623_4355770.html)> accessed 16 May 2019).



*Parisian lifestyle*. Par chance, aujourd'hui le quartier peut encore compter sur des résidents très attachés à ce lieu exclusif mais ces derniers semblent destinés à succomber sous les effets pervers du tourisme commercial, qui progressivement est en train de 'cannibaliser' son vrai génie.

## Conclusions

Les risques qu'encourent nos biens culturels à cause des de l'industrie touristique et de l'activité économique qui accompagne, en général, les processus d'humaine transhumance' sont désormais assez connus. Multiples débats se sont développés dans les dernières années ou sont en cours afin de contraster les tristes conséquences de tels phénomènes. Perte de valeurs, graves interférences dans l'authenticité des lieux, aménagements excessifs ou irrespectueux, pollution, congestion, abandon de la population, sont autant de problèmes inhérents des lieux caractérisés par d'importants flux touristiques.

Dans le cas du Marais, la 'noblesse' d'un site célèbre pour son patrimoine bâti remarquable (églises, hôtels particuliers, palais, musées) et pour son atmosphère pittoresque et vivante a été exploitée pour donner vie à un lieu commercial et touristique. Ainsi, on assiste au départ d'une grande partie de sa population afin d'encadrer dans ses beaux immeubles, comptoirs et maisons ou chambres d'hôtes.

Si des mesures ont été établies afin d'inverser cette situation, elles sont fort probablement insuffisantes face à une progression très rapide de ce phénomène qui risque dans le futur d'entraîner la disparition et la substitution d'un certain nombre d'éléments de la structure morphologique du centre ancien pour le rendre adéquat aux nouvelles fonctions. Cela surtout à la suite de l'affaiblissement des dispositions de sauvegarde établies par la loi portant sur l'évolution du logement, de l'aménagement et du numérique (Elan) qui vient tout juste d'être adoptée.

Certes, la 'touristification' du patrimoine, sa valorisation, sa gestion et sa protection représentent un enjeu majeur pour le développement des territoires et de son bien-être économique mais elle requiert une gestion tout d'abord attentive aux intérêts des communautés locales, soucieuse de préserver et renforcer les interactions entre ces mêmes communautés et leur patrimoine, afin d'en assurer une exploitation respectueuse (et donc) durable.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Ilot 16. Note de M. Roux-Spits, architecte en Chef des bâtiments Civils et des Palais Nationaux* du 8 janvier 1944 (Médiathèque de l'Architecture, 80/1/26)

<sup>2</sup> Ministère des Affaires culturelles et de l'Équipement. Sauvegarde des quartiers anciens. Ville de Paris, IIIe et IVe arrondissement Le Marais. Application de la loi du 4 août 1962. Plan permanent de sauvegarde, s. l., 1969, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> PSMV, 5 octobre 1994, MAP 2004/010/0128-dossier XII, feuillet 6.

<sup>4</sup> Les mesures de conservation édictées par le plan de sauvegarde s'étendent aux éléments d'architecture intérieure, tels que les escaliers, rampes, limons, encorbellements, lambris, vantaux de portes, cheminées, plafonds nus et plafonds peints, ainsi qu'aux motifs sculptés et tous éléments décoratifs appartenant à l'immeuble par nature ou par destination. Leur maintien en place et, s'il y a lieu, leur restauration, doivent être assurés dans les mêmes conditions que les éléments extérieurs des dits immeubles. Aucune façade des immeubles protégés ne peut être transformée, sauf s'il s'agit de retrouver une disposition d'origine que des

travaux d'aménagement ont mutilée ou fait disparaître.

<sup>5</sup> Elle a cessé ses activités en 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Le PSMV révisé prévoit à l'article 2 du règlement, la protection de linéaires commerciaux dans les rez-de-chaussée d'immeubles selon trois catégories: les voies comportant une protection du commerce et de l'artisanat (interdiction de changement de destination autre celle du commerce ou de l'artisanat), les voies comportant une protection renforcée du commerce et de l'artisanat (maintien de la destination commerce ou artisanat, et obligation de créer des locaux commerciaux ou artisanaux en cas de construction neuve), les voies comportant une protection particulière de l'artisanat (transformation de surfaces d'artisanat en une autre destination, interdite).

<sup>7</sup> Il a été interviewé par l'auteur de cet essai qui le remercie vivement pour sa disponibilité.

<sup>8</sup> La réglementation est en outre complétée par une obligation de compensation. Dans le cas d'une demande de transformation de la fonction d'un bien pour le louer plus de quatre mois par an, un dossier doit être présenté avec, en guise de compensation, un bien d'une surface au moins équivalente, situé dans le même arrondissement, dont l'usage est exclusivement d'habitation. À défaut, il est possible d'acheter et de présenter un titre de commercialité (à acquérir auprès des bailleurs sociaux).

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## ORAL HISTORY AS A LINK BETWEEN ARCHITECTURE AND ITS SOCIOCULTURAL BACKDROP

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### A layered perspective on history and sociocultural connections

In recent years the architecture of the fifties and sixties has become a key subject of interest in heritage conservation. This architecture is approaching the upper limit of its lifespan and around the world is undergoing general and oftentimes insensitive repairs or is even being demolished. The modernistic concept of architecture, its visual, structural and urban design, which has often been very uncompromising towards early layers of history, is thus also a test for the established basic principles on which the ethos of contemporary heritage conservation and social tolerance is built. Post-war architecture, however, prompts a rethinking of the very nature of the historical study and interpretation of the built environment. As well as the standard methods of archive and field research, the methods of oral history are also increasingly being used for this purpose. Interdisciplinary historical research is certainly nothing new, but valuable new possibilities are being offered by 'softer' sociological methods. Interviews and the recorded memories of eyewitnesses offer the perspective of personal insight and experiences, and they are also a source of other specific information that cannot be obtained in any other way. This approach adds new depth and wider context to data collected and evaluated by standard methods.

The oral history method is especially useful in the former Eastern Bloc. In the Czech Republic it is an approach that helps to reconstruct the wider social context of a period in which the media were carefully censored and which is therefore otherwise lacking. The interview approach also provides alternative sources for the information that was lost after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 or in the subsequent dramatic course of socio-economic transformation. In recent years the oral history method has understandably most often been used to research the lives of dissidents and individuals who suffered political persecution, whose lives were often closely intertwined with the alternative cultural scene and especially the performing arts – such as theatre, film, music, and literature<sup>1</sup>.

Architecture has long lagged behind in using this research method. Nowadays this is an approach to collecting and classifying information that has been thoroughly elaborated, is largely objective, and is therefore regarded as wholly valid. In practice it has most often been used to study lifestyles and everyday life in different historical periods and in the Czech Republic it has mainly been applied in architectural research to such phenomena as life on a prefab housing estate<sup>2</sup> (Občanské sdružení Obzor Lesná 2012; Špičáková 2014), self-help family home construction (Klímová, Vacková 2011; Mertová, Pospěch 2015), or the cottage lifestyle (Schindler-Wisten 2017). Not only architects, engineers, and other instrumental figures are interviewed using this method, but also the ordinary eyewitnesses who directly experienced the first years of existence of newly built complexes and structures. The focus is also placed on the sociological dimension of life today, i.e. on the life



FIG. 1. Sculptor Olbram Zoubek doing the formwork for the textured decorative walls of the Czechoslovak embassy in Brazil. For the publication *Šedesátá léta v architektuře očima pamětníků* he shared his personal experience but also spoke about the alternative professional opportunities that artists who were banned and politically persecuted at the time sought out in cooperation with architects (Private archive Olbram Zoubek).

Next page:

Fig. 2. In notes that she prepared for the publication *Šedesátá léta v architektuře očima pamětníků* architect Zdenka Nováková not only reflected on her own work, but also remembered Professor František Cubr, who in the late fifties and early sixties was a key figure in the move away from politically motivated socialist realism and a return to the pure ideals of modernism (Private archive Zdenka Nováková).

of today's users/occupants, and the authors of analytical studies surveying the current state of a structure. The studies and related publications and exhibitions that apply this approach also help in the obtaining and classification of a diverse array of relevant historical information,

but more than that, they work to revive the collective memory of a place<sup>3</sup> and create an extensive intergenerational network of social ties. Connecting the present to the past and understanding these complex links deepens inhabitants' relationship to a place, and a consequence of this is better care of the cultural heritage from the recent past and of the built environment as a whole.

### Filling in the blanks

However, the oral history method is finding ever wider applications also in the study of 'big' architecture. A survey of architecture from the sixties and seventies in the Czech Republic is provided in a publication titled *Šedesátá léta v architektuře očima pamětníků* (The Sixties in Architecture in the Eyes of Those Who Lived It; Ulrich et al. 2006). The authors of this book sought to use authentic, living testimony from architects, engineers, and artists to create a picture that embraces the whole range of forms and themes that made up the architecture of that time (Figs. 1-2). The record offered by the press at that time is limited and shaped by contemporary ideology – books and periodicals were subject to censorship, and in the spirit of the modernist approach they focused mainly on the technical and rational aspects of construction, or on uncritical celebrations of the successes of the economy and the political regime. The occasional theoretical writings, however, are signs of the froth of ideas that were bubbling beneath the surface at





that time, which is something that needs to be reconstructed. The interviews that were used to conduct the research for this book therefore focused mainly on the regular operations of the state design institutes (where all architects and engineers were employed in those days) and their cooperation with the state building enterprises, on the process of preparing projects and implementing building projects. They focussed also on interpersonal relations at the worksite, informal theoretical exchanges, contemporary discussions or activities, the degree of architects' personal involvement in bringing about their projects, the participation of artists, sociologists, and other professionals in such projects. They sought information on what issues were widely discussed at that time, unpublished but nevertheless influential building projects and theorists, the role of family background, study, and the academic sphere in this profession, and foreign travel and access to literature, etc. Another interesting subject for discussion in these interviews is the material, colour, and overall atmosphere of structures or buildings that in the usually black-and-white photographs from that time are elements that are suppressed and by now have usually come to be hidden on the structures by subsequent renovations or have been altered by time or insensitive maintenance. Similarly, it is also possible to retrospectively 'reconstruct' the appearance of the interiors or structural details of buildings that have now largely been lost but were absolutely key in creating the overall tone of post-war architecture.

### **The risks and potential of the method**

The interviewers who worked with eyewitnesses for the research on this book were understandably fully aware of the risks in an interview, i.e. a person's mood, the way an individual experienced things personally, memories blurred or distorted by time, (often unconscious) efforts to improve on their past or, conversely, to politicise even those aspects of the social and creative world that politics did not have much influence on. The interviewers naturally had to keep in mind the fact that in the period they are interested in the eyewitnesses were young and memories of one's early years tend generally to bear the more positive tint of the idealism, vigour and strength of youth. The interviewer therefore

had to be thoroughly prepared for every interview, collect available official information, and put together an outline and the individual thematic areas that the interview would touch on. The eyewitnesses were invited to compile and sort their own personal archive materials and the interview was then conducted around those materials, which together with the outline formed the basic frame of the narrative. During the interviews it was also possible to obtain very valuable archive materials from the private archives of eyewitnesses, and in most cases these were materials of essential significance as their official variants would be impossible to find in the sluggishly maintained or censored socialist archives or will have been discarded or destroyed with the demise of the state design institutes.

By comparing formal sources, studying structures in situ, and obtaining new documents and information from the interviews it was possible at the very start of this research on architecture from the sixties to construct a much more textured and fuller picture of the time than what can be obtained from official sources, and many researchers are still drawing on this base of material as a reference and source of information<sup>4</sup>.

The oral history method has also demonstrated its utility in research on post-war architecture and has served as the basis for a whole range of studies, in particular for monographs on architects<sup>5</sup>, and for emerging research on the eighties<sup>6</sup>. A major advantage of this method is that it records the memories of people who directly experienced the events from the time that is the subject of interest and whose testimony, which is in most cases offered kindly and willingly, could, given their advanced age, soon be irretrievably lost<sup>7</sup>.

### **Deeper into history**

It might at first glance seem that the oral history method is only useful for mapping the cultural heritage of the recent past, but it is of much broader use than that. In the Czech Republic it has also proved useful in research on and the popularisation of industrial architecture. While there are no eyewitnesses still alive from the time in which industrial production buildings and complexes were built, many of the workers who were employed in them can still offer valuable testimony about how these structures were used and about the machinery the sites were equipped with, the overall production process, and the everyday life of employees. Their narratives reanimate the lives, lifestyles, and values of the past generations from whose physical and intellectual labour we still benefit today. It is only through personal testimony that it is possible to fully understand the intricate structure and operations of surviving production complexes and it is only based on this knowledge that it is possible to approach them responsibly and sensitively, i.e. in a manner that is sustainable in the long term and that will also benefit the future.

For this reason it has become typical at most museums for the exhibits to be accompanied by comments, photographs, and the recorded memories of eyewitnesses and a description of their everyday life. In the most elaborate version of 'the last working day' method, everything is preserved in the building in its authentic form, as though frozen in time, and museum visitors are usually guided around the exhibit by original employees, most of whom are retired today, but who are in this way able to pass on their lifelong

experience and also to continue to work and live an active life<sup>8</sup>. The testimony of eyewitnesses, however, is often indirectly incorporated into 'non-museum-like' commercial or cultural conversions of industrial complexes, where the new function of the site obscures the original spatial layout and appearance of the structure and makes it difficult to understand the structure as a whole. This additional information on the history and life of a place presented by various means to the current users of the site helps enhance understanding and fosters closer emotional ties to the architecture<sup>9</sup>.



Fig. 3. A ball for former employees of Zbůch mine in the Pilsen region organised by Jakub Bacík, a doctoral student, to mark the founding of the miners' association and preparations for a student workshop on the subject of adapted new used for an abandoned industrial site. The photograph shows Lukáš Beran and Jan Zikmund, historians of industrial architecture, in an interview with a mining engineer.

### **Intergenerational and cultural exchange**

We successfully used the oral history method during a student workshop focusing on the cultivation and revival of the neglected and today unused and 'forgotten' Zbůch mining grounds near Pilsen (Fig. 3). This intergenerational meeting of students and eyewitnesses managed to raise wider questions about the fates of people in a socially deprived region, and the young people began to more sensitively appreciate abandoned industrial structures in their projects and see them as more than just empty shells and attractive backdrops, and as suited to any kind of new function. The workshop thus acquired a deeply conceptual, social dimension, and the adaptations they proposed concentrated more on preserving the distinctive atmosphere and authenticity of the place. Some of the students claimed at the end of the workshop that the inside look into the real, everyday life of the structures that eyewitnesses communicated to them represented a significant shift in their perception of what role architecture should play in society in general.

### **The still vital roots of the present**

Records of personal memories and real human fates are, however, also a valuable source of information and provide a sense of context even when it comes to much older layers of cultural history. If we consider that most European cultural heritage originated against a backdrop of Christian values and customs, then the current fate and understanding of this architecture is somewhat constrained by the gradual secularisation of society and an increasingly consumerist outlook. Just several decades ago, when all of society was configured differently, architecture was used in a fundamentally different way than it is today. If the information that is not contained in the structures itself is lost and if that information is not passed on from generation to generation through lifestyle and shared values, then it is the basic duty of the humanities to supplement the evidence of material sources with the recorded memories of eyewitnesses. As the gap widens between our current lifestyle and the values that built the environment we

inhabit, and with the rise of new building technologies and our different way of using architecture today, the way we approach the conservation of historical architecture is also changing. If we don't understand it, we may exhaust it recklessly and make changes that have no overarching concept. This does not mean that new values and outstanding contemporary architecture are not emerging. Nevertheless, in the absence of a shared understanding, the web of ties that hold society together is gradually growing looser and being replaced by a hard to grasp system of hidden connections dependent on only current and often short-sighted and wholly commercial needs. A wider intergenerational and multicultural dialogue can on the contrary help to reconnect the ties between the material environment and living culture.

### **The journey is the destination**

When we apply this perspective to the model example that was used at the EAAE 2017 workshop, namely, the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, the question we need to ask whether this pilgrimage-event is viewed and understood today the same way it was centuries ago. Can we at all understand from the perspective of today how differently time flowed before the industrial revolution and globalised transportation, or how different were the values in life of the deeply Christian European society that existed before the Enlightenment?

Architecture is not merely a collection of bits of material, a finely put together 'pile of stones, bricks and wood'. It finds its true fulfilment primarily through lived human experience. This essential personal dimension of architecture plays an absolutely vital role on this pilgrimage route. However much a pilgrimage is foremost a time of introspection, the search for a path to one's inner self, over the course of the journey there also naturally occurs an interaction with the surrounding environment.

When we are traveling along the famous El Camino there is more to our pilgrimage than our own isolated inner experience, as it is inherently also closely tied up with and shaped by the surrounding characteristically rural landscape and regional architecture in its historical variations. To achieve a greater connection to the spirit of El Camino and amplify the experience of this spiritual pilgrimage, pilgrims cannot remain just consumers of the journey immersed only in themselves, while the local community serves merely as the provider of food and accommodation, or worse, as just a spectacular backdrop. Pilgrims should at least very briefly become engaged in local life and care for the landscape or architecture of El Camino – for an inevitable break, a more powerful experience, and, above all, a greater connection to the place in which their personal transformation is taking place (e.g. as a volunteer, much like what is already happening today in the area of attending to the health and accommodation of pilgrims).

The additional burden that pilgrims and tourists bring to the sensitive architectural and landscape heritage of El Camino can thus be diluted:

- a) over time, if pilgrims do not just pass quickly through places but instead linger to engage successively in activities of a longer duration;
- b) and spatially, if they do not limit their journey to just a single, much used path for walking and cycling but instead spread out their journey farther afield – for instance, through the surrounding farms.



Fig. 4. Pilgrimage is an opportunity for spiritual exploration of the self and deep self-immersion, but it is also a space for communicating outwardly and sharing experiences, including with old residents along the route, and getting a closer look at a different lifestyle, values, and experience of time.

The slower and more colourful experience that this results in will allow pilgrims to more sensitively take in the changing landscape of El Camino over the full length of the pilgrimage. It will offer enough time to forge a stronger and more personal connection with the spiritual dimension of this landscape. And the experience of physical labour, shared with the other pilgrims-volunteers and local residents and with their distinct culture, can moreover provide fundamental direction to a person's own inner journey at the same time (Fig. 4).

As well as the contemporary life of the places that El Camino passes through, it is also however necessary to more thoroughly take into account the historical identity of this remarkable phenomenon; not just the history of individual places and buildings, but El Camino as a whole – its landscape attributes and cultural background and most of all its evolution in relation to the spiritual life of pilgrims. Its history, which is already for the most part well charted, should by gentle, intelligible, and above all contemporary, digital means be communicated to pilgrims so that in the course of their journey they are able to steadily deepen their understanding of the cultural phenomenon that they are becoming a part of through their own actions. Classic historical and factual writings



(architecture, art, culture) should be further fleshed out with authentic diaries and interviews tapping into the personal experiences of other pilgrims (based on cooperation with sociologists, anthropologists), preferably with an emphasis on historical diversity (the experiences of pilgrims many centuries ago will differ fundamentally from those of pilgrims today).

Among its other benefits, to provide pilgrims with multiple layers of historical information is to give them a wider perspective on the currently hot topic of mixing local and global culture. In the case of El Camino this means getting a wider perspective on the unavoidable interaction between the local environment and the foreign pilgrims who enter it, on the richness that springs from this situation, and on the constant and necessary process of searching for one's identity in a changing world.

To sociologically and emotionally explore and convey or bring across the El Camino phenomenon in such a way can serve to fundamentally expand the pilgrim's spiritual and intellectual horizons. Above all, in today's secularised, consumer-oriented society it can help to anchor his or her pilgrimage within the long historical lineage and value frame of Christian culture.

The introduction of these ideas into practice can be assisted through the exploration of modern history, participatory methods, and interdisciplinary and intergenerational cooperation. Last but not least also required is active participation and cooperation across a wide range of universities – through research, student competitions, workshops, summer schools, and volunteer activities.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Recent history is the subject of a multi-year interdisciplinary project called *Paměť národa* (The Memory of a Nation), which is regarded very positively and is being followed by the wider public, and which naturally focuses primarily on recording the memories of the oldest generation and the cultural scene that used to be banned (<[www.pametnaroda.cz](http://www.pametnaroda.cz)> accessed 26 April 2019; see also, e.g., Denemarková 2000; Přádná at al. 2000).

<sup>2</sup> The construction of prefab housing estates and everyday life in this setting were recently the subject of a project called *Paneláci* (Prefab Inhabitants) (Skřivánková et al. 2017) and another one called *Legenda o sídlišti* (Legend of the Estate) (Mráčková, Šimonová, Vejvoda 2014), which also used 'soft' socio-psychological and experience research methods.

<sup>3</sup> An important role in preserving the memory of recently built neighbourhoods is also played by 'municipal chroniclers', who collect and store information of even a less formal nature drawn from the everyday life of a place. A role is also understandably played by the civic associations that have formed on housing estates that are highly valued (by the professional community and the public), and these associations usually seek to preserve not only the original appearance of a place but also its specific atmosphere and spirit (examples are the Prague-Kobyliš housing estate and the Lesná housing estate in Brno; see <[www.krasnekobylišy.cz](http://www.krasnekobylišy.cz)> and <[www.solesne.cz](http://www.solesne.cz)> accessed 26 April 2019).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Švácha 2007; Švácha 2010; Ševčík, Beneš 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Interviews became a popular way of animating and adding a personal dimension to monographs or

exhibitions devoted to the work of figures who are still alive (e.g. Vorlík 2010). The oral history method is helpful in the difficult task of sorting the personal archives of artists. This author used it for example in work on a monograph devoted to the architect Jasan Burin (Vorlík, Brůhová, Maio 2014), a unique globe-trotter and adventurer whose work has appeared in the Czech Republic, the UK, and especially the United States; owing to the architect's great age and deteriorating eyesight, work to prepare the publication could not go on for a long time. Architect Jasan Burin died just under three years after the book was completed.

<sup>6</sup> The oral history method was used, for example, in a seminar with selected students from the Faculty of Architecture at the Czech Technical University in Prague, who interviewed architects and engineers from the famous Association of Design Studios at the Design Institute of the City of Prague Development Area. The youth and enthusiasm of the students oftentimes helped otherwise introverted artists to open up, who then shared with the students their life experiences from the seventies and eighties but beyond that also provided insight into their own moral views, values, and approach to work. The students' work, which was conducted under demanding personal supervision from teachers and subject to careful editing, culminated in an exhibition (Brůhová et al. 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Approximately one-half of eyewitnesses interviewed in the past twenty years using this method have since passed away.

<sup>8</sup> The increased interest in the industrial era has also ushered in a significant shift in the perception of historical cultural heritage towards a greater focus on the everyday and a more nuanced and diversified appreciation of the heritage; see TICCIH 2003. An incarnation of this perspective is, for example, museum exhibits organised according to the 'last working day' theory at Michal mine in Ostrava and at Mayrau mine near Kladno; see <<https://www.dul-michal.cz/en>> and <<http://mayrau.omk.cz/>> [Accessed 26 April 2019].

<sup>9</sup> A comprehensive statement on conversions of industrial architecture in the Czech Republic, the development of this phenomenon over time, and its methods of (self)presentation is provided by two retrospective publications published by the Research Centre for Industrial Heritage at the Faculty of Architecture at the Czech Technical University (Fragner, Hanzlová 2005; Fragner, Valchářová 2014).

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## In Conclusion





## TIME, SPACE, MATTER. CONSERVATION/CONSUMPTION ALONG THE CAMINO OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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The paper proposes a reflection about the experience we had along the Camino de Santiago de Compostela during the VI workshop of the EAAE-Conservation Network. The participants, divided in groups, walked for few kilometers along different fragments (or segments) of the last part of the Camino, close to Santiago. Each group walked on separate paths. Some were straight, simple and flat, others difficult and climbing, passing through different landscapes, plains and sloping hills, amazing panorama and secluded perspectives, with woods or cultivated fields, rural settlements and small villages, towards the great, monumental and touristic city of Santiago, the final goal of the historical and religious Camino (Figs. 1-4). Among the participants, the impressions were thus very different and their confrontation, during the following working days, offered a very interesting and intriguing challenge for all of us. We had to abandon at least for a while our supposed certainties (disciplinary, technical but also human), discovering other points of view and unexpected observations about what we had expected to be more or less the same experience. Many contributions to this book, conceived and developed after the workshop (and therefore very different from the proceedings of a congress) thus offer a rich collection of rigorous discussion about the history and the present status of the Camino, and a wide range of elaborations of the same argument, from different points of view. For this reason, I will not return to the wealth of information (historical, geographical, political, and technical) already embedded in the volume. This paper will rather try to propose a sort of problematic synthesis of the many and transversal aspects that the other contributions offer to the central questions posed by the workshop's programme, basing the argumentation on their rich informative contents. The attempt thus mainly goes around the words comprised in the title of the paper.

### **As a starting point: words on a Camino milestone**

Let me then start from a hand-written sentence (vandalism?) that I saw on a milestone along the segment of the Camino I was assigned to, because it captured my attention for its apparently paradoxical meaning: "Usually better things are happening in the ugliest parts of the Camino" (Fig. 5).

This sentence deeply moved me whilst walking alone along the Camino, far from other colleagues just to have a chance to reflect, breathe and enjoy the landscape (not particularly beautiful, in reality, because of the presence of many industrial settlements and noisy vehicular roads). That sentence obliged me to change a little bit my point of view, abandoning my original disciplinary, aesthetic or even spiritual perspective. Taking advantage of the silence, or at least of my self-imposed solitude, I thus decided to go back again to the very ancient triadic terms 'time, space and matter' that, since the Greek pre-Socratic



FIG. 1. Open countryside and plain path along the Camino.

FIG. 2. Walking among the hills and the woods.

philosophy and throughout the philosophical and scientific development of the following centuries, characterise the glances and reflections of men upon the world. I also add to them a fourth term that is more related to the recent cultural and doctrinal or normative elaborations about what we call 'Heritage'.

### Time(s)

Time always matters. In the specific and limited experience we all lived along the Camino de Santiago, time, space and matter have had a role for several reasons and in different ways but we cannot forget also the 'immaterial' side of life. One can immediately argue that time in itself is 'immaterial' and even that space can have some intangible qualities and attributes. This is exactly one of the most intriguing fields of confrontation for any possible elaboration about the topics proposed by the workshop, as I will try to explain within the next pages.

Time comes to the fore, first of all, because the Camino has to do with the history (as many contributions to this volume testify and record), ancient or recent, of human life in the world and not only of this part of Europe.

Time matters also because it obliges us not to forget that past was different from the present and that pilgrimages or journeys, in general, were very different from those of our present time, for many and various reasons. There is in fact a serious risk of building a sort of idealised history of this phenomenon, forgetting that during medieval and past times, pilgrims and pilgrimages were sometimes very far from being elevated and exclusively spiritual dimensions of life. It is sufficient to remember Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* to acknowledge that along the pilgrimage ways there were lights and shadows, charity, hospitality, help and care, but also murders, sins, betrayals and so on. Pilgrims were not tourists, but they neither were they all saints any more than were the people living in the different places they passed through.

Furthermore, time always matters because it is intimately linked with any kind of journey that always starts from one point and ends at the final one through intermediate steps, thus properly 'consuming' (or using, requiring, implying) time(s)<sup>1</sup>.

We cannot even forget that, at least in ancient times, pilgrims and voyagers did not end their fatigues arriving at the destination of their journey, but usually had to go back



FIG. 3. An amazing landscape.



FIG. 4. Villages, religious signs, modernity and tradition.

FIG. 5. An intriguing message on a Camino's milestone.

home with almost the same modalities and mediums of mobility-transportation. It is not exactly the same nowadays because most of the pilgrims arrive for example in Santiago by foot (even only for the few last kilometers as we did) but very often they go back home in other and usually more comfortable ways, thus cutting in two the whole experience. This is not a secondary detail and must not be forgotten in any reflection on the topics proposed by the workshop.

Finally, the recalled phrase, our 'present time', as a perfect metaphor of the conditions of humankind in the globalised (homogenised) contemporary world, reflects the possible, contradictory and sometimes conflicting meanings and values of any journey, especially of those characterised by spiritual and not exclusively religious intentions and aims.

Different kinds of time(s) thus inevitably characterise the experience of any journey and pilgrimage (secular or religious). It is often a suspended time, out of our everyday lives, duties and commitments, as it can be felt and experienced as a free time spent only for our souls, minds, brains, hearths and emotions and also for our bodies and health. It can be a time to be shared with others or to be proudly and prudently spared only for us to spend, in free ways (Figs. 6-7). No rules can in fact be recognised and accepted as compulsory in this regard. On the other hand, we are not here to select, iden-







FIG. 6. Walking together.



FIG. 7. The pilgrim's rest, alone.

tify, discriminate or judge how each pilgrim, or simple voyager, is undergoing the experience along the Camino. We neither have to examine for which reasons, aims, goals and meanings she/he associates with it: whether it is lived (and consumed) as singular or shared with another, in small or larger groups of already known or of completely unknown people. History tells us that, since the medieval times, when the pilgrimages towards Santiago began and until now – including the centuries of abandonment of entire parts of the paths and the loss of its memory and even practical use (consume) – this ‘taxonomic’ attitude of selection/identification/discrimination and judgement would be totally usefulness and incur a high risk of error, misunderstanding and ideological manipulation. It is thus better to renounce this kind of intention and mental attitude. One can simply recognise that people undertake this adventure-experience for very different reasons. One can recognise incredibly varied purposes, hopes, illusions, expectations, needs, wishes, dreams. One can accept whether the adventure be short or long, consumed alone or with others, inspired by spiri-

tual intentions or simply suggested by touristic reasons, or by the challenge of putting bodies to the test, for fitness purposes, or for discovering a strange and unknown dimension of travelling, new places, cultures, traditions and also local food<sup>2</sup>.

Time passes, consumed perhaps, and cannot itself be conserved, even though its apparent linearity can be questioned. We also know that when someone says that ‘time passes’, it is really we who are passing and impermanent. The material traces of earlier times, on the other hand, can perhaps be saved/conserved as evocations of a time that without them may be otherwise completely beyond our understanding or out of reach of our capacity for action.

### Space(s) – Place(s)

From another perspective, time always requires a space to be really and fully experienced (lived, spent, spared and even consumed or re-elaborated). Spaces can be different in nature, quality, scale, dimensions and extensions. We know that, according to Christian Norberg-Schultz’s suggestions, when a space has some specific characters (of different

nature and origins), it becomes 'a place'. We know that a place is something different and more complex than a simple determination of a geo or topographic space, with its dimensions and physical and geo-morphological features. A place is, first of all, a sedimentation of memories, suggestions, inspirations and meanings of different nature, even if sometimes the people who dwell there are not aware of this condition. This should be always borne in mind when thinking about the conservation of a 'place' in its wholeness, with its material quality – destined anyway to change over time – and its immaterial dimensions or aspects, that will inevitably change in the future as they have throughout its already consumed history. Could thus conservation mean, in relation to this reality, the chance/possibility of freezing the present status of the space(s)/place(s) we are dealing with? With regard to the Camino, would it be ever possible? I guess not, unless we limit the concept and aim of conservation to a sort of dead world of abstract ideas, perhaps useful for our intellectual elaborations (and publications), but not for sure useful for the real processes of the world's life and its unavoidable and continuous change (which is its life, at the end of the story).

Thinking about the experience of any journey or pilgrimage, we can encounter – or have to consider – different kinds of spaces: wide or narrow, open or closed, continuous, homogeneous or fragmented and even interrupted, beautiful and amazing or ugly and awful. Walking, in any way and for any purpose, thus means first of all to assume the existence of 'space-place', or more correctly of different spaces-places, through which to pass in the allowed, due, required or desired times and with the objective that everyone is free to pursue. This also means that the issue is not only one of conserving a place or its identity (its spirit of *genius loci*) as something to be preserved, strengthened or enhanced at any cost also because we are not dealing with a single space/place.

The idea to coordinate the future of the Camino through a planning activity, developed at inter-transnational level, is a comprehensible goal. Perhaps it could be seen as an opportunity and a good objective, but only if it does not imply the imposition of standardised solutions, interventions and strategies along the route as a whole. Such global planning, design and management could in fact be a true betrayal of the essential composite and plural nature of the Camino and could represent the end of any true movement towards a sustainable, acceptable and understandable conservation.

After at least two millennia of philosophical and scientific reflections and elaborations on the topic of 'space-place' and its possible tangible and intangible, ontological or empirical and sensible nature and their implications, it is anyway difficult to give a conclusive definition of what 'space-place' really is or what it means. It is nevertheless possible, if not necessary, to take into account that at least in the human experience of a journey, space also brings with itself different kinds and determinations of the 'matter'.

Again, a crucial question arises at this point: can we really conserve a space-place? What could this really mean? What really makes a space? Any too simplistic, doctrinal-ideological or theoretical answer is unacceptable, and it inevitably will collapse because the confrontation with the evolving reality we are immersed in, and will result inappropriate for the several reasons highlighted hereafter.



## Matter(s)

Walking in different ways through a path of any nature, quickly or slowly, concentrated or distracted, chatting or silently, looking around at the spaces we are passing through, or within ourselves, we inevitably encounter different kinds of matter(s) and the physical reality we are immersed in (knowing of course that what we encounter is not only or simply a physical reality).

During our brief journey along the Camino we placed our feet, step after step, on the ground with its variable surfaces and finishes, regular, irregular, continuous, refined, rough, decayed, recent, ancient and so on. Whilst moving around, even if we did not notice or take into account these elements, we passed through or beside many different organic and living ‘matters’ fixed or movable (trees, plants, birds, wild or domestic animals...). They were close to other inanimate ones (stones, rocks, waters, buildings, artefacts of different nature, origins and ages, beautiful or ugly and awful, conserved or damaged and decayed). The physical and material sphere, whether it be made by God or by men, always surrounds and affects us, even if when we do not notice it or take care of it. Times and their products, whether by nature (God) or by men, are in any case the inevitable unique settings of our everyday experiences.

This is not only true *a propos* of the triadic nature of ‘time, space and matter’ referred to above. It also involves what is not comprehended within its perhaps too narrow and ancient boundaries. We cannot forget what we (or indeed UNESCO, after Nara Declaration<sup>3</sup>), call or identify as the ‘immaterial or intangible (untouchable)’. Memories, tales, nostalgia, moral elevation, spiritual life, religious intentions, pietas, sins, graces, forgiveness are all emotions, needs, expressions of the immaterial and intangible nature of any human being, of communities and societies, whether consciously or unintentionally lived and experienced. No doubt can therefore exist that at the end of any journey and pilgrimage – especially our main and unique one in this world, that is our life – what really counts is the immaterial, intangible, untouchable part of our being. This is true whether we believe or not in a particular divinity, according to a specific religious faith or simply in a superior and immaterial dimension of life on the planet and under the sky. What is immaterial nevertheless often expresses itself throughout our material existence for as long as this lasts (a part our untouchable legacies).

Again a question arises: can we really conserve what by its own nature is ‘untouchable’ and in some way ephemeral and destined to change from person to person, from generation to generation, time to time, place to place? Moreover, how could we ensure its permanence as a necessary, shared (not imposed or invented), true inheritance of humankind?

## Need for a synthesis

Could we thus really discriminate between time, space and matter and separate these from what is defined as ‘immaterial-untouchable’? Of course, we can, for different reasons, motivations and aims. However, is this separation useful in understanding and evaluating the experience of any journey or pilgrimage and its connections with the issues of ‘conservation’? Perhaps it is not. Especially if we think of the conservation issues as being more complex than a simple technical or ideological choice or duty related to a single discipline, or restricted to our simple and primordial wish to make something material survive for the future after our inevitable physical disappearance. We can of course divide and distinguish these aspects among many others in order to understand them

(reductionism), but we should never forget that what we separate is in reality indissolubly joined (holism)<sup>4</sup>. A real understanding and appreciation of any human experience can/must thus take advantage of reductionism 'if and when' it really helps our need to understand and act in the complex reality we are immersed in, but we should never forget its deep, intimate and unavoidable holistic nature.

### **A fundamental question**

The recurrent fundamental question thus arises once again. Can we really divide, distinguish and separate material and immaterial, tangible and intangible, touchable and untouchable as if they were completely independent aspects/spheres of our existence, and do so (or within) any experience, like a journey or a pilgrimage?

Of course, we can and many usually do, for different reasons and with various aims, goals and intentions. Is it nevertheless really necessary, useful and helpful for our needs and intentions, especially for those related to the issues of conservation of our inheritances and legacies? I profoundly doubt that it can be. These artificial and instrumental distinctions oblige us to separate what is deeply linked, in our life and environment, as the result of history, of many generations, individuals and communities, of intentions, needs, wishes, desires, skills, competences and abilities of thinking, imagining and doing. Can any positive result derive from the separation/distinction of what history left us as the residue of the continuous and long process of past life and of the transformation of the world we are now living in? I seriously doubt it. Time, space, matter and the 'immaterial' are profoundly intertwined, even if in almost unknown ways that humankind has always tried to investigate and understand – unfortunately suffering a never-ending difficulty in realising this dream. It is perhaps because of the mystery of life that we cannot hope to solve or discover in this moment. Perhaps we have to accept that as a substantial part of our life and experience, and equally of the experience of the Camino of Santiago or of other routes of different nature around the world.

### **Actors/protagonists**

Among the protagonists of this immaterial inheritance are the local people and communities encountered by pilgrims/voyagers as they make their journeys. How do we see them: as inhabitants of the 'places' crossed by the voyagers – or simply as spectators of our living spectacle and enterprise? Are they interpretable as beneficiaries of what happens along the Camino? Or are they, in some way, slaves of those same dynamics we have created? What is the right time and the real space they are living in? Are they still owners of their own existences and living places and spaces? Perhaps, since the phenomenon covers such widely spread spaces, the answer is not unique and can be very different depending on the various segments of the trespassed territories (Fig. 8). Nevertheless, any discourse about the nature of Camino, the related experiences and of the many issues of conservation/consumption highlighted, should take into consideration this unavoidable differentiation. For a complex problem, there is never a simple answer or a codified solution.

Here, as elsewhere (along the via Francigena, within the Sacri Monti in Piedmont and Lombardia in Italy, or in the Holy Land), local pilgrimage paths as well as modern and

FIG. 8. A traditional house on sale.

FIG. 9. A conserved traditional house.

Next page:

FIG. 10. A still used ancient Chapel.



secular 'journeys' (linked, for example to ethno-gastronomic tourism, or to nature or history trails), ultimately can also mean a widening of the individual and collective freedom of travelling and learning. They can (not must) be related to ideas of democracy, against dictatorship or 'big-brother's ideology' and globalised society, individuals versus simple consumers of a liquid present.

### **The context: space(s) and matter(s), time(s)**

Speaking about the 'spaces' or 'places', lived, experimented, used or abused and consumed along the path, we must also recognise that again they are not unique, homogeneous or equal among themselves. Along hundreds of kilometers, one can see/experience/live-in/perceive/consume beautiful countryside and amazing panoramas but also ugly and awful industrial districts and ruined or abandoned compounds. Both are part of the 'reality' of the various territories crossed by the Camino, and we cannot ignore this fact, or expunge what is bad in our own opinion/sensitivity, in order to privilege/select only what we consider beautiful, noble, authentic... and so on. Also in this sense, space (never to be separated from time and meaning) cannot be ignored as a fundamental dimension to any reflection on the topics proposed by the workshop.

### **Aims, issues and contradictions**

Conservation, restoration have always and inevitably to do with time, matter, space in their material and immaterial determinations. The terms and concepts we use in our discussions about these topics, such as unique, irreplaceable, non-replicable, true, authentic, serial, typological, reproduced, reconstructed should be always confronted with the many possible contradictions highlighted. Terms such as original or authen-



tic versus rebuilt, reconstructed, similar, fake, cloned, remade, folkloristic replica, vernacular, picturesque and so on, must be constantly rethought and not simply used in our rhetoric argumentations as if they were universally assessed and accepted.

This is necessary for many and different reasons. We know well, for example, that sometimes matter can remain but its 'original' or former meanings and values are lost forever. At other times, matter changes but meanings and values somehow survive. Let us reflect on what happened to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem throughout its many and radical reconstructions over the centuries. We are not even sure if the rock emerging in the crypt, covered by a marble slate, recently inspected and scientifically analysed, can be the real place where Jesus' body was set after the deposition. We know that after Elena, Constantin's mother,

'discovered' it, the place and the church experienced several radical transformations. The built matter thus belongs to several ages, some even recent, but this consciousness does not diminish the 'immaterial legacy' or spiritual meaning of the place.

In contrast, the Pantheon in Rome was built for the pagan divinities but survived (in part due to the incredible resilience of its built matter) to the fall of the Roman western Empire, because, in the 7th century, the Pope obtained by the Emperor of the still surviving eastern empire of Constantinople, the permit to adapt the temple to the Catholic cult. It is perhaps the most 'complete' Roman architecture surviving to our present times. Its matter has changed to some extent, but its meanings and values are now completely different from the original ones. It has maintained its sacred purpose, even if linked to a different faith and despite the fact that, in reality, the millions of people that visit it from all over the world seem to be totally and painfully unaware of it. We could also recall the intention to recover, through a material reconstruction of what has been lost for different reasons in the recent past, some obliterated and denied memories, as in the case of the bridge at Mostar or the Schloss in Berlin. There may be thousands of examples of these kinds but it is not the intention to recall them here in analytical ways. The volumes of the past workshops of the EAAE thematic Network on Conservation, as the present one, offer a wide and critical panorama of such problematic examples.

On the other hand, the issue is not a total novelty. We always manage a 'problem' (if not a discipline or an academic subject/matter) that is inevitably and deeply linked and intertwined with the fundamental topic of the relationship between memory and oblivion<sup>5</sup> and thus also among past, present and future.

Along the Camino, several rural houses, traditional barns and little chapels have survived, maintained or conserved until now, more or less, as they have been before our present age, with minor repairs and substantial respect (Figs. 9-10). Explanations are





FIG. 11. A traditional barn.



FIG. 12. Contemporary reinterpretation of a traditional barn.

many, among which are perhaps the lack of resources or of interest, but include also a true respect for consistency and meanings. It is perhaps not so important to decide which explanations are the crucial ones. It is important to acknowledge that it has happened and we now have to decide how to treat those traces of the past for the present and the future. Other features have on the contrary been re-produced and reinterpreted in modern terms and with contemporary technological solutions, trying to prolong the traditions of the places. We now have to decide if more or less accurate clones and replicas of ancient buildings and artefacts are so useful and helpful for the future of the Camino (as in other places) (Figs. 11-12).

Of this impressive built historical heritage, we visited also the Santiago Basilica and had the chance to see at close quite extensive and important restoration interventions: rich with substitutions of decayed elements and replacement of missing ones, remaking and sometimes reinventing single elements, looking apparently for perfection and duration! All that we saw has been decided, designed and realised in order to ‘conserve’ the perfect ‘image’ of the architectural complex of the Basilica. However, we cannot ignore or forget at this regards what befalls the “waves of history that touched them during the past centuries” (J. Ruskin) and that conferred them the only possible and true ‘authenticity’. Important economic resources have been allocated to these interventions (with all the related possible academic, scientific and cultural arguments) on this ‘attraction’, a true landmark, the focus and final point of the Camino. This is very positive, especially if also the rest of the Camino will benefit from a similar attention in the future.

### Consume/consumption

Consume/consumption (use, abuse, merchandising, branding, selling, communication, advertising, promotion, valorisation, enhancement,...) seems to be one of the main-streaming phenomena of our present times and to be faced. Perhaps it suggests the need for change in attitude and demands new arguments for conservation. In some way to consume – and even the word ‘consumption’ – is in some way inextricably and naturally linked to life itself. Human beings inevitably use and thus consume until they are exhausted food, clothes, buildings, bridges, walls, paving, furniture and tools of different nature, in order to survive and to continue living.



What limit could we impose to this attitude and need? We cannot imagine that something created at a time in the past should survive intact and unchanged forever, independently from its utility and the meanings it has acquired during the different phases of its/our history. For at least two or three centuries, certainly in the western and European world, we recognise (think) that something deriving from the ages of our ancestors has to survive as a legacy of humankind, not only for us but mainly for the benefit of our descendants.

Where can the limits of this thought be put today, in a world everyday changing with incredible speed and, sometimes, unforeseeable consequences? This is the true challenge we are facing nowadays, especially when we do not deal correctly with a single monument (traditionally intended as such), asset or place, or with a particular fragment of the immaterial heritage that sometimes is linked with (or embedded in) them. We have to take care of a wider and more complex system of artefacts, places and immaterial traditions that are spread off in the many cultural landscapes of our present world.

### **Not to conclude**

So, to try to close, in a provisional way, the never-ending and open circle between time, space, matter and the 'immaterial' with which we began, we can now say something more in perspective.

We can be free to think, feel and say what we want about the experience of the Camino and of any other journey as irreplaceable experiments of living the world. However, in order to reach this ultimate goal it is necessary to conserve (repair, consolidate, clean, integrate and even enhance...) the (material) assets, goods and spaces-places that can allow everybody to decide if and how to experience these kinds of journeys (whatever their initial impetus or final goals). If we irremediably and irreversibly change the (material) context within which each independent or shared journey can take place, we risk denying forever (time) this (immaterial) freedom for everyone that will come after us. If we modify or waste the material stage of any journey and even pilgrimage, we will further diminish also the (immaterial) chances for a continuous and living interpretation of the impressive inheritance or legacy (material and even immaterial). We are only provisional beneficiaries of it in the face of the future generations that should have the same rights as we now have in relation to it (time, again).

Time, at the end, also means – or implies – the possibility that history will hopefully continue, despite any contrary prophecy<sup>6</sup>, thanks to (and throughout) our own lives and actions, thus giving life to new memories, traces, knowledge and emotions for all who will come after us. They will freely decide what to do with this legacy and with their own future (in front of which we will only be part of the past!).

## Notes and references

<sup>1</sup> For the complex argument of journeys in the contemporary world and in general, see: Augé, M., 2003. *Le temps en ruine*. Paris (It. transl. by Serafini, A., 2004. *Rovine e macerie. Il senso del tempo*. Torino; especially from p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> See, in this regard: Augé, M., 1992. *Non-Lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*. Paris (It. transl. by Rolland, D., 1996. *Nonluoghi. Introduzione a una antropologia della surmodernità*. Milano); Augé, M., 1997. *L'impossible voyage: le tourisme et ses images*. Paris (It. transl. by Salsano, A., 1999. *Disneyland e altri nonluoghi*. Torino); Augé, M., 2008. *Où est passé l'avenir?*. Paris (It. transl. by Lagomarsino, G., 2009. *Che fine ha fatto il futuro? dai nonluoghi al nontempo*. Milano).

<sup>3</sup> See: ICOMOS, 1994. *The Nara Document On Authenticity*. [online] Nara: Icomos. Available at <<https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>> [Accessed 23 April 2019].

<sup>4</sup> The bibliographic and literary references for these crucial terms and concepts are very wide and rich. It is thus better to refer to some Dictionaries' definitions: 1) Oxford Dictionary on-line (<<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>> accessed 23 April 2019) – Holism: "The theory that parts of a whole are in intimate interconnection, such that they cannot exist independently of the whole, or cannot be

understood without reference to the whole, which is thus regarded as greater than the sum of its parts. Holism is often applied to mental states, language, and ecology". Reductionism: "The practice of analysing and describing a complex phenomenon in terms of its simple or fundamental constituents, especially when this is said to provide a sufficient explanation". 2) Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus (<<https://dictionary.cambridge.org>> accessed 23 April 2019) – Holism: "The belief that each thing is a whole that is more important than the parts that make it up". Reductionism: "The practice of considering or presenting something complicated in a simple way, especially a way that is too simple".

<sup>5</sup> See: Ricoeur, P., 2000. *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*. Paris (It. transl. by Iannotta, D., 2003. *La memoria, la storia, l'oblio*. Milano); Ricoeur, P., 1998. *Das Rätsel der Vergangenheit. Erinnern – Vergessen – Verzeihen*. Göttingen (It. transl. by Salomon, N., 2004. *Ricordare, dimenticare, perdonare*. Bologna); Augé, M., 1998. *Les formes de l'oubli*. Paris (It. transl. by Salvadori, R., 2000. *Le forme dell'oblio*. Milano).

<sup>6</sup> See: Augé, M., 2003. *Le temps en ruines*. Paris (It. transl. by Serafini, A., 2004. *Rovine e macerie. Il senso del tempo*. Torino). From the back cover of the Italian edition: "History in the future will not create anymore ruins but only rubbish. It will not have the time" (translation by the author).

## Annexe



### THEME 1. CONSUMPTION OF HERITAGE

Given that cultural heritage is the property of all humanity is there any reason to distinguish between cultural tourism and interesting day trips from the perspective of impact on sites and monuments?

#### Group 1a

##### *General issues*

Francesca Albani, Carla Bartolomucci, Giuliana Cardani, Simonetta Ciranna, Paola Condoleo, Giovanna Franco, Mariacristina Giambruno, Marion Harney (Rapporteur), Renata Picone, Nino Sulfaro (Animateur), Tomas Valente Lloves.

Tourism is a mass phenomenon: the difference between the cultural tourism and day trips is related to scale and numbers. Mass tourism has a significant impact on the cultural site because of the infrastructures required to service people's needs.

At the same time, ethical pilgrimage can contribute to sustainable tourism.

Recalling Marshall McLuhan: anyone who distinguishes between education and entertainment knows nothing about either – can we apply this aphorism to cultural heritage?

Education Vs Entertainment. Edutainment: used as a tool/medium to access and communicate knowledge – creating a narrative helps to understand meaning, inspire curiosity. There is a negative aspect of entertainment – banalisation of heritage. How is the tension between celebrating and preserving the authentic and the demands of branding to be resolved: branding Vs authenticity?

Branding. Reinforcing the identity of a place: one can extreme negative effects of branding at some UNESCO sites.

The question: how can architectural conservation contribute to the future of historic pilgrimage sites?

1. develop the capacity to identify value;
2. develop strategies to mitigate the impact of tourism;
3. identify risks and opportunities;
4. education/influence: in protection; through design strategies; contribution to guidance; recommendations; master planning; policy; participative process.

Architectural conservation can: increase awareness of the value of architectural heritage in local communities; manage the balance between the natural and built environment; improve the quality of interventions; aid the local communities to maintain traditional rural activities; educate to improve the quality of alterations.



Architects should: improve multidisciplinary approaches (accessibility, accommodation, transport, etc); recognise and respect the values of traditional built heritage; interpret the landscape; avoid authorial signs on the landscape.

## **Group 1b**

### *Comparative case studies*

Gonzalo Alonzo Nuñez, Gianluigi de Martino, Sara di Resta, Teresa Ferreira (Rapporteur), Luca Giorgi, Giulio Mirabella Roberti, Andrea Pane (Animateur), Antonio Pernas Varela, Giuseppina Pugliano, Barbara Scala, Nisa Semiz, Antonella Versaci.

Relating to the case of the Camino de Santiago the group pointed to 3 categories of comparative case studies:

1. Cities, historic centres, world heritage, etc; Santiago de Compostela, Paris (Marais), Venice (Rialto, Istanbul (Fener-Balat), Naples...;
2. Routes. Camino de Santiago, Via Francigena, Rota do Romanico;
3. Connections and interactions between different kinds of heritage (archaeological, industrial, territorial, military, cultural landscapes). Torre de Hercules, Sirmione, Lugo, Vesuvian area, Paestum/Solerno.

Cities. Santiago de Compostela: slow architecture/redevelopment of San Clemente Square to favour time consumption in Compostela. The Paris district of Marais demonstrated consumption – commercial gentrification/transformation of traditional commerce and reduction in residential function; problems of over-frequented/banalisation of peculiar characteristics and loss of identity and authenticity. In Venice: conflict for preservation in the era of tourist pressure; concentration of tourists in a few areas; conservation intentions and their associated costs are aimed at the effects of the tourist pressure phenomenon. Istanbul (Fener-Balat) highlighted the issues of preservation/consumption in historic quarters; raises the question – is it possible to preserve/conservate the urban heritage despite the metropolitan change; is it possible to protect/rehabilitate physical and social traits together?

Routes. Via Francigena: the recovery of an ancient pilgrimage way; the via Francigena from Sigerico to modern times – changes in pilgrimage motivations and transformations in architectural heritage. Rota do Romanico: touristic itinerary/accessibility for all/participation and empowerment of local communities/material and immaterial.

Connections and interactions. The case of Paestum: overlapping of different layers of heritage (archaeological, literary, cultural landscape, industrial ...) requires enhanced interpretation but allows different perspectives. The Lugo wall: the project of the elevator for the Roman walls allows the universal use of the monument; with the Vesuvian area of Southern Italy, problems arise from the high density of inhabitants; touristic pressure above all in WHS; natural risks (volcanic, hydrogeological, seismic...) these factors show the need for strategies for managing the risks of heritage/landscape consumption; adequate tools (such as for WHS Management Plan/buffer zone; strengthening of other archaeological sites besides Pompeii); integration between preservation and territorial plan.

Lessons. Even day trips can be cultural experiences; day trips should not be concentrated on single spots (ie. Rialto/Venice, David/Florence, Forum/Pompeii); the need to mitigate the negative impacts of mass tourism; preparation and awareness can distinguish

different kinds of tourists. The question of how the tension between celebrating and preserving the authentic and the demands of branding is to be resolved: branding (virtual) is the opposite of authenticity (real); branding turns citizens into consumers; defending authenticity and local resistance; importance of engaging local communities and protecting their rights (housing, transport, etc Vs hotels, airB&B, tourist buses, etc.); branding must not transform local community areas into 'enclaves' or 'native parks'; the need for bottom up strategies supported by fiscal policies, regional and local legislation/regulation.

Reference was made to Principles 4 and 5 of the International Cultural Tourism Charter. Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999): the need to respect local, host communities and indigenous cultures.

How can architectural conservation contribute to the future of historic pilgrimage sites (*perigrinus* = pilgrim; *per-ager* = through the countryside)? Promoting the preservation of the authentic cultural landscape; proper conservation approaches allow transmission to future generations; preserving the material supports/signs/evidences allows preservation of intangible/religious values; education through good examples/practices; education for authorities, stakeholders inhabitants.

Lessons learned from Camino de Santiago: it can foster slow tourism (to be a pilgrim you have to walk at least 100km or 200km bike); provides authentic individual experience (independent from the motivation), not aggressively branded; not only tourist consumption; attractive to wide range of people and different cultures.

Risks and threats to the Camino de Santiago: concentration of people in certain segments of the path (mostly the final stages); consumption of tangible (pavements for example) and intangible (spiritual significance) characters; degradation and transformation of architectural heritage and landscape; reference made to there being only one direction of movement (formerly two ways).

Measures/solutions to mitigate tourist consumption: avoid concentration on single points; involve and empower local communities; develop policies and incentives for residents, (fiscal, planning, protection of traditional shops, inventories for safeguard, dedicated events, etc.); promote specific and different tourism experiences; promote virtuous chain (reinvest incomes of tourism in preservation/residents).

Controversial issues in the group discussion included: reuse of the buildings (transformation for new uses); overly strict regulations/prohibitions (eg. along the Camino de Santiago) can affect the authenticity of local communities.

## THEME 2. IMMATERIAL HERITAGE AND THE NATURE OF PILGRIMAGE

### Group 2a

#### General Issues

Donatella Fiorani, Donatella Rita Fiorino, Naiara Montero Viar, Lucina Napoleone, Annunziata Maria Oteri (Rapporteur), Serena Pesenti, Renata Picone, Yildiz Salman, Zeren Onsel Atala, Emanuela Sorbo, Sally Stone (Animateur), Petr Vorlík.

#### Preamble/Introduction

1. We are architects;
2. Architecture is the material expression of power in which immaterial power can act;

3. Conservation is a material act. However: to occupy or use a place is an immaterial act Tangible/Intangible;
4. The conservation of the material heritage needs to be balanced with the cultural identity of the immaterial heritage;
5. There is (or should be) a difference between an area of cultural heritage and a tourist attraction. Pilgrimage route;
6. The pilgrim site is a linked system that moves and connects people: the visitors should be able to find their own experiences within the route;
7. The basis of the pilgrimage route is the continuity of the landscape/environment and the dynamic experience of the succession of tangible elements;
8. The popularity of any route is a direct threat to the condition of the material and immaterial heritage, therefore conservation is a definite concern;
9. A pilgrimage route is defined by its granularity: no element is more important than any of the others;
10. The problems connected with the care of pilgrimage sites is a good example of the importance of the definite connection between material and immaterial components of heritage.

#### Conclusions/strategies

1. The strategy for the management of the immaterial aspects will have a direct influence on the material conservation of the site. For example: digital technology can aide organisation and management;
2. Social, cultural and economic aspects can be linked together to create an holistic strategy;
3. It is important to respect the granularity of the route;
4. There are two extremes in terms of accessibility: completely accessible and completely challenging. Strategies can be developed to accommodate both considerations;
5. Through deep study of physical and material aspects of the route combined with a thorough knowledge of the immaterial qualities of the pilgrimage site, an alternative approach can be developed;
6. The study could consider: the nature of the people, visitors, natives, ancestors; the physical qualities: architectural character, geology, flora/fauna, landscape, stratification of the landscape;
7. The alternative approach could include: digital technology, accessible paths, temporary activities, complementary experiences;
8. It is not necessary to solve everything: slow design can encourage careful and sustainable changes.

## Group 2b

### *Pilgrimage sites as a special topic*

Alberto Arenghi, Miguel Angel Calvo-Salve, Maria Teresa Campisi, Ilaria Garofolo, Carolina Di Biase, Fintan Duffy (Animateur), Caterina Giannattasio (Rapporteur), Loughlin Kealy, Pietro Matracchi, Marco Pretelli (Rapporteur), Daniela Pittaluga.

## Questions

1. Do the requirements for universal access bring special relevance to sites related to historic pilgrimage?
2. Does the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism capture the full range of issues to be resolved? What modifications, if any, are required to ensure it continuing relevance?
3. Do the insights of the Nara Document and Nara + 20 have special relevance to sites associated with pilgrimage?
4. How an architectural conservation contribute to the future of historic pilgrimage sites?

Key words: route; journey; communities; stakeholders; site; place; pilgrim; user; consumption.

The material and immaterial aspects of pilgrimage, its tangible and intangible and intangible qualities cannot be separated.

Pilgrimage: the nature of pilgrimage is first and foremost metaphorical, pilgrimage is often seen as an allegory for our human journey through life. The term ‘pilgrim’ is used to describe the ideal user of the route. Pilgrimage is a multi-cultural phenomenon which belongs to no individual culture or place, as well to all cultures and places. The spirit that inspires the pilgrim to leave his or her own place and journey into the unknown is the same spirit that brings people of different cultures and motivations together through the pilgrimage process in an interconnection of people and places. Pilgrimage starts as a personal journey, but is enriched and enabled by the pilgrim’s interactions with others, both fellow-pilgrims and the different communities it sustains. These communities in turn sustain the pilgrimage by providing services and hospitality.

Pilgrimage: the historical and conservation aspects. Pilgrimage is also a contemporary phenomenon since it depends on the interactions of people and place. In this sense, pilgrimage is not amenable to direct historical comparison. The route is being constantly overwritten by new generations of users, which in recent times, are placing new demands on its physical and metaphysical qualities. Our contemporary documentation is part of the overwriting of our time, which is also an essential tool for its conservation. Pilgrimage is unlike other conservation situations in that it is based on dynamic and transient encounters with places and cultures.

Pilgrimage/route/journey. The culture of pilgrimage consists of the addition of the individual experiences of all the pilgrims who ever walked the Route to the historical and contemporary lives of the communities who inhabit it. This relationship is a fundamental quality of pilgrimage. The Journey is the pilgrim’s experience of the Route. The pilgrimage Route consists of people, places and experiences. The pilgrim is subject to environmental factors as well as cultural encounters. The route should be accessible to all to the best of their abilities. Sometimes a handicap may prevent someone from full participation in the pilgrimage experience. Universal access in this case need not necessarily entail infrastructural additions but instead should rely on provisions for increased solidarity among pilgrims and *hospitaleros*, etc. to assist the person in the spirit of the pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage/consumption. Pilgrimage is not a tourism ‘product’ in the general sense: the pilgrim must make a personal commitment to completing the journey come what may, and despite the difficulties of the Way, such as sore feet, inclement weather and internal doubts. Those who sustain the pilgrim’s progress are not ‘service providers’ in the

general sense: their role is to assist the pilgrim in this personal goal, on the basis of a transient need. Indeed, much of this assistance cannot be quantified in monetary terms and is generally provided with goodwill and at low cost. For these reasons, local communities should be encouraged to retain ownership of the route(s) crossing their territories, while having access to expert support and financing if required.



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