

Walking towards oneself: Authentification of place and Self

by Jesper Østergaard & Dorthe Refslund Christensen

3rd draft (per 25 maj)

Most anthropological studies of pilgrimage give priority to place over individuals in terms of analyzing a place claimed to possess certain sacred or just special qualities that motivates individuals to engage in pilgrimage to that place. We take a different departure point. In this article we argue theoretically that postmodern pilgrimage, that is pilgrimage performed outside the interpretation of traditional religion, is about individuals engaging themselves in the qualifications and authentification of a certain place by engaging in mythologization, physical enrolment and personal investment in that place. They do so in order to meet the intentions framed by themselves as the rotation point of the journey before the journey started by mythologizing and ritualizing certain aspects of their lives and existences and reflect upon such matters while interacting with a physical landscape in which they walk.

As such pilgrimage is an illustrative example of emotional geography.

We will argue that postmodern pilgrimage in terms of authenticity transcends any sharp distinction of different conceptualizations of authenticity (cf Wang's three categories, see below), since it has elements from all categories, and we further argue in favour of a fourth category, "ritual authenticity", that is, an authenticity merging the claimed authenticity of the place and existential authenticity.

Pilgrimage to Santiago: *classic and postmodern*

Every year thousands of pilgrims walk one of the many pilgrim routes to Santiago de Compostela in far Northwestern Spain¹. The pilgrimage tradition of Santiago has its mythological roots in the narratives of the apostle James, his martyrdom and miraculous work and his tomb contained in the cathedral of Santiago and placed this as the third most important pilgrimage site in medieval time, the two others being Jerusalem and Rome.

The pilgrim journeys to Santiago have, obviously, undergone development since the first pilgrims visited James' tomb around 850 both in regard to motivations and religious contents of the pilgrimage. Without going into any details it might be clarifying with a few remarks. The pilgrim routes to Santiago are, traditionally, part of the Christian history of religion. According to sociologists Shilling and Mellor Christianity of the Middle Ages were, among other things, dominated by bodily encounters with the sacred. After the rise of Protestantism in 1500s perceptions of the body as an agent for religious realisation was given up in favour of realisations based on the awareness of and faith in the Word of the holy scripture and the dichotomy between mind and body, sense and sensibility became dominant (Shilling & Mellor 1997). In this light, as Kraft & Gilhus point to, it makes no sense to travel to meet God since he is much easier found staying at home studying the Bible (Kraft & Gilhus 2007: 16). The interesting thing, then, is that the body and sensory perceptions are revitalized in postmodernity which has also become the age of revitalizations of pilgrimage.

¹ In 1989 a little less than 6000 pilgrims made the route while in 2006 the number had increased to more than a 100.000. Source:

<http://www.csj.org.uk/present.htm#Some%20statistics>

Contemporary pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela are drawn from many different European countries, protestant as well as catholic. To most pilgrims religious confessions play a minor role, since the religious significance of the pilgrimage is considered to be a question of the transformative potentials of the route more than a specific cosmological content. In other words, it takes physical investment. Routes taken varies, but the most popular being “the French way” from Saint Jean Pied de Port in France, through the provinces of Navarre, La Rioja, Burgos, Palencia, Leon, Lugo and A Coruña to Santiago, all together 774 kilometres
(<http://santiagoturismo.com/Camino/Caminos/index.asp?pagina=frances>)

The route itself is marked by signs of scallop shells, being the traditional emblem referring to Saint James and goes through varied landscapes and through areas with diverse historical and cultural history. Most postmodern pilgrims give the opportunity for time and space for reflections and the need for a (marking of) change in life as the reason for undertaking the pilgrimage. On the journey, the pilgrim may take part in local religious ceremonies in one of the many small churches but individual rituals of contemplation are also widespread. Along the route small groups of pilgrims may emerge according to the walking speed, but otherwise the social aspects of the pilgrimage takes place at the pilgrims’ hostels, refugios, where food and lodgings, and a space for discussing the significance of the pilgrimage, are provided. The cathedral in Santiago de Compostela, the burial place of Saint James is the goal of the pilgrimage but also marks the physical endpoint of the pilgrimage.

How does postmodern pilgrimage differ from *pilgrimage classic*? On several points, it seems. Firstly, pilgrimage classic – not only to Santiago but to various pilgrimage sites around Europe – was basically about going to a specific site where, according to various mythologies, certain events had taken place within the Christian tradition, for instance, where holy men and women had experienced enlightenment, miraculous recoveries or the like or where holy people were buried. Often tradition had it that certain things like miraculous healings etc could occur at these sites. Basically, people walked to meet God or what was thought to be manifestations of his power. Against this, postmodern pilgrims use an existing religious site, the routes to that site and the practices (walking) but the substance of the journey differ from one pilgrim to another. If one examines some of today’s typical pilgrim accounts pilgrimage is about seeking for aspects of your self and your own life thereby enrolling pilgrimage in the postmodern self religion (Heelas 1996), the subjective turn (Heelas et al, 2005) and shrinking transcendence of postmodern spirituality (Luckmann 1990). One might argue that pilgrimage today is an outstanding example of how contemporary culture is an event culture (Lash & Lury 2007) where self development is performed as a rite of passage with very clear cut boundaries to *before* and *after*. Each specific pilgrimage is an individual performance of a particular set of *befores* and *afters*.

Secondly, where pilgrimage of the Middle Ages were also about Christian rearmament against the invasive Muslim Moors postmodern pilgrimage might very well be considered a counter culture to the shallowness of late capitalist consumerism and is part of the individual strategies promoting intensity, authenticity, intimacy, relationality and

spirituality – all part of cultural practices such as performances of the Self and other cultural strategies of experience economy².

Thirdly, focussing specifically on pilgrimage to Santiago, it is worth noting that in the classical edition the landscape, the localities, the physical environment all in all were connected to the meaning and the content of the journey *per se*. The landscape was seen as a scene of mythological events and the churches and chapels along the route was a constant reminder of that connection. Against this the interrelations between place and content seems more profound or structural in postmodern pilgrimage. It is individually negotiated between each pilgrim and the place and part of the pilgrim's *framing* of the journey. Pilgrims today uses a landscape and its traditional use as a pilgrim route but without obligation to certain contents. Or the pilgrim simply suspends his or her disbelief in order to be able to use a medieval practice³: What connects the medieval and the postmodern pilgrim is the practice: walking to gain some kind of new knowledge. But where the medieval pilgrim walked towards god the postmodern pilgrim walks towards him or herself.

During the last decade a great amount of literature - from self-biographic books to articles on web pages - on pilgrimage especially to Santiago de Compostela has emerged. This literature is often personal testimonies from pilgrims describing the changing impact the pilgrimage as an old spiritual practise had on their personal life, but without taking the classical pilgrimage's religious substance into greater consideration.

Some pilgrims organize themselves in loosely organized groups, called confraternities, often centred around a web page. One of these is Confraternity of Saint James (www.csj.org.uk). On this web page pilgrims will write articles in which they describe different aspects of their pilgrimage. We have quoted this webpage on several occasions in this article.

Authenticity

Postmodern pilgrimage, then, is very much about the production and authentication of spaces – at least this is our basic argument: We want to qualify theoretically the idea that postmodern pilgrimage is about individuals engaging themselves in mythologizing and ritualizing practices of a liminal nature in order to re-conceptualize themselves and their lives.

We use the term *mythologization* according to Russell T. McCutcheon's theory of mythologization (McCutcheon 2000). He suggests that mythologization is a uniquely legitimating way of telling about something, and thereby providing it with authority in a way that we have said whatever there is to be said about a given issue. His intentions are, partly to remove questions of particular pieces of content to the concept of myth and, when it comes to terminology, mythologization stresses the processual character (McCutcheon 2000)

The term ritualization covers the intentional actions where the ordinary intentions are displaced in favour of intentions that give special privilege to the action in

² Although it is important to stress that pilgrimage like any other experientially oriented, cultural activity *is* indeed itself a part of consumption.

³ *Suspension of disbelief*, concepts used by Dayan & Katz to account for the fact that people can engage themselves in (media-) events that they do not necessarily believe in but nevertheless want to be a part of (Dayan & Katz 1992).

some way or another (Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994). This implies that the same action can have varying meaning and interpretation and intentionality, according to the framing projected to it.

The basic practice, physical enrolling yourself in the physical landscape: investing your body and thereby gaining new knowledge is tightly connected to question of authenticity: Being on the walk has two very important aspects: The pilgrim invest him- or herself physically by walking the route and thereby projects his or her framed intentions and expectations into the physical environment. At the same time the aura and tradition thought to be reflected in the physical environment are internalized by each pilgrim. On the journey the pilgrim engage in all kinds of existential reflections within the problem areas defined by the pilgrim to begin with, mythologizations and ritualizations are done along the way. At the end the ritual outcome of the journey, of course, reflects the basic framings (see figure 1).

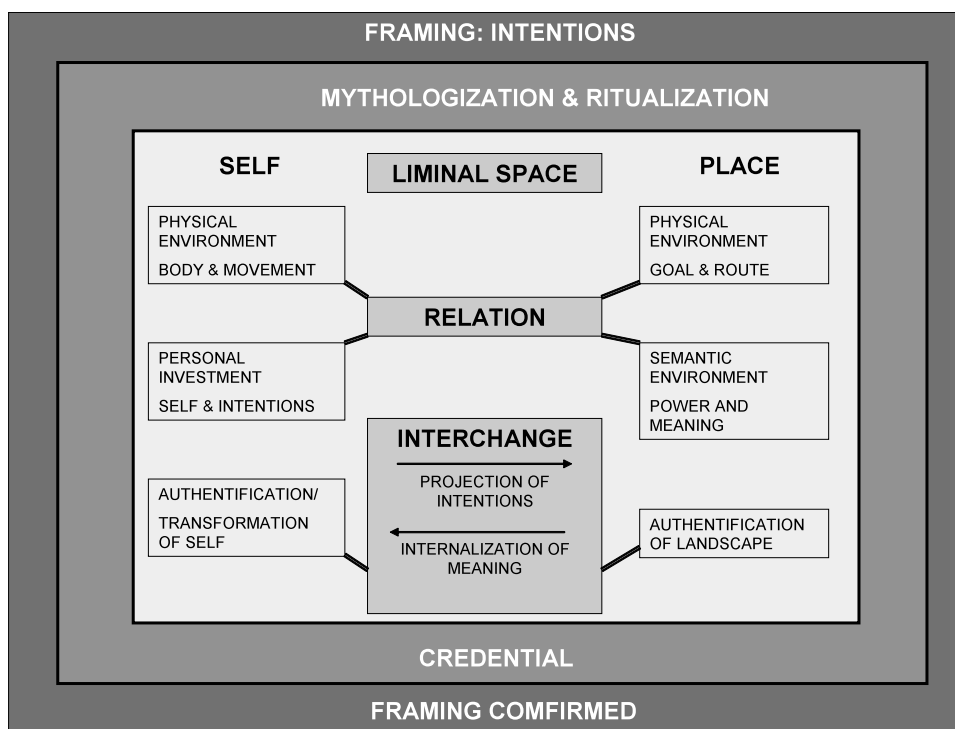


Fig. 1

Ning Wang (1999) aiming at producing some clarifications of the meaning of authenticity in tourism experiences, has argued in favour of three different conceptualizations of authenticity, *objective* authenticity, *constructive* authenticity and *existential* authenticity. In Wang's understanding the two former are object-related while the third is interrelational or based on the experience of the traveller (in Wang's terms, activity-related). Wang understands all tourism experience to represent existential authenticity and, furthermore, he argues, that this "special state of Being in which one is true to oneself, and acts as a counterdose to the loss of "true self" in public roles and public spheres in Modern Western society (Wang 1999: 358) is a *liminal* state.

We agree that postmodern tourists are seeking for their own *backstage* to speak in Goffmanian terms but moreover the pilgrim seeks existential turning points, new beginnings in life, closures by creating a ritualized crossroad, a point of no return. In other words, we would like to add some refinements or further distinctions to those of Wang. It might be fruitful to introduce anthropologist Victor Turner's delicate distinctions here. Turner developed anthropologist Arnold van Gennep's ideas on *rites of passage* in regard to the ritual's most crucial category, *the liminal phase*, re-termed by Turner as *the liminal*. After many years of field work among the Ndembu in Africa, he returned to Europe and got engaged in studies in modern Western culture, particular pilgrimage and theatrical performances. Influenced by this new empirical field he refined his theoretical ideas on the liminal, that is, the core of the ritual where the ritual change can take or *do* take place, by introducing the term *liminoid*, that which resembles the liminal without having the same transformative powers. Following this distinction implicates that tourism is a *liminoid everyday life ritualization* where breathing spaces, refuges are staged and performed and after the holiday life goes on as it always did. Against this, pilgrimage is a *liminalising rite of passage*, a journey taken, a mythologization produced in order to move life forward, to create a space for new realisation, and in this process, the physical goal (Santiago) and the route taken are important agents and part of the mythologizations and ritualizations produced by each pilgrim along the way. Where the holiday is a break, the pilgrim's life is changed forever, that is, he or she was not only having "an authentically good time" (Brown quoted in Wang 1999: 352).

The pilgrimage goal as objective authenticity

Most anthropological work on pilgrimage focus on pilgrimage as a journey directed toward a certain place (Turner 1974a, 1974b 1974c; Turner & Turner 1978; Morinis 1992; Coleman & Eade 2004). One of the themes in these studies of pilgrimage has been the "spiritual magnetism of the pilgrimage site" (Preston 1992). In this line of work, only the goal (e.g. a tomb, cathedral or the like) matters and the route leading there adds to the magnetism of the place only in terms of how many people from how large an area a place are attracted to move towards the goal. We suggest on the other hand that goal and route are two rather distinct elements of pilgrimage. The goal is important for the pilgrim, secular or religious, since it is situated within a tradition believed to have authentic power. At the pilgrimage in northern Spain, Santiago de Compostela serves as the direction of the walk. The pilgrimage is one-directional, and a walk in the other direction is not considered to be a pilgrimage (<http://www.csj.org.uk/i-faqs.htm#backwards>) As such the goal has power of legitimation; it is a unique goal since it is a manifestation of tradition and even though you do not believe in it or share the religious connotations of its tradition you are more than willing to suspend your disbelief in order to be able to share the practices. That means that even though you do not *decode* the goal of the pilgrimage according to the classical Christian *encodings* the fact that someone before you *has* in fact encoded it for pilgrimaging purposes are of fundamental value.

The goal has objective authenticity as it is claimed by the pilgrims to be the right location to go to. Here we do, implicitly, argue against Wang's category of objective authenticity as being limited to the object. We argue that all authenticity are authenticity for someone and therefore always relational.

The pilgrimage route as constructive authenticity

We would argue, however, that “the place” of the pilgrimage to Santiago is not as much the goal, Santiago itself, as the route, the Camino. It is on the route, space is made place, it is on the route authenticity is created and it is on the route self is transformed. In talking about “space” and “place”, we need to take “route” into account as well, since it is on the route the activity happens. It is on the route the pilgrim produces the mythologizations and gains the *knowledge* about him- or herself in order to obtain the acquired transformation.

What we argue is that whereas the goal of pilgrimage is one place and considered by pilgrims to encompass objective authenticity it is on the various pilgrimage routes to the one goal constructive authenticity is created. Certain well trodden routes have a reputation for being well suited for certain changes. But even though the authenticity is connected to route, and therefore “object-related”, the authenticity is constructed because of the diversity and changeability of routes – routes come and go, and they change course over time. Using these routes the pilgrims get something for free; the certainty of a well tried authentic place and route. But it is an authenticity projected onto the routes, and in this sense pilgrimage also resembles some of Wang’s concept of “constructive authenticity”.

The route needs certain features to be a usable route for the pilgrims. First of all it needs to lead to the goal and other pilgrims need to have walked the route before you. Then it also needs to be suited for a certain kind of walking. The anthropologist Tim Ingold describes how walking is not just a movement *on the ground*, but very much a movement *in the environment* (Ingold 2000; 2003). It may therefore be difficult if not impossible to distinguish between body and route in walking. A tree branch might prove good as a handle when climbing and thereby limit the load on your muscles or a stone might work as an extension of your legs. Therefore, the better route is the one you can, physically, mentally and performatively connect to and interact with. Such a route is not plastered with flat asphalt, since such a road is built to provide “interaction-less” travelling. At the Camino, where the personal investment of self and intentions are important, the route needs to pay answer to these concerns. The self is played out in the bodily investment of the long and strenuous walk, whereas the intentions being framed by the meaningful movements on the Camino.

Furthermore many routes are marked with signs and along the route there are hostels – like the Camino’s scallop shells and refugios accordingly. Pilgrimage is not a practice of finding-your-way, but of *finding-your-Self*. Therefore, for the route of the Camino to be meaningful, it needs a certain amount of difficulty, but of difficulties that provide a base for personal investment not of finding the way.

The route has two different aspects to it. First, the route is a path in the landscape where topographic features are different degree of physical obstacles and tools for the person moving through it. Second, the route is a path of knowledge for the pilgrim. When the walker frames his or her intentions and embodies these in a way of walking, the attention to the route is also changed and the route becomes a path of meaningful signs. The route is then not a series of obstacles, but a series of potential meaningful “moments” for the pilgrim.

Victor W. Turner is close to these points when he defines the function of pilgrimage: “Pilgrimage provides a carefully structured, highly valued route to a liminal world where the ideal is felt to be real, where the tainted social persona may be cleansed and renewed”

(Turner & Turner 1978: 30). Taking the idea of the liminal as an aspect of pilgrimage is a valuable contribution, but liminality is relational: an aspect of the pilgrim's intentional interaction with the physical environment. Only the walkers with the intention of doing the walk with a purpose may achieve that. Intentionality of a person creates a "space of time" (i.e. a framed life situation) that in pilgrimage is transferred to "space of land" (i.e. a framed route), within which changes may take place.

Walking as existential authenticity

A third aspect to pilgrimage beside the goal and the route is the walking itself, a technique borrowed from medieval pilgrimage, but reinterpreted as conveying meaning and itself a source of activity-related authenticity for the pilgrim.

The aim of pilgrimage for the pilgrim is the creation of a space in which changes can be initiated. That space has its beginning and end according to the framing made by the pilgrim. The space created by framing is to be filled out by the pilgrim's body invested in physical activity; therefore, the pilgrim needs to walk, to crawl, to prostrate or in other ways invest health and strength in order to achieve a non-reducible bodily state of certainty (Kraft 2007: 49; referring to Jorun Solheim). In this sense modern pilgrimage reintroduces the body in ritual activity - the self-movement of the body is a movement of the self. On pilgrimage the body and the self of the pilgrim are convergent and the intended improvements and changes for the pilgrim's self are connected to activities of the body: food, sex and general sustenance, accordingly: a healthier life, a new partner or reconfirmation of old relationships, and work-related life. Therefore, the movement to the pilgrimage site is an essential part of pilgrimage and a source of authenticity for the pilgrim. In movements the pilgrim invests his or her own body, since the pilgrim needs to walk or in other ways move oneself:

The 'traditional ways' are those that involve making the journey by one's own motive power, implying an investment of physical effort or sacrifice, an element of physical vulnerability, and a frame of mind that is open to encounter (<http://www.csj.org.uk/spirit.htm>)

Marcel Mauss has in his essay "Technologies of the Body" (Mauss 1935) shown how all kinds of bodily actions are socially learned technologies of the body. By comparing different bodily practices, from swimming to giving birth, he shows how the actions differ in different social settings, and how much emphasis is put on learning children - and adults - the right way to do things (one only needs to compare how the proper way to eat is highly socially and culturally determined to see Mauss' point). Therefore, there is no natural way of walking, and to go on a pilgrimage is a technology to move the body. Not that there is a natural way of doing pilgrimage; but we will argue, that by altering the mode by which one walks, it becomes a technology to move oneself; therefore walking the pilgrimage route becomes a walk towards oneself. The pilgrimage offers different techniques for altering the pilgrims' movement; since, "To be a pilgrim is to pray with your feet" (<http://www.csj.org.uk/bull-arts/h-hilton-art.htm>), one needs to be in as much contact with the ground as possible, and one way to do this is to carry a rucksack, which makes you heavier and thus the feet more connected to the ground and the walk slower. Another way is to use a walking stick. Both these two, although minor alterations, serve to alter walking as

to make it slightly slower, which again allow one to frame the physical demand on movement and use that framing in an internal and emotional fashion; towards one's self.

The altered way of walking is initiated by the intentions of the walker; intention-less walking is plain walking, intentional walking is an altered mode of walking with a more or less specific purpose. In this sense altered mode of walking may be described as embodied intentionality. The embodied intentionality is important since it adds to the construction of space charged with special force, since "mobile performances can help to construct – however temporarily – apparently sacredly charges places" (Coleman & Eade 2004: 3).

Through the movements the pilgrim alters his or her perception of the environment; the environment does not just comprise physical obstacles for physiological movement, the environment becomes an authentic landscape loaded with semantic features. This is what we mean when we speak about the "authentification of landscape", a process by which the liminality of the pilgrimage route is created again and again for each pilgrim walking the route. Therefore the authenticity of pilgrimage is played out in the interaction between a route and place believed to be embedded with some value and transformative powers and the intentionality of the pilgrim to encounter and use that transformative power. By letting the pilgrim's body manifest the intentions and relating the body to the route the liminal space is created. In this liminal space the self and identity of the pilgrim and the mythology and spatiality of the route merges in movements, wherein the changes wished for by the pilgrim gets a manifest form. In this sense the authenticity of pilgrimage is also connected to the activity on pilgrimage, and therefore a category of Wang's concept of "existential authenticity"

The creation of ritualized authenticity

Through the investment of the body, the embodied intentionality and the opening towards semantic dimension of the routes through authentic behaviour a close relationship between person and landscape is created, the main theme for embodied geography.

This interaction is not only physical but through the intention of the pilgrim and through the altered way of walking also an interaction with the mythological background of the pilgrimage route, whereby the claimed legitimacy and authenticity of the route and the active mythologizations and ritualizations produced by the pilgrim merge and create a liminal space within which self improvement can emanate be it religious or secular.

This close interaction between the embodied intentionality of the pilgrim and the mythologized landscape creates the ritualized authenticity in where the self of the pilgrim is transformed and the landscape is made authentic.

Furthermore, the close interaction between body and landscape makes it possible for the pilgrim to exploit the well-tried practices connected to the route. By re-enacting the behaviour of the millions of pilgrims before the strength, power and spiritual of the route is internalised and thereby becomes a pole of symbols, meaning and practices to be taken in, in the pilgrim's effort to re-tell or re-form his or her own life, thereby strengthening the force of pilgrimage's changing potential.⁴

⁴ Anka Ryall has referred to this as *the poetics of repetition* (Ryall 2007, 23-38)

The “meaning” of the pilgrimage is basically provided by the route, but the route is only giving the right frame, namely: “This is a life transforming experience”, but by the intentional, altered walking, the “meaning” is carried with the pilgrim from home, but lived out during the ritual performance. The intentionality from home is being ritualized, and the authentic self can be played out. As long as one has a purpose for walking on the pilgrimage route, one has the right to be there even though all pilgrims may come for their own unique purposes, but without the framed intentions one is judged as a tourist and not welcomed on the pilgrimage route.

As a “proof” for the right intention, the pilgrims receive at the end of the journey a credential, called “Compostela”:

The *credencial*, a distant successor to the safe-conducts issued to medieval pilgrims, is a document printed and issued by the cathedral authorities in Santiago, and made available to *bona fide* pilgrims at points along the route - e.g. at Roncesvalles, and at some churches and *refugios* - and through the Spanish associations. It presupposes that the bearer is making the pilgrimage for spiritual reasons. This does not necessarily mean Roman Catholic and pilgrims will not be asked about their denomination, or even whether they are Christian, although of course historically the pilgrimage itself has meant Christian pilgrimage. Today and in practice, however, the *credencial* covers anyone making the pilgrimage in a frame of mind that is open and searching (<http://www.csj.org.uk/passport.htm>)

To obtain this certificate, pilgrims need to undertake the journey for “religious and spiritual reasons”; the term *spiritual* covering a range of phenomena and, among them, self-improvement. Before the journey starts, the pilgrim gets him- or herself a credential from the local parish or one of the confraternities. This token of the intention to set out on journey with a specific purpose allows the pilgrim to stay in the network of hostels situated along the route. In this way the credentials, are signs of the merging together of intention and route, of Self and Place

The pilgrim’s investment of the body and self in walking the original intentions for going on the pilgrimage are projected onto the route whereby the content and expectations of the pilgrim’s framing and intentions not only sits in the body but also onto the physical landscape as a part of the extended body. The intentions are given space, and to physically walk through that space is to move mentally (or self-reflective) through one’s own life.

Bibliography

Buhl Pedersen, Søren (2005) *Making Space: An Outline of Placebranding*, CBS, ph.d afhandling, *Ph.d. Series 4*.

Coleman, Simon & Eade, John (eds.) (2004) *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*. London and New York: Routledge.

Crang, Mike, Phil Crang og Jon May (1999) *Virtual Geographies. Bodies, Space and Relations*, London og New York: Routledge

Dayan, Daniel & Elihu Katz (1992) *Media Events. The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press

Egeland, Helene & Jenny Johannison (eds.) (2003) *Kultur, Plats, Identitet. Det lokals betydelse i en globaliserad värld*, Sister, Skrifter 9, Riga: Bokförlaget Nya Doxa
Frey, Nancy Louise (1998) *Pilgrim Stories: On an Off the Road to Santiago. Journeys Along an Ancient Way in Modern Spain*. London: University of California Press.

Gilhus, Ingvild Sælid & Siv Ellen Kraft (eds.) (2007) *Religiøse Reiser. Mellom gamle spor og nye mål*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Goffman, Erving (1990/1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Penguin Books

Hall, Stuart XXXX

Heelas, Paul (1996) *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell

Heelas, Paul et al (2005) *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving way to Spirituality*, Blackwell Publishers

Humphrey, Caroline & James Laidlaw (1994) *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual. A Theory of Ritual illustrated by the Jain rite of worship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ingold, Tim (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim (2003) "Three in One: How an Ecological Approach can Obviate the Distinctions between Body, Mind and Culture". In A. Roepstorff, N. Bubandt & K. Kull (eds.) *Imagining Nature: Practices of Cosmology and Identity*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Ingold, Tim (2004) "Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet" In *Journal of Material Culture* 9, 315-340.

Jacobsen, Børge & Rie Pedersen (2005) *På Apostlenes Heste. En pilgrimsvandring fra Djursland til Santiago de Compostela*, København: Books on Demand GmbH.

Kraft, Siv Ellen (2007) "En senmoderne pilegrimsreise: Prinsesse Märtha Louise og Ari Behns *Fra hjerte til hjerte*" in Gilhus, Ingvild Sælid & Siv Ellen Kraft (eds.) *Religiøse Reiser. Mellom gamle spor og nye mål*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

Lash, Scott & Celia Lury (2007) *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*. Polity Press

- Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Luckmann, Thomas (1990) "Shrinking Transcendence, Expanding Religion", in *Sociological Analysis*, 50:2, 127-138.
- Mauss, Marcel (2006) [1935], *Techniques, Technology and Civilization*. New York and Oxford: Durkheim Press Berghahn Books.
- McCutcheon, Russell (2000) "Myth" in Braun & McCutcheon (eds.) *Guide to the Study of Religion*, Cassell, 190-208.
- Mellor, Philip A. & Chris Shilling (1997) *Re-forming the Body. Religion, Community and Modernity*. London: Sage Publications
- Morinis, Alan (1992) "Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage". In: *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*. A. Morinis (red.) Westport Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press.
- Ryall, Anka (2007) "Også Jeg. Gjentakelsens Poetikk i litterære pilegrimsreiser til Santiago de Compostela", 23-38. In Gilhus, Ingvild Sælid & Siv Ellen Kraft (2007) *Religiøse Reiser. Mellom gamle spor og nye mål*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget
- Storey, John (2003) "Popular Culture as the 'Roots' and 'Routes' of Cultural Identities" in *Inventing Popular Culture. From Folklore to Globalization*, Blackwell, 78-91.
- Turner, Victor (1974a) "Social Drama and Ritual Metaphors". In Victor Turner *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Turner, Victor (1974b) "Pilgrimage as Social Processes". In Victor Turner *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Turner, Victor (1974c), "Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbology". In *Rice University Studies* 60, 53-92.
- Turner, Victor (1974d) "Pilgrimage and Communitas". In *Studia Missionalia* 23, 305-327.
- Turner, Victor (1977) "Variations on a Theme of Liminality", in Moore & Meyerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, Van Gorcum, 36-52.
- Turner, Victor & Turner, Edith (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. Columbia University Press: New York
- Wang, Ning (1999) "Rethinking authenticity in Tourism experience", in *Annals of Tourism research*, vol 26, no 2, 349-370, Pergamon

Westwood, Jennifer (2003) *On Pilgrimage. Sacred Journeys around the world*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Hidden Spring

Web pages (all visited 16.01.2008)

<http://www.csj.org.uk/>

<http://www.csj.org.uk/spirit.htm>

<http://www.csj.org.uk/bull-arts/h-hilton-art.htm>

<http://www.csj.org.uk/passport.htm>

<http://www.csj.org.uk/present.htm#Some%20statistics>

<http://www.santiagoturismo.com>