Deputación DA CORUÑA

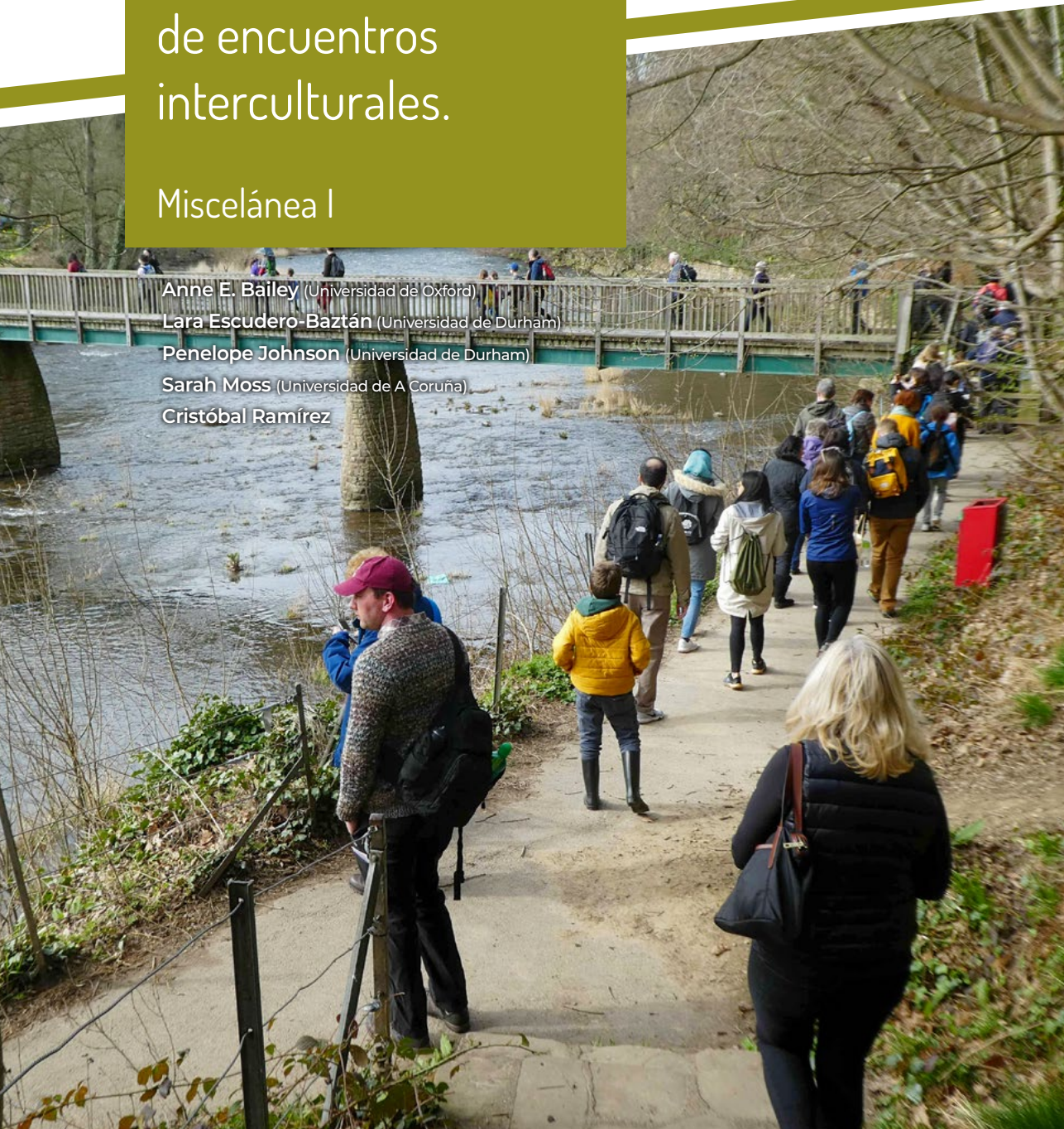
ASOCIACIÓN DE CONCELLOS DO CAMIÑO INGLÉS

El Camino Inglés

Un peregrinaje a través y a lo largo de encuentros interculturales.

Miscelánea I

Anne E. Bailey (Universidad de Oxford)
Lara Escudero-Baztán (Universidad de Durham)
Penelope Johnson (Universidad de Durham)
Sarah Moss (Universidad de A Coruña)
Cristóbal Ramírez



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Asociación Universitaria de Investigación del Camino Inglés

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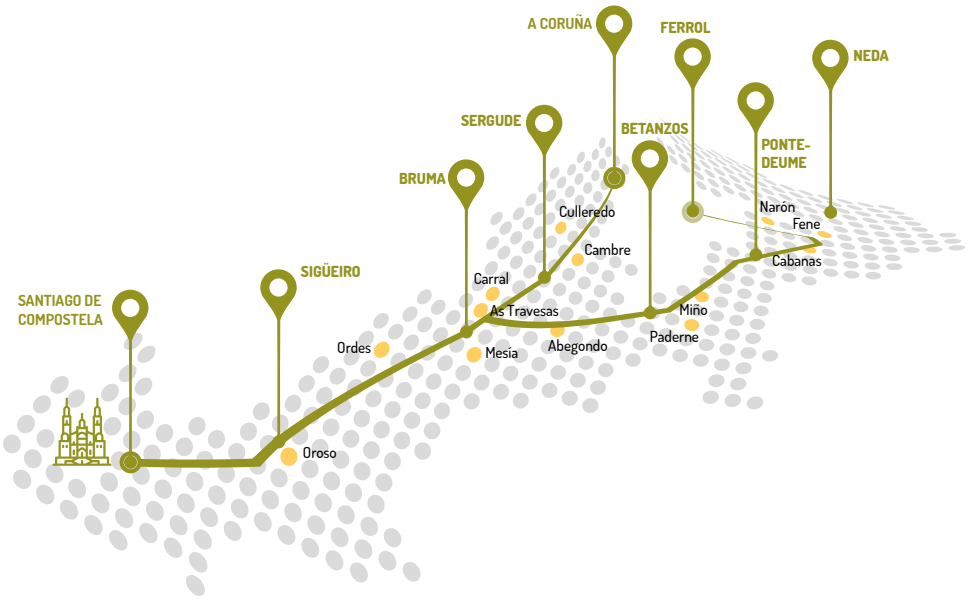

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Asociación Universitaria para a Investigación do Camiño Inglés

La Asociación Universitaria para a Investigación do Camiño Inglés es una entidad que agrupa a investigadores universitarios y de prestigio en torno al Camino Inglés a Santiago, tanto británicos como españoles. Nació en el año 2022 con el fin de generar un conocimiento de alta calidad en torno a esa ruta jacobea. Este libro, escrito por cinco de sus miembros, es la primera muestra de ese trabajo colectivo.

University Association for Research on the Camino Inglés

The University Association for Research on the Camino Inglés is an entity that brings together prestigious university researchers on the Camino Inglés to Santiago, both British and Spanish. It was established in the year 2022 in order to generate high-quality knowledge about this Jacobean route. This book, written by five of its members, is the first sample of the Association's collective work.

El Camino Inglés como lugar de encuentro

En estos tiempos de inestabilidad internacional es muy importante encontrar motivos de colaboración entre diferentes pueblos y países, lugares de encuentro y pasiones que compartir para abrir la ventana del diálogo y la cooperación.

En este contexto debemos congratularnos y avalorar la relevancia del Camino Inglés como nexo histórico y cultural entre Inglaterra y Galicia. Desde la Asociación de Concellos del Camino Inglés trabajamos desde hace años para establecer contacto y colaborar con el origen de la ruta en el Reino Unido e Irlanda, contando con el apoyo de la Diputación de A Coruña y de entidades sin ánimo de lucro como The Friends of Finchale Camino y Confraternity of Saint James, en Reino Unido, o Camino Society Ireland, en Irlanda.

Fruto de este trabajo ya son muy conocidas las rutas de peregrinación en estos países, con su flecha amarilla característica y la concha de la vieira. Cada vez son más las peregrinas y peregrinos que se animan a realizar el Camino Inglés desde su origen.

En este libro quiero destacar que una profesora de la Universidad de Oxford, Anne E. Bailey, emprenda una investigación sobre la historia del Camino Inglés. En su estudio habla de los orígenes de la ruta en el Medievo o de los motivos que llevan a los peregrinos ingleses a hacer el Camino, pero lo más importante es la pasión en la que se adentra en cada uno de los temas que trata.

En otro capítulo de este volumen encontraréis un estudio realizado entre Lara Escudero-Baztán y Penélope Johnson, de la Durham

University, y Sarah Moss, de la UDC. Quiero agradecer la colaboración de la Universidade da Coruña y su interés en el Camino Inglés, también plasmado en otros volúmenes como el *Estudio demoscópico sobre la demanda turística en el Camino Inglés*. El artículo habla en concreto de un proyecto colaborativo entre la Universidad de Durham y la Facultad de Turismo de la Universidade da Coruña, en la que implicaron directamente a los estudiantes de ambas instituciones para llevar acabo un intercambio cultural.

Por último, recalcar la labor de Cristóbal Ramírez, cronista oficial del Camino Inglés, que hace un repaso a la producción bibliográfica centrada en la ruta. Cristóbal es, por encima de todo, un gran enamorado del Camino Inglés.

Esta ruta jacobea es un tesoro que debemos cuidar entre todos, ayuntamientos por los que transcurre la ruta, otras administraciones, asociaciones de amigos del Camino y sociedad en general. Con la satisfacción del trabajo realizado, lo mejor de todo es afrontar el futuro con la sensación de que queda mucho por hacer.

Cuando en cualquier kilómetro del Camino Inglés, varias personas de diferentes nacionalidades hablan, sonríen e intercambian experiencias, uno se da cuenta de que todo ha merecido la pena. Necesitamos lugares de encuentro para la concordia y el diálogo. Seguiremos trabajando para mejorar la experiencia del Camino Inglés.

Manuel Mirás Franqueira
Presidente de la Asociación de Concellos do Camiño Inglés

ÍNDICE

The Revival of Walking Pilgrimages in its Historical Context

Anne E Bailey
University of Oxford

My first experience of pilgrimage was, paradoxically, not as a pilgrim but as a long-distance walker on the Pilgrim's Way from Winchester to Canterbury Cathedral. It was the early 1990s and the pleasant 130-mile walk along green country lanes and through sleepy rural hamlets was generally understood, at the time, as a secular leisure activity on a par with Britain's national walking trails such as the Ridgeway, the South Downs Way, and the Thames River Path. As an avid walker I had explored all of these in previous summers.

Although my guidebook (Charles 1990) informed me that I was walking along an ancient pilgrim track, it never occurred to me that the Pilgrim's Way was anything other than a hiking trail with a bit of heritage thrown in. Had I described myself as a 'pilgrim', I would probably have been met with raised eyebrows and the suspicion that I was either slightly eccentric or a fanatical Christian. Little did I imagine, as I wended my way through picturesque Kent villages, that, three decades later, pilgrimage would once again become a thriving pursuit or that the post-Reformation countryside would be liberally criss-crossed with sacred routes and tramped by a new generation of pilgrims.

Since the 1990s there has been a phenomenal growth in official pilgrimage trails in Britain. Today's long-distance hikers are not only heading to the sixteen National Trails (National Trails), they are also exploring Britain's new network of pilgrimage paths, many of which – like the Northern Saints Trails and the Walsingham Way – have only appeared in the last few years (Brookes 2021; Wilkinson 2020). Devon Pilgrim, part of the Growing the Rural Church project in the Diocese of Exeter, launched no fewer than three pilgrim 'Ways' in 2021 and 2022 (Devon Pilgrim). Many are established in conjunction with the Anglican Church, and in 2020 the Association of English Churches joined forces with the British Pilgrimage Trust to set up 'pilgrimage routes' around each of England's forty-two cathedrals (Arnold 2019). Pilgrim routes are literally overtaking hiking trails: the Thames Way has become the Thames Pilgrim Way and sections of the Seven Way are now the St James Way.

Some pilgrim routes, like the Old Way to Canterbury 'rediscovered' by the British Pilgrimage Trust (Mammut), claim to be following former medieval pilgrim roads. Most hark back to the Middle Ages, and encourage the idea that following them allows pilgrims to 'step into history' (Brabbs). Many, like the recently launched St Thomas Way (Clarke 2020) and the Way of St Hild (Fox 2020), are themed around local saints. Those associated with Britain's 'Celtic' saints – such as the St Cuthbert's Way (St Cuthbert's Way) with its finishing point at the evocative 'Holy Island' of Lindisfarne – are especially popular, appealing to contemporary tastes in spirituality (Cusack 2013) and nostalgic Celticism (Bradley 1993). While the majority of pilgrim routes stay within Britain's borders, an interesting exception is the new St Sigfrid's Way stretching from York to Växjő in Sweden (St Sigfrid's Way). And then, of course, there are the new extensions of the Camino de Santiago offering Britain's more intrepid Santiago-bound pilgrims a starting point closer to home (Bouchard 2022; Engelbrecht 2019; Follow the Camino; Ramírez 2022).

The transformation of Britain's walking culture into a pilgrimage one is especially striking given that church attendance has declined steeply in the past thirty years and that over one third of the country's population defines itself as nonreligious (BSA; Sherwood 2022). The reason why so many walkers are drawn to what was once seen as an alien Roman Catholic practice is not, of course, a sudden upsurge in religiosity. It can instead be explained by the changing nature of what we perceive pilgrimage to be. Pilgrimage has adapted remarkably well to our secular culture, and walking pilgrimages in particular seem to speak to many of our modern-day values, aspirations, and needs. But how did this remarkable development come about, and to what extent are modern-day pilgrims really emulating the experiences of their medieval forebears as many suppose? This chapter sketches this cultural shift across the centuries and examines the driving forces behind the popularity of walking pilgrimages today.

Medieval Pilgrimage

Today's walking pilgrimages have emerged in association with the trend for long-distance hiking and heritage tourism which saw a notable growth in the 1980s (Olsen & Trono 2018; Hall, Ram & Shoval 2018). The attractive combination of heritage and hiking have, among other factors, given rise to the idea that journeying by foot is the most authentic way of experiencing pilgrimage. The importance given to pedestrian travel is, of course, epitomised by the Camino de Santiago where certificates of completion, commonly known as *Compostelas*, are issued to pilgrims who have walked the last 100km (*Oficina del peregrino* 1). Those who travel by motorised transport – by car, plane or bus – are not eligible for this much prized credential, reinforcing the notion that walking is an essential prerequisite for pilgrims.

The idea that pilgrimage requires a journey on foot has become something of a commonplace in recent years. The British Pilgrimage Trust – which has done much to popularise contemporary pilgrimage – defines pilgrimage on its website as, 'A journey with purpose on foot' (British Pilgrimage Trust), and other pilgrimage proponents have done much to strengthen this narrative (Baker 2018; Gogerty 2019; Welch 2019). There is often an assumption that walkers are replicating the experiences of their medieval antecedents (Baker 2018; Gogerty 2019; Welch 2009: 15-16), and not least on the Camino where pilgrims imagine themselves travelling at 'medieval speed', 'as the original pilgrims did' (Genoni 2010: 165, 157-75; Frey 1998: 41; Nilsson and Tesfahuney 2016: 24).

Evidence from the Middle Ages does not entirely dispute these assumptions. Arduous, footsore journeys were idealised by the medieval Church in its zeal to promote pilgrimages as penitential exercises. A twelfth-century sermon, the *Veneranda Dies*, written for St James' feast day at Santiago, describes the journey across northern Spain to the Cathedral as 'the route of penitence and salvation from sin' (*Veneranda Dies*, 1996: 55). It urges pilgrims to go on foot, and travel light, like the Apostles (*Veneranda Dies*, 1996: 28). These instructions are faithfully followed by modern pilgrims. In 2021, 94% of those who completed the last 100km did so on foot (*Oficina del peregrino* 2), carrying only the barest essentials.

The question, of course, is whether pilgrims in the Middle Ages always did what the Church told them. The answer is that sometimes they did. There were those who heeded the pious discourse about sin and salvation and made long, gruelling journeys in the hope that the saints would look favourably upon their sacrificial efforts. One pious lady, the Countess of Warwick, is reported as walking 'bare foot' (*nudis pedibus*) to Canterbury to give thanks to St Thomas for reviving her son (Benedict of Peterborough 1876: 257). Then there were those sent on pilgrimage by the Church or secular authorities as a penance for their misdemeanours (Sumption 1975: 109-113) including the man from Cologne who – to atone for fratricide – walked around Europe's shrines for seven years carrying the weapon of his crime as part of his punishment (William of Malmesbury: 635-6). However, the majority of medieval pilgrims who went by foot did so because they had no alternative. These were the poorest members of society. Their journeys were often taxing, as highlighted in the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus* recording the journeys of pilgrims from a range of different backgrounds (Miracles of St James).

As for the rest, pilgrims in the Middle Ages availed themselves of whatever convenient method of conveyance they could. One of Britain's most famous and prolific medieval pilgrims – the fifteenth-century housewife and mystic Margery Kempe – hired a horse, paid for rides in pilgrim wagons and begged a lift in a private carriage during a pilgrimage in northern Europe (Kempe 2004: 278, 279, 283-4, 287, 282). For the better off, horseback seems to have been the commonest method of land travel, as characterised in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in which his pilgrims are portrayed riding from London to Canterbury. Evidence

suggests that many travellers heading to St James's shrine at Santiago also rode. *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago* (1993) depicts the majority of pilgrims on horseback (Ibid: 86, 88-9, 89, 93), apparently ignoring the advice given in the *Veneranda Dies* to journey on foot like the Apostles. For most long-distance pilgrims the objective was to reach their destination as speedily, efficiently, and as safely as possible.

For many medieval pilgrims, then, walking long-distances did not always have quite the same meaning as we sometimes suppose. While modern pilgrims give precedence to the journey over the destination (Gibbs 2017: 22; Simmons 2019), for medieval pilgrims the journey was often less significant. Although there were often stopping off places at holy places en route, it was nonetheless at their journey's end where, for many, the 'real' pilgrimage began.

Continuing the Medieval Tradition

Whatever the destination, the objective for medieval pilgrims was to be present in a place associated with a holy person who, although deceased, was represented by a tomb, an enshrined relic, or a miraculous image (Freeman 2011). It was these sacred artefacts, and the belief that they were imbued with a saint's spiritual power, which was a major driver of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages (Bagnoli 2010; Duffy 2018).

The idea that the saints were still present in their relics – and that their help could be accessed by visiting their shrines – largely explains the importance of the destination over the journey in medieval people's minds. The main aim of pilgrimage was not so much the journey but the opportunity to engage prayerfully with a saint through close proximity to his or her relics (Bartlett 2013: 103-112). The importance of the destination only increased from the twelfth century when indulgences – which promised remission of time spent in purgatory – became attached to specific places (Sumption 1975: 141-5). First-person narratives describing pilgrims' experiences in Rome and Jerusalem pay special attention to the altars and churches which offered these much sought-after spiritual rewards, attesting to the importance of being physically present at a shrine (Wey 2010; Febri 1892-3; Richard of Lincoln 2013).

For Roman Catholics, very little has changed. Although organised walking pilgrimages have grown in popularity over the last century – a prominent example being the Pentecostal Paris to Chartres pilgrimage dating from 1983 (Chartres Cathedral) – on a worldwide scale, Catholic pilgrimages are mostly undertaken at the destination (Anderson 2018). The shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in France is perhaps the best known on-site pilgrimage (Harris 1999), but British examples include the annual pilgrimages to St Winefrid's Well at Holywell in north Wales (Owen 2022), Glastonbury in Somerset (Glastonbury Shrine) and Walsingham in

Norfolk (Smith 2022). Here, pilgrims typically travel by coach or car as they have been doing since the revival of Catholic pilgrimages in the early twentieth century.

We often think of the Camino de Santiago as the quintessential walking pilgrimage and yet, until a few decades ago, pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela also conformed to this pattern. When the pilgrimage to St James's shrine was revitalised in the early twentieth century, it was largely envisaged as a destination event. As at Lourdes, pilgrims were expected to arrive by train, bus, or car – 'by any means possible' (Sánchez & Hesp 2016: 3) – and one of the first Camino guidebooks was aimed at the motoring pilgrim (Talbot 2016: 46). It was not until the 1970s that walking pilgrims joined those travelling by motorised transport (Sánchez & Hesp 2016: 3). The idea of journeying on foot, and the conviction that the journey was the main point of the pilgrimage, only really took hold in the 1980s when the Council of Europe promoted the Camino as its first European Cultural Route (Council of Europe).

Protestant Pilgrimage

While pilgrimage largely remains a destination event for Catholic traditionalists, for others a very different pilgrimage culture has emerged. Television documentaries, films, novels, social media, and other forms of popular culture are increasingly imagining pilgrimage as a travel experience, with walking valorised as a meritorious, and ancient, mode of travel (BBC Media Centre 2022; Weininger, 2022). It is a perception of pilgrimage which diverges so drastically from historical practice that it begs the question: why? What is it about modern western culture that has prompted, and perpetuated, such a transformation in pilgrimage practice and belief?

In an attempt to answer this question, the remainder of the chapter looks at three cultural movements which have contributed to this major conceptual shift: the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Romantic movement at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the New Age movement of the 1980s. These may, at first glance, seem unlikely shapers of pilgrimage. However, these three cultural turning points have, in their different ways, provided many of the essential ingredients for the pilgrimage revival which we are witnessing today.

The Protestant Reformation: From Destination to Journey

The break from Rome in the sixteenth century was devastating for pilgrimage in Britain. Henry VIII and his Protestant successors were determined to obliterate pilgrimage in its material form by removing and destroying every physical remnant of the practice (Atherton 2020; Walsingham 2011: 98). Because shrines, relics, votive offerings, and local saints had been at the heart of pilgrimage, their annihilation seemed an effective way of guaranteeing the end of an activity

deemed to be corrupt and idolatrous (Anderson 2018). As added insurance against the saints' return, Protestant churches also rejected the Catholic doctrine of saintly intercession, thereby effectively stripping the saints of their spiritual potency as well as their materiality.

As a result of the Reformation, then, saints were no longer present in specific places to comfort the faithful. At best they were long-dead heroes worthy of emulation (Atkins 2018); at worst they were Popish idols. Protestant congregations were taught that God was not to be found in lifeless saints and relics, or in particular places. God could be found everywhere: 'at home, in our bedroom, or wherever we happen to be' in the words of Martin Luther (Tomlin 2004: 113-4), an ethos still prevalent today (Welch 2011). Destination pilgrimages, along with their rituals, therefore vanished from English churches, and Protestant doctrine meant there was little likelihood that they could ever make a comeback, at least in their medieval form.

While traditional destination pilgrimages played no part in post-Reformation Europe, the same was not true of that other, previously less important, aspect of pilgrimage: the journey. A literary genre which had become increasingly popular in the late Middle Ages – the pilgrim allegory – found renewed popularity in Early Modern England. The metaphor of pilgrimage as a Christian's life journey – as epitomised in William Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (1370-86) – had been around since the earliest years of Christianity (Lincoln 2004: 40-3). However, it came to accrue more significance at a time when physical pilgrimage was no longer possible (Tomlin 2004: 123). Protestants argued that the life-journey interpretation of pilgrimage was the only form of pilgrimage validated in the Bible, an argument still made by some today (Walker 2004: 83-4). In the early modern period this made it particularly attractive for Christian fundamentalists like the Puritan John Bunyan. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) did much to popularize the idea of pilgrimage as an interior journey of the soul: as a long, challenging journey mapped out across a symbolic, but recognisably English, terrain.

With shrines gone, saints' days abolished, destination rituals forgotten, and pilgrimage transformed into an interior journey, Christians readjusted their ideas about pilgrimage. In the Protestant imagination, pilgrimage was no longer a practice which took place in shrines and churches. Instead, it was transferred onto a wider canvas and reinvented as linear travel, albeit linear travel in the mind.

One of the consequences of the Protestant Reformation, then, was a tendency to erase destination pilgrimages from the collective cultural memory and replace them with the idea of pilgrimage as a journey. When pilgrimage returned as a physical reality in the twentieth century, it therefore only seemed natural to graft the twin themes of spiritual journeying and moral questing onto the renewed embodied activity. The Protestant emphasis on the doctrine of divine immanence – the belief that God is found everywhere rather than in particular places – has also

played its part in popularising outdoor walking as prayerful pilgrimages. Today's newfound Protestant pilgrimages tend to combine these post-Reformation elements in a variety of creative ways, depending on where an individual church stands within the Anglican tradition (for example, Maddrell 2015; Power 2015). What they all do, however, is firmly anchor the idea of pilgrimage in the journey, thereby avoiding some of the more difficult issues inherent in bringing back what is essentially a Roman Catholic practice. The Reformation had re-set pilgrimage as a spiritual journey.

Romanticism and Transcendentalism: from shrines to nature

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Protestant Europe and North America witnessed a revolutionary way of conceptualising the natural environment which was to have a lasting effect on western culture. A major catalyst was the Industrial Revolution, which brought with it rapid urbanisation, overcrowding, industrial pollution, and chronic ill health.

In earlier periods, the countryside had not been particularly valued except as a source of food and other human commodities (Thomas 1983: 17-41**)**. For medieval churchmen based in towns and monasteries, the countryside had been a primitive, unformed place infested with demons and disease (Hart 2006; Rapp 2006). Urban environments, on the other hand, were synonymous with civilisation and social wellbeing: it is no coincidence that heaven was envisaged as a city in western thought (Rapp 2006: 99).

However, the harsh realities of modern industrial urbanisation soon over-turned this view. For many living through the rapid industrial and social changes, the city came to represent everything bad about modernity and progress, while the countryside, in contrast, was viewed as natural, authentic and conducive to good health (Short 1991: 31). Country life – once considered rustic and backward – suddenly had an appeal. For some, rural landscapes also suggested a comforting continuity in times of rapid change, a reminder of a better and more genuine world before the advent of modernity (Short 1991: 34).

This shift in attitudes took root most famously in the European Romantic movement around the turn of the nineteenth century (Gerrard 2020; Prickett & Haines 2010). In Britain, artists and poets such as John Constable, William Wordsworth, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge took aesthetic pleasure in the British countryside which they viewed as an antidote to the city. In particular, the Romantics discovered that nature was sublime (Weiskel 2019). That is, they understood that the natural world contained an awe-inspiring – almost terrifying – beauty which suggested that human beings were only a tiny part of a much grander whole. In defiance of Enlightenment rationality, the Romantics enjoyed sensory encounters with nature, and experienced landscapes in deeply emotional,

intuitive, and personal, ways (Haines & Stratham 2010; Santmire & Cobb 2005: 126-7).

Wordsworth famously took long, solitary walks in the Lake District, communing with nature and his innermost thoughts. This behaviour was taken one step further by Henry David Thoreau (Newman 2005: 83-95). Living a semi-hermit-like existence on the shores of Walden Pond in the American state of Maine (Thoreau 1854), Thoreau developed his Transcendental philosophy which theorised that spiritual insight could be gained through intuition, and in nature (Harvey 2013). Thoreau's fellow transcendentalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson, shared Thoreau's love of the wilderness, and believed that nature was imbued with a divine presence, and that engaging deeply with it enabled one to discover a more natural, authentic version of ourselves (Clarke 2006: 111-112). Put another way, the Transcendentalists were convinced that rural environments had the power to transform us into better human beings.

The Romantics and Transcendentalists bequeathed a range of new concepts to western culture which would eventually influence the way in which modern pilgrims engage with their landscapes. These include the idea of communing spiritually with nature, the therapeutic benefits of walking outdoors, the importance of individual experience, and the view that we are more likely to discover our authentic selves in natural environments away from the stresses of modern life. Perhaps most importantly, figures like Wordsworth and Emerson believed that transcendental, or numinous, encounters need not be associated with the traditional Christian God. What seems to have emerged in the Romantic era is not only a radical revision of mankind's relationship with the natural world, but also a new form of spirituality understood as an emotional, rather than a religious, experience.

There was, of course, another important element to Romanticism which was to have a major influence in later pilgrimage revivals: namely, medievalism (D'Arcens 2016). In looking back with nostalgic yearning and wonder at the ruined remnants of a lost medieval past, the British Romantics were paving the way for Gothic revivalism, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the Arts and Craft movement, the Oxford Movement and contemporary Celtic Christianity (Alexander 2017). The last two of these were to inspire and instigate two very different forms of modern pilgrimage. However, the romantic desire to re-enchant the world with a sense of ancient mystery probably found its most influential expression in the New Age movement of the 1980s.

The New Age Movement and the 'Easternization' of Religion

Pilgrimage legitimately returned to Post-Reformation Britain in the late nineteenth century, prompted by Catholic emancipation on the one hand, and by the Oxford Movement on the other (Hurlock 2021). However, the pilgrimage

revival which was so vigorous on the Continent (Pazos 2020) was rather more subdued in Britain. For many decades pilgrimage remained in the shadows, its practice limited to the Catholic minority and a small number of high-church Anglicans. With a few exceptions (Hurlock, forthcoming), it also conformed to the traditional destination model (Samper 2020). Out of public view, it mostly went unnoticed.

Although annual walking pilgrimages started appearing in mainstream Anglican churches in the twentieth century, their uptake by the wider population has much more to do with cultural changes prompted by the 1980s movement known as New Age (Sutcliffe 2003). The New Age movement was essentially a British and American phenomenon and, like the Hippie movement of the 1960s, began as a youthful countercultural backlash against structured society and its institutions, including the established Church. Turning their back on traditional western values and religion, the espousers of New Age lifestyles embraced what were referred to as 'alternative spiritualties' (Sutcliffe & Bowman 2000; Harvey & Vincett 2012), usually taken to mean non-western religions and philosophies such as Buddhism and Taoism (Carrette & King: 87-122).

New Age spirituality was part of a wider cultural shift coined 'the easternization of the west' by sociologists (Bruce 2002: 118-39; Bruce 2017). From the 1960s onwards, this saw the introduction of exotic consumer products – such as yogurt and yoga – enter western markets. As with yoghurt and yoga, eastern spirituality has now bled almost indiscernibly into the mainstream, and has itself become a valuable commodity (Carrette & King 2005; Guest 2007). However, it is worth emphasising just how radical this cultural shift from West to East was at the time, and the seismic impact which easternized spirituality has had on religious culture – and particularly on pilgrimage – today.

One of the key differences between western and eastern spirituality – and the one which most forcibly accounts for changes in today's pilgrimage culture – is their divergent mystic traditions. In the Middle Ages, an influential strand of mysticism known as Neoplatonism taught that communion with the divine necessitated transcending the world and the self. As illustrated in the Middle English *The Cloud of Unknowing* (Gallacher 1997), God could be reached by repudiating all things material and worldly, and that by rising above the human senses and emotions it was possible to reach a higher plane. Eastern mysticism, as adapted for western consumers, takes a very different path. The belief is that the soul is connected to the world around and cosmic harmony depends on the interconnection of all things (Willson, McIntosch & Zahra 2013: 152-4).

In other words, while western mystics transcended the world, eastern-inspired mystics dive more deeply into it, and while the western route to God required self-abnegation, the eastern path involved a holistic integration of body, soul, mind and the planet (Verstegg 2009: 102). Schnell and Pali (2013) have termed

these contrary spiritual paths as, respectively, 'vertical selftranscendence' and 'horizontal selftranscendence'. One effect of the holistic approach, often described as a sense of 'oneness or 'connectedness' (Wearing, McDonald & Ankor 2016) was a tendency to put the Self centre stage (Smith & Kelly 2006). This 'subjective turn' (Heelas & Woodhouse 2005) has led some commentators to observe that the Christian search for God had been turned into the quest for the self: a 'spirituality of the self' (Norman 2011: 123), or a 'religion of the self' (Clarke 2006) as some sociologists have described it.

The new breed of spiritual seekers were also pilgrims who ritually engaged with traditional sacred sites in imaginative ways (Armson 2013; Digance 2003; Fedele 2012; 2018). One of these was the medieval route to St James's shrine in Santiago which, in 1987, gained a New Age makeover with the publication of Paulo Coelho's novel *The Pilgrimage* (1987). This fantasy version of the author's own journey along the Camino introduced a number of new concepts to the practice of pilgrimage informed by eastern spirituality (Norman 2011: 171-2). These included the spiritual benefits of slow travel (Howard 2012; Fullagar, Markwell & Wilson 2021), the notion of being fully present in the moment through meditation techniques (McDonagh 2014), and the idea of pilgrimage as a quest to discover one's true self (Bloom 2011). Crucially, the book's narrative revolves around the hero's transformative inner journey. The physical destination – the shrine of St James – only appears in the epilogue as an afterthought. Today's Camino pilgrims are walking less in the footsteps of their medieval ancestors and more in those of Coelho's New Age hero.

Another strand of New Age culture which has gone on to help popularise pilgrimage today is its environmentalism (Bloom 2011: 26-7; Harvey & Vincett 2012: 162-3). As we have seen, the idea that humans might seek spiritual solace in nature had come to the fore with European romanticism and American transcendentalism, along with the rejection of an anthropocentric view of the natural environment. The 1980s and 1990s, however, saw a revival of these ideas, first with contemporary paganism – which some commentators called a 'nature religion' (Luhraman 1993; Timothy & Conover 2006) – and then with ecological initiatives such as Martin Palmer's 1997 project, 'Sacred Land: The Rehallowing of Britain' (Palmer & Palmer 1997: 16-17). Palmer's later book, *Sacred Land* (2012) outlines his vision to spiritually reconnect people with their natural landscape, a connection he claimed had been lost in the Industrial Revolution. Echoing the Transcendentalists, he speaks of the 'need to escape from the urban world that we have created' (Palmer & Palmer 1997: 31). One idea was to reopen old pilgrimage paths (Ibid: 17). Here we see the Protestant emphasis on the immanence of God, Romantic nostalgia for the countryside, and New Age nature religion perfectly combine.

Twenty years after the Sacred Land project, Palmer's dream of re-sacralising Britain with pilgrim trails seems to be coming to fruition. However, the new trails – along with the pilgrims who tread them – owe remarkably little to our medieval

heritage, and rather more to the Protestant and secularising forces which have shaped our collective mentalities since the sixteenth century.

Pilgrimage Today

Many aspects of New Age culture are no longer thought of as zany and weird. From tai chi to mindfulness, what were once 'alternative' spiritualities are now, for many, part of everyday life. In fact, so pervasive has this new spiritual mindset become that sociologists have claimed that we are living in a post-secular world (Gorski *et al* 2012), and that the 'spiritual turn' (Houtman & Aupers 2007) has transformed contemporary spirituality into a new religion (Clarke 2006).

However, and as commentators have noted, it is a 'religion' in which its devotees are abandoning church pews in favour of taking to the fields and footpaths (McGrail 2022). Heir to the Protestant Reformation, Romantic idealism, Emerson's environmentalism, and New Age individualism, post-secular pilgrimage – with its 'green' credentials (EGPN; Ivakhiv 2013) – favours the outdoor journey over the indoor destination, and prefers communing with nature rather than communing with saints (Power 2015). As in the late eighteenth century, a dissatisfaction with modernity and a 'resurgence of Romanticism' (Luhrman 1993) is bringing people out into the countryside.

There are, of course, more prosaic reasons why walking pilgrimages have found favour in the twenty-first century. Anxieties about the environment, climate change, and personal health, for example, induce many to swap the traditional overseas beach holiday for a therapeutic, carbon-neutral, and environmentally-friendly walk through the British landscape (Little 2015). While in the Middle Ages pilgrimage was good for the soul, in the twenty-first century it is good for the body, the mind, and the environment (Jørgensen 2020; Warfield, Baker & Foxx 2014).

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the current pilgrimage revival is its reincarnation as a secular leisure activity, and the ease with which pilgrimage has peeled away from its religious and institutional ties. The founders of the British Pilgrimage Trust encourage us to 'bring our own beliefs', and – rather more strangely – Canterbury Cathedral issues a reassurance to prospective walkers on the Pilgrim's Way that 'you don't have to be religious to go on pilgrimage' (Pilgrim's Way). Pilgrimage today is carefully tailored towards our modern cultural values of inclusivity and diversity, as well as tapping into our modern preoccupations such as mental wellbeing, physical fitness, climate change, and work-induced stress.

Conclusion

Pilgrimage has been on a remarkable transformative journey from its Christian beginnings in the early Middle Ages to its most recent manifestation as a post-

secular spiritual experience. Along the way it has seen a shift from destination to journey, from the material to the spiritual, from manmade buildings to the countryside, from saints to the self, and from western tradition to eastern philosophy.

In today's post-secular reconfiguration of pilgrimage, many of the activities which once took place in churches are now more likely to be enacted out of doors away from the material trappings of traditional saint veneration. Anglican walking pilgrimages invite prayers and meditative silences along the route, and participants are encouraged to walk mindfully and immerse themselves in the world around. Catholics, too, are engaging in more devotional walking. The *Catholic Herald* introduced its first organised walking pilgrimage in 2019 (Catholic Herald 2021), and the Catholic shrines at Walsingham and Holywell – customarily reached by car or bus – now have new walking routes associated with them (Wilkinson 2020; Shrewsbury Abbey). Catholic walking trails are also appearing in Britain (Tapper 2019) and elsewhere (Edelsteinland; Esparze 2022; Tadié 2021).

As for the 'nones' – the nonreligious (Woodhead 2016) – pilgrimage is now an acceptable leisure activity and on a par with an adventurous hike. For some it has therapeutic benefits and the word 'spirituality' is understood as a form of cathartic healing, or as heightened emotion, or as a means to reflect on one's life or to resolve a problem. For others, spirituality is the search for higher meaning. Walking outdoors seems to be a fundamental aspect of the post-secular spiritual pilgrimage, in tune with the idea – so popular with the Romantics – that nature can help us connect to something beyond ourselves.

Much has changed since I first walked the Pilgrim's Way in the last decade of the twentieth century. Now a 'spiritual' route as much as a 'heritage' trail, the Pilgrim's Way has been joined by countless other pilgrim 'ways' including the Camino Inglés. The 'English Way' channels pilgrims to the Spanish port of La Coruna and thence to St James's shrine at Santiago, much as it did in the Middle Ages (Ramírez 2022). Unlike in the Middle Ages, today's pilgrims are more likely to be attracted by the journey than by their final destination and to express reasons for walking very different from that of their medieval counterparts. Pilgrimage is frequently described as a 'transformative' journey (Warfield & Hetherington 2018), but the practice itself is also being transformed. Over the centuries pilgrimage has reflected, and adapted to, changing beliefs and values, and will no doubt continue to do so in our ceaselessly evolving society.

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Collaborative Online International Learning: *The Camino Inglés* as a Tool for the Acquisition of Intercultural Competence

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Introduction and background

Innovation in teaching is an ongoing issue at all levels of education and has become particularly relevant within the current context of digitalisation and technification. It was accelerated and intensified in the light of the pandemic, which dealt a sharp shock to teaching staff everywhere. It is against such a background that this project emerged: a joint initiative between teaching staff at the Faculty of Tourism at the University of A Coruña (Spain) and the School of Modern Languages at the University of Durham (UK). The aim of this paper is to ascertain to what extent the participation in a collaborative online international project can aid in the acquisition of Intercultural Competence by looking at student engagement and participation due to the complexities of assessing the acquisition of this particular competence (Guth 2013: 16).

Underpinning this project is a combination of several pedagogical theoretical concepts such as extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, social constructivism, group dynamics and task-based or active learning. Vygotsky's (1978/1968) social constructivism claims that learning is social and that learners construct knowledge by collaborating with others. In other words, it emphasizes peer and collaborative learning. Thus, following this principle, the project took place as an online intercultural exchange or COIL (Collaborative Online International Learning). COIL experiences 'require learners not only to exchange and compare information but also to work together to produce a joint product or conclusion.' (O'Dowd 2011: 369).

The initial contact between our two institutions came about as a result of the connections Durham and A Coruña share regarding the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela – *El Camino de Santiago* or The Way of St James. County Durham is the origin of one of the routes of *The Camino Inglés* in England and A Coruña, one of the two ports from which pilgrims start *the Camino* to Santiago de Compostela after arriving in Spain. The Faculty of Tourism at the University of A Coruña had already initiated a series of innovations in its teaching methods based on competency acquisition across subjects. An example of one such initiative was to incorporate English into other subjects, whereby a single activity would be assessed in two modules. For instance, as part of the Cultural Heritage subject, Year One students are required to take "tourists" on a guided tour of their city. This is done in English and therefore their performance is assessed for both the Cultural Heritage and English modules.

COIL: Collaborative Online International Learning

The Faculty of Tourism has also applied Collaborative Online International Learning methodology (COIL) to a number of experiences, linking its classrooms with those of other higher education institutions in different countries and cultural settings. One such experience was with the Institute of Romance Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland. Groups of Polish and Spanish students worked together, researching and discussing aspects of life and living in Poland and Galicia. After an initial joint session via Microsoft Teams, the groups held weekly meetings, completing a series of tasks. The result was a video presentation which was then assessed by their peers. The final activity was a feedback session, where the students shared their impressions of the experience. A project blog was created, featuring the video presentations and providing details of the topics which ranged from the expected (food) to the unexpected (body language). The winning presentation was on film locations.

Our interest lay in adding an intercultural element to the transversal learning experience, based on a theme that was pertinent to our two universities' home cities and that has currently been the object of renewed interest: *The Camino Inglés*. The start of *the Camino Inglés* in England is believed to start in Finchale Priory, near Durham, in the Northeast of England. In June 2016, with the support of the Xacobeo, a Galician institution for the promotion of *the Caminos*, the first pilgrimage for half a millennium was organised from Finchale Priory to Durham Cathedral to recover this part of *the Camino Inglés*. Since then, the Friends of the Finchale Camino Association, with the help from the Deputación da Coruña provincial council and Durham County Council, have put up signs as far as York to guide modern pilgrims on their way south. Hence, *The Camino Inglés* is of shared historical and cultural interest for both universities.

Intercultural Learning

According to Byram's (1997) model, in order to gain intercultural communicative competence, students need to: (1) gain socio-cultural knowledge of the other culture (*savoir*); (2) interpret and relate to documents and texts of the receiving culture (*savoir comprendre*); (3) develop the ability to gain new knowledge of a cultural and cultural practices, to be used in social interaction, such as strategies of politeness (*savoir apprendre/faire*); (4) develop critical cultural awareness to be able to critically evaluate beliefs and practices in the receiving culture as well as their own (*savoir s'engager*); and (5) develop respect for others by questioning their own values and beliefs (*savoir être*).

This intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1997) is greatly facilitated by COIL exchanges as it encourages 'intercultural negotiation skills and an understanding of the role of differing cultural perspectives' rather than purely aiming to develop communicative communication (O'Dowd 2011: 371). Nevertheless, it might also be true that sometimes 'exposure and awareness of difference seem to reinforce, rather than bridge, feelings of difference' as found by Kern (2000: 256). In order to minimise this possibility, the teachers involved were very much engaged with the project, monitoring the online exchanges between the students, whilst keeping their intervention to a minimum in order to foment peer-to-peer learning. To this end, students were required to send screen captures of their meetings and a plan of their final project at particular stages of the exchange.

Motivation, Group Dynamics and Interculturality

Dörnyei's (2009a; 2009b) motivational self-system of second language (L2) acquisition is comprised by 'the ideal L2 self', 'the ought-to L2 self' and 'the L2 learning experience' and relates to the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. If our motivation to do something depends on external factors such as rewards, punishments or pressures from significant others (parents, peers, etc.), it is considered 'extrinsic motivation'. 'Intrinsic motivation', on the other hand, is when we do something because we enjoy doing it or are interested in it.

'Intrinsic motivation tends to be more long-lasting, self-sustaining, and satisfying than extrinsic motivation.' (Ryan and Deci 2000: 68). For it to happen, we need self-determination, namely 'autonomy', 'competence' and 'relatedness' (Ryan and Deci 2000; 2020). In other words, for the students to be intrinsically motivated the tasks need to be relevant to them, and they must have both the autonomy to make choices and the ability to carry out the task. The more choice the students have, the more intrinsic the motivation will be.

Institutional context and student profile (Durham University)

The students from Durham University who were involved in this project were those taking a BA Modern Languages and Cultures degree in one or two languages. This is a four-year degree in which students in their third year are required to spend a minimum of seven months in a country where the language they study is spoken. Apart from this, in order to have their year abroad validated, students are required to write a substantial piece in the target language of a research project. Once they graduate after their fourth year, students are supposed to have a C1 in their second language (according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, onwards CEFR).

In this collaborative project with the University of A Coruña, we specifically wanted to involve second-year students from two different streams: one group who had already studied Spanish during their final years of secondary education, belonging to the post-A level stream, Spanish 2A (a total of 130 students); and another group who chose Spanish at university ab initio, with little or no knowledge of the language, Spanish 2B (a total of 35 students). Their level thus was B2 and B1 (according to the CEFR), respectively. Out of a total of 165 students, 6 ab initio and 16 post A level students participated in this project.

The participants from the University of A Coruña were Year Three students from the five-year concurrent degree programme leading to the Degree in Tourism and the Degree in Business Science. The degree syllabus includes three semesters of compulsory English. The contents are based on English for Specific Purposes (ESP) for the tourism industry and the key competence and by extension the principal learning outcome is “to work in English”. Although there is no year abroad, English is obviously a vital skill for their future career in the tourism industry, and they are required to complete several internships, including a four-month period in the final semester of their degree (February-May in Year Five), where language skills are essential, and in this sense, students are keenly aware of the need to improve their skills in this area. The students were registered in the final semester of these compulsory modules, where the target level is C1, albeit strictly related to ESP. A total of 28 students took part in this experience.

The Durham - Coruña project

The participants of this project were divided into mixed groups with members from both institutions. Each group had to decide and divide the tasks among its members; research the topic according to the assignment; meet virtually at least once a week until the end of the project; and prepare and present the final task. For the virtual meetings it was the students themselves who decided their communication channels and work tools. The timeline of the tasks that the groups had to do is shown in Figure 1.:

Date		Task
2-4 March	Meeting 1 of each group	SHARING THE TASKS.
7-10 March	Meeting 2 of each group	SHARING THE FINDINGS with the rest of the group.
11 March		Submission of the outline of the project.
14-18 March	Meeting 3 of each group	Sharing the findings and the rest of the tasks. Preparation to finalise the last draft.
21-24 March	Meeting 4 of each group	COMPLETION OF THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE PROJECT.
4 April		Submission of the final draft of the Project.
4-25 April	Meeting 5 of each group (each group will need to meet **at least** once more)	FINAL TOUCHES AND CORRECTIONS BEFORE SUBMISSION TO THE PLATFORM.
25 April		Submission and uploading of the clip to the platform.

Figure 1. Timeline for the 2022 project

After the first meeting, each group had to submit a summary, plan or outline of their project in any format. The next task was to present a draft of the project which provided the basis for the final task: a video of approximately 4 minutes duration in Spanish and English with photos, clips, text, etc. of the allocated topic. The teachers corrected and sent feedback at each stage and were available for consultation.

For the first cycle of this project, we suggested the following topics: legends and traditions; promotion of (current) pilgrimage routes; famous pilgrims; comparison of landscape and nature; monuments and landmarks; accommodation facilities and infrastructures. In this case, and for reasons of efficiency and effectiveness, it was the teachers who assigned the topics to the groups.

The project had a duration of six weeks divided by tasks (although these can be increased or reduced depending on the type of project selected for the collaboration):

- Week 1: **Icebreaker and comparison**. In this first week the groups had an introductory meeting via Teams with the teachers and another individual group meeting to discuss and decide on specific aspects to include in their presentations. As learning outcomes, these activities aimed to establish contacts, build trust and work effectively in a multicultural team.

- Week 2: **Analysis and collaboration**. Each group began to gather information and started the preparation work together. This task enhanced students' research skills by consulting primary and secondary sources.
- Week 3: **Analysis and collaboration**. The groups continued gathering information and preparing the final presentation. The aim was to boost their teamworking skills, as well as their confidence in an environment with two working languages and adapting to cultural differences. In turn, this would build their confidence in delivering a short presentation using English or Spanish depending on the student's L1.
- Week 4: **Finalisation of the project**. Each group completed the video. This activity increased confidence in making presentations in English or Spanish depending on the student's L1.
- Week 5: **Presentation of the project**. The teachers reviewed the presentations and uploaded them onto the blog.
- Week 6: **Closing session**. Session with the teachers and all the groups to provide feedback.

The project had competitive element whereby the three best videos received a prize. According to Dörnyei and Murphey (2003: 25), 'intergroup competition' can be used to build friendship and the degree of collaboration within the group, which in turn may help establish stronger ties. It could also be argued that, apart from enhancing the dynamic within the group, this intergroup competition acted as a bridge between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation.

Learning outcomes

This type of collaborative project between two countries and cultures is extremely beneficial for students. From an academic point of view and from the perspective of the students on their university path, it helps to improve all the skills in a second language as well as the so-called academic skills: analytical skills, critical thinking, communication skills, knowledge construction through the relationship between various disciplines. It also promotes the management and mastery of using primary and secondary sources for future research projects.

Students develop soft skills, which are essential for their future employability, and given the nature of this project, they build their knowledge from an experimental basis despite being in two different countries and using virtual channels. To this, we need to add the acquisition of intercultural competences, which, as mentioned above, is clearly facilitated by a COIL exchange (O'Dowd 2011), because students are exposed to 'pluralistic points of view'. Peer learning is more motivating, as students are active learners in a social context, thereby following the premises of social constructivism and motivation theories. It is 'knowledge is co-created

and shared among peers' (Gokcora 2021: 2) that promotes 'critical thinking and global awareness' (Gokcora 2021: 3), enabling students to acquire intercultural competencies.

During the project, our students also had the opportunity to experience at first-hand the historical and cultural link between both locations, as they had the opportunity to take part in the annual pilgrimage from Finchale Priory to Durham Cathedral, the first stage of *The Camino Inglés* in England. This pilgrimage takes place in the third week of March with participants from political and academic spheres from Galicia in Spain and County Durham in the UK, as a sign of the cultural links between the two regions. Apart from facilitating first hand experiential knowledge, this opportunity is also highly motivating and an incentive to take part in the project because of the authenticity of the activity (O'Dowd 2011: 372).

Student engagement and participation

The students from Durham University that took part in the project were in their second year of a four-year degree (as mentioned above, their third year is spent abroad). A total of 22 students out of a possible 165 took place in this project: 6 ab initio (with only one year of study of Spanish Language) and 16 post-A level students (who had studied Spanish for at least 5 to 7 years). Over the course of the project, around 50% of the students dropped out. 50% of the ab initio students failed to take part at all. About 5 of the 16 post-A level students also dropped out, mostly because of workload. Despite these numbers, the students that did participate were keen, met regularly with their group, asked for support and guidance from the teachers, and completed their tasks very successfully.

The possible causes for the relatively small number of participants from Durham University in this project and the subsequent dropout rate of 50% could be explained through the concepts of motivation (Dörnyei 2009a, 2009b; Ryan and Deci 2000; 2020), group dynamics (Dörnyei & Murphey 2003; Sánchez Cuadrado 2010) and self-efficacy (Bandura 1997).

Reasons for the dropout rate include excessive workload of students from both universities. In the case of Durham students, in addition to the compulsory subjects of the course, and their corresponding assessments, they have to prepare for their year abroad, which can involve many hours. As for the Spanish students, they have a particularly heavy workload: their concurrent degree requires them to complete 36 ECTS credits per semester, instead of 30, which is the norm for degrees in Spain. The degree has a lot of project-based learning, so some see it as "yet another project". Furthermore, a number were combining morning classes with an afternoon/evening work placement.

Another possible reason is related to what Guth (2013: 16) calls 'high or low stakes assessment'. As opposed to Coruña students, where the stakes could be considered high, as the assessment counted towards the mark of the module, for Durham students no stakes were involved. This was because, due to institutional and logistical restrictions, the project could not be integrated within the Syllabus at Durham University. The only rewards or 'added value' (Guth 2013: 30) that Durham students could have perceived was winning the competition and receiving a prize, a certificate confirming participation and its perceived value on their CV and in reference letters for future employers, acceptance on Master's degrees, etc. This meant that whilst the students from A Coruña were extrinsically and, perhaps, to a certain extent, also intrinsically motivated to take part in the project, the degree of engagement of Durham students was based completely on their intrinsic motivation. A motivation that might have been weakened by the students' concept of self-efficacy (discussed below), by the aforementioned heavy workload, and by the fact that they had no say on their choice of research topic. As we pointed out previously, the more choice the students have, the more intrinsically motivated they will be (Ryan and Deci 2000; 2020). On the positive side, this also suggests that those Durham students that remained engaged were clearly very motivated intrinsically.

At an affective level, the students from both universities had little time to get to know each other. This lack of affective ties may also have influenced some students to abandon the project. Dörnyei & Murphey (2003: 15) list several unpleasant feelings that are commonly present in learners when they first start working in a group:

- general anxiety
- uncertainty about being accepted
- uncertainty about their own competence
- general lack of confidence
- inferiority
- restricted identity and freedom
- awkwardness
- anxiety about using L2
- anxiety about not knowing what to do (comprehending).

Many of these feelings have to do with the students' own 'self-efficacy'; that is, their self-belief in their ability to perform the task (Bandura 1997: 3). Most of the students from Durham University who dropped out from the project were ab initio. In other words, they had only studied the language for one year and were likely to lack confidence and be anxious about the use of their L2 and may not have felt capable of carrying out the project with their perceived level of Spanish.

Moreover, and related to the affective level, the drop-out rate might also be explained by peer pressure. In other words, if members of a particular group were friends outside the learning environment, they would mutually influence the decision of whether to pursue with the project or to abandon it. This mutual drive and support resulting from previous experiences in a shared learning environment could have been the reason why in one group managed to complete the project, even though only one student from Durham University participated.

A final point for consideration regarding group dynamics is what Sánchez Cuadrado (2010: 123) calls 'negative dependency', whereby one or more members of the group fail to engage sufficiently with the task at hand and rely on the work of others. In this sense, there are two extremes: groups where the sum of individual effort is greater than the isolated effort of each member; and, at the other end, groups whose members do not engage as much as when they work individually. However, we also need to consider that this 'negative dependency' may also be engendered by the students' concept of self-efficacy.

Notwithstanding, the feedback and impressions that we received from students were generally extremely positive, as can be seen from the comments below made by students from both universities.

It's a good way of improving social skills as well as language skills. But we should not just focus on one topic.

Hemos disfrutado mucho trabajando en el proyecto y conociendo a los estudiantes de A Coruña, son muy agradables [sic].

I had never spoken to a British person before.

I think the English were braver than us when it comes to not being embarrassed about speaking a language that isn't your own.

We tried to combine English and Spanish, but we ended up speaking mostly in English.

The idea of creating a document in two languages was marvellous.

It's hard to find time to meet.

Fue un placer trabajar con los otros en este proyecto. Gracias por organizarlo, creo que ha ayudado a mejorar mi español y lo mismo para el inglés de los estudiantes en la Universidad de A Coruña.

Possible improvements and issues to consider for the future

A COIL project is based 'on the principles of autonomy and reciprocity, and the responsibility for a successful exchange rest mainly with the learner.' (O'Dowd

2011: 369) Here the role of the tutor is minimal, and the student participants should normally find their own topics and not necessarily correct the errors of their partners. The motivation for continuing with and participating in this type of exchange is mostly intrinsic and its success and long life will depend on extralinguistic factors such as personalities and shared interests. A COIL exchange 'require learners not only to exchange and compare information but also to work together to produce a joint product or conclusion.' (O'Dowd 2011: 369). All of the points mentioned here were present in the collaborative project between Durham and A Coruña.

After piloting the project, we can draw a series of conclusions that will help improve it for future cycles. The first of these is to extend the time frame of the project: two terms rather than just one. This would help to establish closer relations between the members of each group which could lead to better collaboration and future friendships, independent of the institutional framework.

Secondly, we need to give students clearer instructions to help them carry out the project in order to prevent drop-out or at least reduce the rate. Each group could be assigned a tutor who would regularly monitor the progress of the group and help strengthen ties and therefore facilitate the acquisition of intercultural competence. As Guth (2013: 31) points out, the objectives, assessment criteria and exact activities have to be clear and explicit from the start and the tasks have to be 'interdependent for the completion of the task' rather than just adding or putting together individual work. In fact, the best presentations were those where it was clear that the group members had collaborated closely and cross-referenced their work, linking and including smooth transitions between the various parts of the presentation. This should have been included explicitly as an assessment criterion and communicated to the students right at the start.

Thirdly, given the lack of knowledge that Durham students have about the geographical area where they study (most of them come from other parts of the UK), a workshop at the start of the project to give information about the topics, contextualise *The Camino Inglés* and answer any questions they might have about the tasks they are supposed to do, would provide the project with a more solid knowledge to help capture the students' interest and therefore strengthen their engagement.

Fourthly, broadening the number of suggested topics, making them less specific and giving the students the opportunity to choose their topic as a group will also be a way of nurturing and strengthening their intrinsic motivation, as they would have a greater chance of finding common points and interests, which in turn will consolidate the group's identity.

Finally, the main focus should be on developing intrinsic motivation in all the students, by focusing on to what extent the students see themselves capable of carrying out the project; that is, their concept of self-efficacy. In order to deal with

the drop-out rate (or the fact that many did not volunteer for the project) in the case of the Durham students, we as teachers, need to show its 'added value' (Guth 2013: 30), deal with the particular feelings of self-efficacy and lack of confidence of some of the students, show exactly how much commitment is needed from their part and how the benefits outweigh the sacrifices in terms of the time and effort required. In the case of Durham, this might be achieved by integrating the final product (that is, the final video) within the formative tasks of the Spanish Language module, which they are required to complete, even though these do not count for the final mark. This might change the students' perception that the project is simply an extra-curricular activity and would hopefully increase their participation and enhance their engagement. Apart from that, a series of rewards and prizes could be offered to encourage participation and engagement. The ideal incentive would be a trip to both locations so that they can research *the Camino Inglés* in situ and gain intercultural competences at first hand.

We need to make it clear to the students that their involvement in the project would enable them to achieve a high level of linguistic and intercultural competence. We must also stress the potential social benefits of this type of project, which may even provide them with lifelong friendships. This might be achieved by only involving those students that have achieved a B2 level in their L2, as they would be more prepared to engage in the activities because they would have a higher self-efficacy concept.

Intercultural awareness or competencies 'cannot be "assessed" in the traditional sense of the word.' (Guth 2013: 16). However, it could be said that the key issue here is to provide opportunities for students to acquire this intercultural competence, regardless of how it is assessed or whether it should be assessed at all. From the above discussion, it is clear that a COIL exchange is an effective tool to provide this opportunity. This is more so when the theme underpinning the project is linked to the shared history, customs, traditions and beliefs between the two localities involved, all of which is embodied in *The Camino Inglés*.

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Unas notas bibliográficas sobre el Camino Inglés

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La producción bibliográfica centrada en el Camino Inglés es muy inferior a la que presenta el Camino por excelencia, la Calzada de Occidente hoy denominada Camino Francés. Sin embargo, supera a la del Portugués, que actualmente es el segundo en número de peregrinos, algo quizás relacionado con la profunda religiosidad del pueblo luso.

Tampoco abundan las obras generales sobre las peregrinaciones marítimas a lo largo del planeta, y la potencia del Mediterráneo, en todo caso, inclina la balanza a su favor. De cualquier manera, la comprensión de las peregrinaciones marítimas exige la lectura de *Europa y el mar*, de Michel Mollar de Jourdin, profesor de la Sorbona parisina.

En un nivel más concreto, y sin duda menos documentado pero con gran interés es una obra de caráctier divulgativo y que lleva por título *Peregrinaciones por mar a Compostela*. Su autor es Juan Caamaño Aramburu, que dedicó su vida profesional al mar y que cuenta con el apoyo de la Federación Española de Asociaciones del Camino de Santiago. En sus páginas hay también amplias referencias al Mediterráneo.

Centrándose en el Camino Inglés y obviando el ya lugar común que la bibliografía sobre las rutas jacobeas experimentó una gran expansión en los últimos treinta años, resulta irrefutable que aquel ha quedado en un lugar más secundario, y es solo en el último decenio cuando empieza a haber una producción con un cierto peso, al tiempo que se defendía la primera tesis doctoral sobre el tema, honor que le correspondió a la Universidade da Coruña.

Sí hay una obra genérica que resultaría imperdonable que no fuese citada aquí: el ingente trabajo en tres volúmenes de Luciano Huidobro y Senra, que lleva por título *Las peregrinaciones jacobeas*. Tras haber recibido en 1943 el Premio del Caudillo (el jefe de Estado entre 1939 y 1975 fue el dictador Francisco Franco, que era considerado caudillo de España), salió a la luz en los años 1950 y 1951.

Huidobro fue un religioso que contó con el apoyo de otros ocho para poder darle forma a la magna obra.

Por su parte, el catedrático Gonzalo Martínez es autor de la introducción a la reedición de 1999, fechada en Burgos, y en ella incide en que la aportación de *Las peregrinaciones jacobeas* es precisamente es recoger en sus páginas las peregrinaciones por rutas hasta entonces consideradas secundarias, como es el caso del Camino Inglés, prácticamente desaparecido incluso de la memoria popular, ya que tan solo en Bruma (Mesía) se conservaba la imagen de los caminantes rumbo a Santiago. En uno de esos tres volúmenes Huidobro ofrece un estupendo -aunque con errores- mapas del Camino Inglés.

Pero sin duda el libro que relanzó el interés por las peregrinaciones marítimas fue *Jacobean Pilgrims from England to St. James of Compostela. From the Early Twelfth to the Late Fifteenth Century*, de Constance Mary Storrs, la británica que se sumergió en los archivos de su país para buscar documentación de primera mano de este itinerario cuando nadie lo hacía. Por desgracia, la profesora Storrs acabó abandonando ese objeto de investigación en vista del escaso interés despertado entre colegas y lectores en general, encontrando tan solo un fuerte y decidido apoyo en el gallego Felipe Ramón Cordero Carrete.

Dando un salto en el tiempo, en el siglo XX Klaus Herbers y Ropbert Plötz, uno y otro miembros del Comité Internacional de Expertos del Camino de Santiago, sacaron a la luz de la mano de la Xunta de Galicia *Caminaron a Santiago. Relatos de pergrinaciones al "fin del mundo",* en el cual hay citas a devotos y no tan devotos que recorrieron el Camino Inglés.

Citas históricas a esta peregrinación siguiendo la ruta martítima se conserva hay más de una, y además, a pesar de no tener constancia exacta del paso de determinadas personas, resulta casi imposible pensar que siguieron otro itinerario. En ocasiones sí está explícita su llegada a A Coruña -el principal puerto de desembarque- como es el caso de William Wey, quien en su *Itineratio peregrinationis*[1] describe el puerto de A Coruña del siglo XV, o el de Heinrich Schönbrunner von Zug, que en sus notas detalla la peregrinación en el XVI desde A Coruña a Santiago y vuelta.

Y ya en el siglo XXI Manuel F. Rodríguez, un investigador del hecho jacobeo conocido por la minuciosidad de sus trabajos, coordinó y dirigió la *Gran enciclopedia del Camino de Santiago*. Nada menos que docena y media justa de volúmenes con los que acometió una puesta del saber de los itinerarios de peregrinación y de las personas que los recorrieron. En ella figuran numerosas entradas dedicadas al Camino Inglés, tanto en lo que se refiera a toponimia como a hechos históricos como en hombre y mujeres que lo hollaron.

Pero antes, en 1986, había tenido lugar en la ciudad de Ferrol -uno de los dos puntos de partida modernos de la ruta jacobea que nos ocupa- una gran cita

congreso centrado en las rutas marítimas: el II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos. Rutas Atlánticas.

Del encuentro, de varios días de duración, quedó constancia en los dos volúmenes de actas, editados por la Xunta de Galicia -organizadora de dicho encuentro- y que se han convertido en material de primer orden para estudiar el Camino Inglés, puesto que en conjunto constituyeron una exposición clara y rigurosa del estado de la cuestión. Sin duda alguna, con el tiempo han ido apareciendo nuevas aportaciones que han hecho que algunas voces solicitaran un nuevo congreso de ese estilo, tenido en cuenta el largo tiempo transcurrido desde aquel.

Igualmente es de justicia reseñar la primera y por ahora única tesis doctoral referida a este Camino de Santiago, presentada por María Violeta Miraz Seco y dirigida por la profesora Paz Romero en el 2013. Su título es *La peregrinación marítima. El Camino Inglés desde la ría de Ferrol en la baja Edad Media*. Se trata de una recopilación con alguna aportación y muchas dudas debido a su falta de concreción y referencias, pero sin duda abre una puerta que en algún momento seguirán otros investigadores.

Ya centrándonos en las obras de autores concretos, y aunque claramente superado hoy en día, en su momento marcó un hito *El antiguo camino real de La Coruña a Santiago*, cuyos autores son Fernando Urgorri y Lucindo Fembiella. Llevaba por subtítulo *El Camino de Faro o Camino Francés de Poulo*. Su aportación fotográfica aumenta su valor día a día, en tanto en cuanto refleja una Galicia que fue y ya no es.

Otro libro de escasas páginas y que debe definirse como una sencilla recopilación lleva por título *Crunia. Porto de peregrinacións*, cuyo autor fue el muy conocido periodista local Ángel Padín.

En realidad, la diversificación lenta pero creciente de publicaciones permite ir dejando las guías -que, aunque pocas, marcaron el camino a seguir- e ir introduciéndose en el estudio histórico en sí. En ese capítulo debemos incluir nuestro *The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from Great Britain: A preliminary approach*, un libro que abre una vía para otros caminos jacobeos y que fue publicado tanto en inglés como, posteriormente, en español, con una mayor aportación de datos en esta última versión.

En efecto, una de las condiciones comúnmente aceptadas para considerar una vía Camino de Santiago histórico es la constatación del paso de peregrinos a lo largo del tiempo medieval y principios de la Edad Moderna. La explosión de peticiones de reconocimiento oficial, a una pequeña parte de las cuales ha accedido la Iglesia católica a pesar de carecer de competencia para ello, intenta obviar el hecho fundamental de que se mantuviera en el tiempo el paso de peregrinos, recurriendo a diversos argumentos sin base científica ni histórica. Así, el Camino Inglés es el único que con el libro citado tiene una relación de todos los peregrinos

conocidos de nacionalidad británica que llegaron a Santiago. Es necesario recalcar que el pequeño volumen recoge todos los nombres con independencia de la ruta seguida, pero sí figura de manera destacada el Camino Inglés. Que, sin duda también, y como queda anteriormente sugerido, sería el más utilizado por los peregrinos del norte de Europa. El libro finaliza el recuento en 1909.

A pesar de que su título puede inducir al engaño (*A Coruña. El puerto de Santiago. Guía para los peregrinos*), el mencionado Manuel F. Rodríguez firma un pequeño volumen hasta el momento no superado sobre la relación de esa ciudad con los barcos cargados de peregrinos que procedían de Gran Bretaña.

Como trabajos amplios gestados fuera de España, puede calificarse como fundamental el *Dinamarca jacobea*, del castellonense Vicente Almazán, profesor en Estados Unidos y Canadá y miembro, hasta su fallecimiento, del Comité Internacional de Expertos del Camino de Santiago. A ese país nórdico no ha llegado el neologismo Camino Inglés, que no aceptan en la Asociación de Amigos del Camino de Santiago, Danske Santiagopilgrimme. El trabajo da un repaso completo a la presencia de Santiago en la toponimia y en la historia de las peregrinaciones a Compostela, siempre en referencia a Dinamarca.

Un estudio muy concreto que en cierto modo es ejemplar puesto que hay que lamentar que no existan más de otros peregrinos históricos es el firmado por Francis Davey. Responde al título de *William Way: an English Pilgrim to Compostella in 1456*, y su publicación corrió a cargo de la Confraternity of St James.

Dentro del en ocasiones cerrado mundo de la generación de conocimientos, hay que destacar un pequeño conjunto de artículos publicados en revistas científicas europeas.

En ese capítulo, y sin que el orden indique la prelevancia, resaltan dos trabajos de la investigadora Marta Ameijeiras que vieron la luz en la revista Ad Limina, referidos uno y otro a los santuarios que existen (o existieron) en Gran Bretaña dedicados al Apóstol Santiago. Rediscovering the Jacobean cult in medieval England. The wall paintings of St James the Great in Stoke Orchard es uno de ellos. El otro lleva por título Mapping the cult of St James the Great in England during the Middle Ages: from the second half of the 11th century until the middle of the 14th century.

La mencionada Constance Storrs firma con Felipe Ramón Cordero Carrete *Peregrinos ingleses a Santiago en el siglo XIV*, que vio la luz en el año 1965 en Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos. Un interesante estudio no tanto por los datos que aumenta sobre el libro también citado de la profesora sino porque ella logra con Cordero Carrete un puente para que su obra pudiera ser conocida en España. Este último se merece un reconocimiento público que todavía no le ha llegado. Nacido en Redondela en 1895, fue director de la Residencia de Estudiantes de

la Universidad compostelana y miembro del Seminario de Estudios Gallegos. Purgado de la docencia por los golpistas de 1936, se refugió intelectualmente en el Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento (llegó a ser su secretario) y, luchando contra numerosas dificultades fue uno de los que se lanzó a la aventura de crear la editorial Bibliófilos Gallegos en 1949.

Del mismo Cordero Carrete es *Embarque de peregrinos ingleses a Compostela en los siglo XIV y XV*, en cuyas primeras líneas reconoce el gran papel de Constance Storrs, de quien se siente deudor, y añade el nombre "de su colaborador don Jesús Carro García", en referencia a ese sacerdote arqueólogo que perteneció también al Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento. En esa colaboración, Cordero Carrete expurga páginas del Public Record Office, en posesión del Victoria and Albert Museum.

La profesora de la Universidad de Santiago Elisa Ferreira Priegue tiene un trabajo de alto valor también en Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos: *La ruta ineludible: las peregrinaciones colectivas desde las islas británicas en los siglos XIX y XV*. Un valor que le viene dado por el estudio de la ruta en sí y los retornos. Sea dicho de paso, la profesora Ferreira continúa esperando el muy merecido reconocimiento por sus investigaciones sobre el Camino Inglés.

También en la revista Ad Limina publicó Manuel F. Rodríguez. Su aportación llevó por título *La ciudad de A Coruña como puerto de referencia en Galicia para los peregrinos a Santiago de Compostela en los siglos XIII y XVII*. El propio autor dice que se trata de un texto que deriva del informe elaborado por él mismo para su remisión al cabildo de la catedral de Santiago con el objeto de justificar la concesión de la Compostela a los peregrinos llegados desde A Coruña. En todo momento el investigador defiende el papel fundamental que tuvo esa ciudad en el período estudiado.

Francisco Singul, en *Hasta el confín del mundo. Diálogos entre Santiago y Galicia y el mar*, incluye un trabajo recopilador bajo el título de *Peregrinos ingleses a Santiago. La ruta marítima*. De menor entidad es Cuadernos del Camino Inglés, editado por la Diputación de A Coruña y que tan solo salió a la luz su número uno. En su índice, muy variopinto, figuran los trabajos *Un ilustre y belicoso peregrino del Camino Inglés*, del profesor Óscar Perea (Universidad de Lancaster), *La peregrinación de Juan de Gante a Compostela*, de Paula Cadaveira, *O Camiño Inglés na Idade Media*, de Mónica Garrido (en gallego), y *El Camino Inglés: una ruta con pasado y presente en la red*, de Silvia León.

Ya en inglés hay un curioso trabajo del investigador Francis Davey. Se titula *Topsham to Compostela. Pilgrims and Pirates Mariners and Ships on the River Exe in the fifteenth Centur²y*.

En sueco figura una excelente aproximación al tema que, por desgracia, no está actualizada, firmada por Christian Krötzl, profesor de la universidad finlandesa

de Tampere, titulado *Om nordbornas vallfarter till Santiago de Compostela*, cuya libre traducción equivaldría a *Sobre las peregrinaciones de los norteños a Compostela*.

De gran valor como testimonio, pero sin carácter científico, tiene el texto de Patricia Quaife que vio la luz en el número 2 de Revista de Neda, A medio camino entre la guía y la apreciación personal, aporta interesantes detalles de por dónde se creía en aquellos años que transcurría el Camino Inglés. Su título: *La peregrinación a pie desde Ferrol a Santiago. Mayo 1999*.

El capítulo de guías es magro pero aumenta cada año, y curiosamente hay más en inglés que en español o en gallego. A ellas procede sumarle una presentada en Roma en primavera del 2022 y escrita en italiano por el periodista Fabrizio Ardito. En pequeño formato *Il Cammino Inglese per Santiago a piedi* está muy actualizada y fue editada por Edicicloeditore con el respaldo de Turespaña y la Diputación de A Coruña. Incluye unas páginas dedicadas a la Prolongación a Fisterra y Muxía.

En español hay que lamentar que no haya sido actualizado y reeditado el muy completo y esquemático folleto *Camino de Santiago desde Ferrol. El Camino Inglés*, de Marta Trueba. Del 2015 (con actualizaciòn en el 2021) es *De Ferrol a Compostela. El Camino Inglés y las rutas marítimas*, que a la descripción del itinerario añade pequeños capítulos en ocasiones complementarios con la ruta que nos ocupa, en ocasiones sin que tengan nada que ver con ella. Su autor es Juan J. Burgoa Fernández. La más actual es *Guía del Camino de Santiago. Camino Inglés*, de Antón Pombo.

Pero, como queda dicho, es el inglés el idioma en que se publicaron más guías, centradas no solo en la descripción de las etapas sino también en la experiencia personal de cada uno de los autores. Quizás la más completa sea *A pilgrim guide to the Camino Inglés & Camino Finisterre including Muxía circuit*, de John Brierley.

En este epígrafe procede incluir *The Camino Inglés. 6 days (or less) to Santiago*, de Susan Jagannath, residente en Australia; *Ferrol to Santiago. Guide to walking the Camino Inglés*, de M. J. McCarthy; *Camino Inglés and Ruta do Mar*, de David Whitson; y *Camino Inglés. Ferrol to Santiago on Spain's English Way*, de M. Harms, A. Dinstaman y D. Landis.

Pero todas ellas se refieren al Camino Inglés en España. De Inglaterra solo existe la muy conocida en el mundo británico *A pilgrim way from Reading to Southampton. A Camino in England*, un librito publicado por Camino Pilgrim, un sello de The Confraternity of St. James. La primera edición es del 2012 y la segunda, y por ahora última, del 2018.

Existe otra más, publicada por el ayuntamiento de Oroso (limítrofe con el de Santiago), con dos partes y doble título: *Descrición do Camiño Inglés da Coruña a*

Compostela y *The English Way. A Coruña to Santiago de Compostela*. La primera está escrita en gallego y va firmada por Manuel Pazos Gómez, y se trata de una guía al uso. La segunda, en inglés, por la profesora estadounidense Trese Barton, y la conforma el relato de las impresiones de la ruta jacobea de esta profesora estadounidense, pura visión subjetiva pero no por ello carente de interés.

Y a todo lo anterior súmese la enorme base documental que son los Calendar of Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, una gran base de datos oficiales que en realidad recogen en bruto la historia de Gran Bretaña.

Por último, dos folletos arrojan algo de luz sobre San Godric, el personaje sin el cual el Camino de Santiago en el Reino Unido no habría tenido la historia que tiene: *Finchale Priory* y *The abridged life of St. Godric and the Tragey of Finchale Priory*. San Godric fue el fundador de Finchale Prory y él mismo peregrino a Tierra Santa, Roma y Compostela. Su imprescindible figura engrandece el Camino Inglés.

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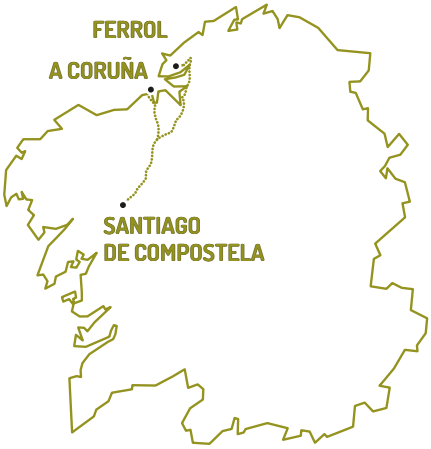
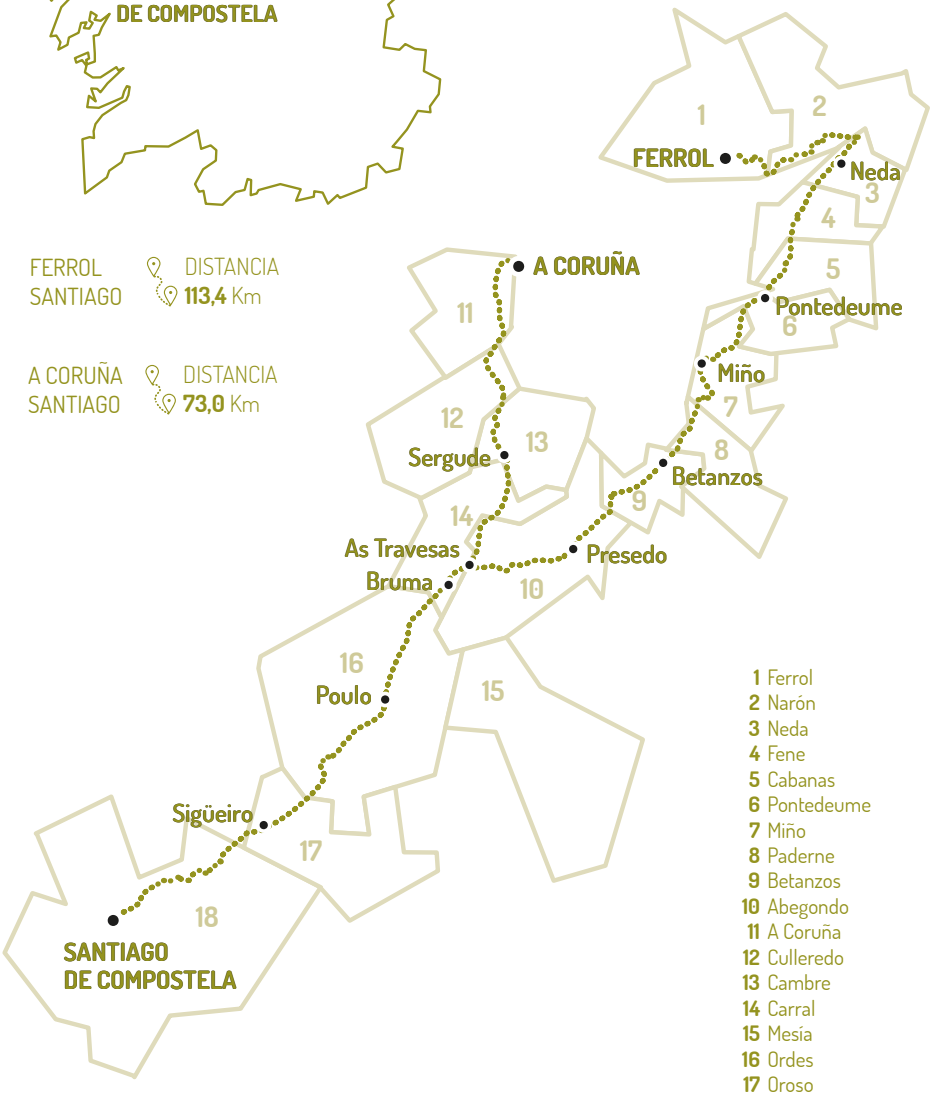


FERROL SANTIAGO — DISTANCIA **113,4** Km

A CORUÑA SANTIAGO — DISTANCIA **73,0** Km



1 Ferrol
2 Narón
3 Neda
4 Fene
5 Cabanas
6 Pontedeume
7 Miño
8 Paderne
9 Betanzos
10 Abegondo
11 A Coruña
12 Culleredo
13 Cambre
14 Carral
15 Mesía
16 Ordes
17 Oroso
18 Santiago de Compostela

ANNE E. BAILEY

Anne E. Bailey is based at the University of Oxford where she is a member of the History Faculty and a part-time tutor at the University's Department for Continuing Education. She specialises in western traditions of pilgrimage from the Middle Ages to the modern day, and has published widely on medieval and contemporary pilgrimage. She regularly participates in pilgrimage events and activities, and she walked the Camino Frances in 2019.

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Dr Lara Escudero Baztán is Lecturer in Spanish at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures in Durham University. She holds a PhD in Spanish Golden Theatre from Universidad de Navarra. Her research and scholarship are based on hagiographic theatre. She has published books (critical editions of Tirso de Molina plays), and articles on Tirso de Molina, autos sacramentales, primary sources of Golden Age theatre, and reception of hagiographic plays. She currently combines this research with studies on El Camino Inglés and pedagogical studies on the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

PENELOPE JOHNSON

Dr Penelope Johnson has been an Associate Professor at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures in Durham University since 2005. She holds a PhD in Translation Studies from Newcastle University. Her research and scholarship activities are based on postcolonial theory of translation and transnationalism. She has published articles on translation and ideology focusing on text selection, anthologizing, re-translations, the role of language mediation in pilgrimages, and translation and border writing. She translated into Spanish the fact-based novel by Kim Kupperman (2018), *Five Thousand Miles to Home*.

SARAH MOSS

Sarah Moss is a Lecturer in English for Specific Purposes at the Faculty of Tourism, University of A Coruña. She is also a qualified translator, specialised in Tourism, Business and Sociology. Her interests lie in discourse analysis and intercultural communication and otherness.

CRISTÓBAL RAMÍREZ

Periodista. Former Lecturer at the University de A Coruña. Official chronicler of Camino Inglés (English Way). For 20 years he presided over the International Association of Journalists of the Camino de Santiago. He has lectured on the Camino Inglés in the UK, France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Germany. Nacional Prize of Journalism in 1989 for his work promoting the Jacobean routes. He presided over eight international conferences on the same subject and has published seven books on the Camino de Santiago.

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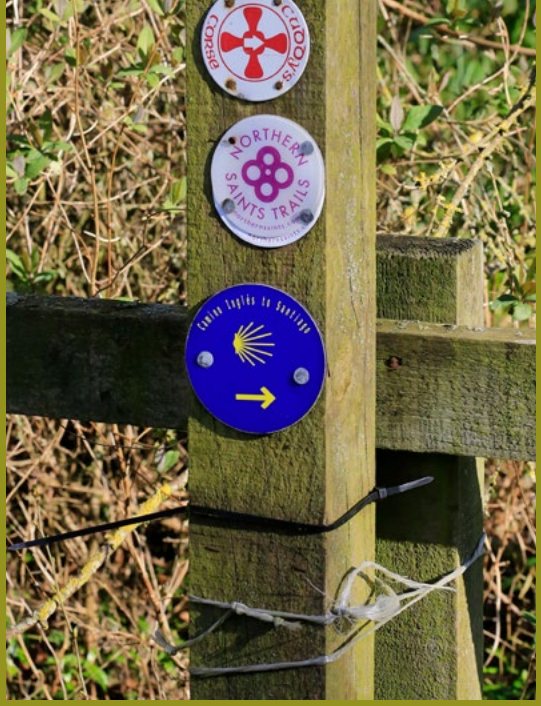

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