

CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF GALICIAN IDENTITY:
CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA AND THE
CAMIÑO DE SANTIAGO

By

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ABSTRACT

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Today, Galicia is one of Spain's most popular travel destinations. It is known internationally for the Camiño de Compostela – a world recognized city and pilgrimage site. Galician history, however, reveals extensive periods of political repression, social neglect and little capacity for economic sustainability. In the post-Franco period this has been changing, such that the socio-political challenges of the past have been giving way to a greater acceptance of and interest in Galicia's language, culture and heritage. This is evidenced by the still-developing and politically sanctioned processes of “normalization,” reclamation and cultural reaffirmation.

Since 1975 when the post-Franco period began, Galicia's increasing representation and visibility on a global stage brings into question the impact of this notoriety and the consumer-based packaging of Galician culture to domestic and international audiences. Now, at the very historical juncture when Galicia is afforded a greater freedom of expression and cultural acceptance, the impact of increasing cultural commodification and tourist marketing may result in a loss of, or at best a distortion of the region's rich cultural heritage. The packaging of Galician heritage and culture for mass consumption may play a role in the region's potential cultural demise.

This dissertation seeks to better understand the potential opportunity of “normalizing” and reclaiming Galician identity and culture in the context of globalization. To this purpose, I consider a selection of narrative representations of Galicia produced in recent decades. These texts and narratives allow consideration of representations of Galicia's culture and identity and

asks whether they may be supportive or harmful to the sustainability of Galician cultural heritage.

The dissertation will explore how the selected narratives represent, construct, and/or appropriate Galician cultural heritage and language and whether the narratives of Galicia constructed by authors from within differ from those written by authors from without. The dissertation then investigates how the narratives differ and how might they be supportive or not of the region's history and culture. Further, the roles these narratives play in disseminating a particular view of Galician cultural and heritage is explained as well as how the narratives of the state or of those with political influence in Galicia represent the region's history and culture.

By exploring both popular and hegemonic or "official" narrative representations of Galician identity, I hope to present a richer understanding than has been offered before of the current trends in representing and articulating Galician identity and culture. By considering a selection of the most resonant narratives inspired by Galicia since 1985, I shed light on the potential impact of these influential representations for this internationally recognized, highly unique and most important region of Spain.

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For my father
COLIN LEROY METCALF
1944 - 2005

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Chapter 1

The Story of Galician Struggle in Historical Context

The narratives of the world are without number... the narrative is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; the history of the narrative begins with the history of mankind; there does not exist, and never has existed, a people without narratives.
— Roland Barthes

Postmodernity is the simultaneity of the destruction of earlier values and their reconstruction. It is renovation within ruination.
— Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*

Galicia as Pilgrimage Location and Tourist Destination

On the northwestern-most corner of Spain and occupying a landmass of some 11,419 square miles lies Galicia, an increasingly popular travel destination for visitors both from within the region itself and from all over the world. Within Galicia lies Santiago de Compostela – one of the region’s most prominent and renowned cities, and historically, along with Jerusalem and Rome, Santiago de Compostela has been one of the most important pilgrimage destinations for religious and spiritual travellers from far and wide. Presently, both an autonomous community and yet also integral to Spain as a nation state, Galicia and its rich cultural and spiritual heritage provides a significant and contemporary example of the global pull of certain locations of spiritual sanctity.

When I first visited Galicia, what I noticed too was its beautiful landscapes. Galicia borders the Atlantic Ocean and the Cantabrian Sea and here are over 1,030 miles of coastline upon which rest the prized *rías* – a series of coastal inlets made by submerged valleys or estuaries where the sea penetrates inland. The *rías* are said to create an intimate connection between the people and the sea. The Atlantic Ocean has also carved out numerous capes such as

Cape *Fisterra* or *Finisterre*, which was once believed to be the end of the earth. Many islands also dot the coastline, some of them the former sites of ancient Celtic civilizations.

As one travels inland, there are the *fragas*, a special kind of indigenous oak forest and a spectacular sight. With varied flora and fauna mixed with dense and ancient oaks, the *fragas* offer a landscape unlike any other in Spain. In general, Galicia's landscape is very distinct from the more arid and flat spaces of the peninsula. In the summer it is lush and green with life due to heavy rainfall and there are also spectacular mountains, rolling hills, and wonderful connections to the sea providing many nature and rural tourism opportunities. In 2011 Galicia hosted almost 9.5 million visitors "consolidating its position as one of the leading tourist destinations in Spain" (Galicia.es).

Santiago de Compostela, Galicia's capital city – often referred to as simply Santiago or Compostela – lies inland and also offers much beauty of its own. It is the fourth most populous city in Galicia with around 95,671 inhabitants in 2012 according to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística – National Institute of Statistics (Ine.es).¹ The center of Santiago has been built around the Apostle James's alleged tomb and is surrounded by a medieval complex of buildings and streets which appear much as one imagines they may have, many hundreds of years ago. The cathedral which is situated at the center of the oldest section of the city draws many religious tourists and pilgrims. The city's medieval charm, beauty, festivals, gastronomy and culture brings tourists of all sorts from around the world. Moreover, Santiago boasts some of the most extravagant festivals, and in particular, Saint James' Day which, during Holy Year - a year when the day falls on a Sunday - is a month-long series of events celebrating the patron saint of

1. Statistics offered by INE: in 2012 the population of Vigo was 296, 479; A Coruña 246,056; and Ourense 108,002.

² Translation by Craig Patterson in *Anthology of Galician Literature*.

Galicia and Spain. Each year the Saint James's Day celebration culminates in a spectacular light and sound show that features the cathedral as a compelling visual backdrop.

In the decades since the end of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in 1975, there has been increased global interest in Galicia and a substantial growth in religious and spiritual tourism. Some of this tourism stems from the pull of the ancient pilgrimage route - the Camiño de Santiago which spans Northern Spain and leads to the crypt of Saint James in the center of Santiago de Compostela. The Camiño has thus experienced a great cultural awakening and received much attention on a global scale. North Americans, in particular, have been drawn to and become enamored with the Camiño, as reflected in recent Hollywood movies such as *The Way* (2010), starring Emilio Estévez and Martin Sheen, and popular novels such as *The Camiño: A Journey of the Spirit* (2000) by Shirley MacLaine. Yet, there are many other reasons that tourists and travellers from distant shores have flocked to Santiago in recent years as well, such as a general interest in the cultural and political history of the area and the exquisite gastronomy. For many too, Galicia is appealing as an escape as a place that is more mystical and quite different from the rest of Spain.

Tourists, historical enthusiasts and holiday-makers alike may enjoy beaches, the beautiful landscape, the temperate climate, the historical monuments and much more on their vacations in Galicia. Since in recent years, Galicia is enjoying something of a cultural and social renaissance, my research can be said to come at a critical time when the preservation and sustainability of Galician culture, heritage and language are exposed to different influences from afar, and potentially at risk of simplification for quick and easily packaged tourist consumption. However, before delving deeper into these issues facing Galicia today and the research questions posed by

this dissertation, I would like to first share my motivation for this work and something of my personal journey in relation to the unique and beautiful nation of Galicia.

A Pilgrim in Galicia

I first stepped foot on Galician soil in 2001. I was hiking the Camiño de Santiago and endeavoring to reach O'Cebreiro. At one particularly challenging point in the climb when the road was shrouded in fog and mist I could faintly see the outlines of a road marker. As I hiked closer I saw the official flag of Galicia carved into a granite stone. My excitement grew because I knew I was entering a new section of the pilgrimage as well as a new part of Spain. Toiling upward with renewed vigor, I finally reached O'Cebreiro some hours later.

The ancient, enigmatic settlement at the top the mountain was enveloped in a light rain and as I entered I saw the impressive roundhouses with their conical, thatched roofs. That night I slept in an *albergue* - a pilgrims' hostel on the mountain where some claim the Holy Grail is located. The following morning I slowly descended through the clouds into what seemed like a new world and my focus was immediately reoriented toward this unique, breathtaking and yet humble region and people.

My first few days in Galicia presented many surprises. I was aware of myself as an outsider and that I was seeing my surroundings as very different, even 'exotic' and certainly beautiful in many ways. I was struck by the very stately and timeworn oak forests, the lush vegetation, the uniquely somber and at the same time humorous attitude of its inhabitants and their melodic speech. Santiago de Compostela held so many wonders too as an old and well-preserved city. The ancient granite of the *rúas*, which are the central streets leading away from the cathedral into the Casco Vello, and the arcades and covered passageways which spoke

implicitly of a past that was very much present beneath my hiking boots. Almost unexpectedly, the music of bagpipers led me down the narrow winding streets to the breathtaking baroque façade of the cathedral. I was overcome by the knowledge that my pilgrimage was complete. I had made it approximately 500 kilometers from Burgos in 26 days. Then there were the various rituals that come with visiting the cathedral: touching the marble pillar of knowledge, hugging the sculpture of Saint James before visiting his tomb, listening to the pilgrims' mass, and watching the spectacle of the *botafumeiro* - an enormous swinging incense burner.

As I sat in the ornate and immense cathedral I felt a deep connection to the millions of pilgrims that I imagined had gone before me, as if I truly were a part of a continuing history. At the same time I wondered if my being there was in some way a threat to the unique culture I was enjoying. I had noticed the many tourist shops on my way to the cathedral and wondered what had been in their place a few decades earlier. With the onset of globalization and the increased exposure of the Galician culture to the world, something had to be changing. Knowing that the pilgrimage's reanimation had only taken place a few decades before, I realized much had already been done to promote and utilize the Camiño. The increase in interest from abroad was bringing adventure seekers and holidaymakers whose presence was sure to shape the future of Galician culture. In the tourist shops I saw glitzy knick knacks, cheap-looking representations, including stereotypical images of historical figures, the Camiño and the city of Santiago.

If I had walked past the same spot even 50 years earlier, would there have then been a very different representation of Galician life and culture? Had my being there and others before me negatively impacted Galicia and its culture? Did the apparent contemporary focus on quick economic gain and globalization effectively dilute Galician culture and make it a version more easily and superficially digested by tourists who probably know no better? Had the heart of

Galicia been ‘sold out’ for monetary interests? What did other pilgrims glean from their experience and how did they narrate it once back home? Might Galicia change for the worse as a result of more and more travelers from afar ‘writing’ and discovering it? As I sat in the pew of the cathedral watching the *botafumeiro* swing, I decided to gain a better understanding of Galicia’s history and cultural struggle both before and since the onset of globalization.

Since this first visit, I have returned to research and to better understand the impact of globalization, tourism, the economic crisis, and the effects of these influences on Galician language and culture. I have always considered this work as a metaphorical pilgrimage, a journey taking me closer to Galicia and a more profound understanding of its history and continuing development. If in writing this dissertation I can offer something of value about the nation of Galicia and its people I would be glad of that. The people of Galicia graciously accepted me. My deeply-felt appreciation of this was perhaps in part due to my self-awareness that I too was a kind of tourist, even if I held an intention of giving back more than I received. The locals included me in their culture and showed me such generous hospitality that I will never forget.

Santiago de Compostela – its Meaning and Significance

The naming of the most important city in Galicia, the current political capital, Santiago de Compostela, has been in a sense based on storytelling. The word Santiago has evolved from *Sanctu Iacobi* or “Saint James.” The word Compostela may come from the Latin word *compositum*, or ‘burial ground’ as explained by R. A. Fletcher when he argues that “most scholars are now agreed that the place-name of Compostela is derived from Latin *componere*, ‘to bury, *compositum* > *compostum*, ‘burial’, with diminutive suffix *-illa* > *-ela*, ‘little cemetery’”

(64). Indeed, the Plaza da Quintana, one of the main plazas flanking the cathedral, is built upon an ancient cemetery. The plethora of archaeological digs beneath Santiago begs an investigation into whether the deceased are vanquished and gone, or whether they have the power to speak to us beyond the grave. An alternative etymology for the name Compostela comes from *campus stellae*, or ‘starry field’ which could be a reference to the Milky Way. Over the centuries, the Milky Way and its cloud of stars has led many pilgrims on their journey from East to West toward Santiago de Compostela.

The Camiño de Santiago is generally referred to as simply the “Camino” in Spanish and often in English also as “The Way” or “The Road to Santiago.” The term that seems to be accepted by local Galicians today is the Camiño. In this text I will use the term ‘Camiño’ to refer to the pilgrimage as it appears to be most commonly accepted in Galician language today. Clearly, every name generates a field of meaning that has a different story to tell. Even from the inception of the designation of names for these cultural constructs there was a ‘story,’ a focus on narrating the space in some way.

The Propagation of Ideology and Tradition

Following the work of Jacques Lacan, theorist and Lacanian-Marxist philosopher Slavoj Žižek has developed ideas about the concept of ‘the subject’ in ideology and the important role of desire in the creation of the nation. Žižek gives a psychoanalytically informed explanation of the ways in which capitalism works on the public imagination through ideology. Since one of the main components of capitalism is its manipulation or ‘compelling persuasion’ of the consumer, psychoanalysis offers some clues as to how the consumer responds to these manipulations and to what extent an individual is influenced by these tools or strategies - to use

de Certeau's terminology - of capitalism.

In *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989), Žižek offers the following definition of ideology: “the fundamental level of ideology, however, is not of an illusion masking the real state of things but that of an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality itself” (45). Therefore, one of the main bases of an ideology is subjective, a private fantasy or desire, making the workings of ideology a very subjective, complex process. As Žižek explains it, ideology cannot be divided from the subject, and the subject holds the control as a creative user of an ideology. The overarching power structures and strategies do have their effects, but the ultimate power lies with the individual, or those who decide what to do with an ideology. By focusing on the practice of user tactics in a cultural and social system as proposed by de Certeau and Žižek, it is possible to identify the ways in which the cultural structures and ideology in place are manipulated by the subject. Nationalism is one such cultural construct that has been used and invoked to serve a variety of ideological purposes.

Eric Hobsbawm has argued that nationalism is cultivated through the propagation of traditions. In *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) Hobsbawm explains that a surge in the mass-production of traditions in Europe occurred during the forty years before the First World War, roughly 1870 to 1914. The traditions ranged from formal to informal, official to unofficial, and from the political to the social. Hobsbawm reasoned that the burgeoning social structures and changing society of the time made it difficult for the nation-state to keep the existing traditional forms of ruling in place. For the ruling states in Europe, as a way to counter these societal changes, the invention of tradition offered a new way of “establishing bonds of loyalty” (Hobsbawm 263). Some of these traditions have included official new public holidays, ceremonies, reference to heroes, and symbols.

Central to operating a new system of traditions was the “direct and increasingly intrusive and regular relations with the subjects or citizens as individuals” (265). In other words, the influence of tradition was more ‘intrusive’ or pervasive, due to it being more ubiquitous and personally felt in various areas of communal and yet also individual life. Hobsbawm explains that during the mass-production of traditions in Europe, it was easiest for the nation-state to create traditions around the individual’s subjective beliefs in areas such as religion, class consciousness, and nationalism. These were the places where autonomous subordination still held firm in the form of existing political obedience and loyalty (266). Consequently, even today, the invention of traditions is a strategy used to secure the active - if not always the conscious - consent of the individual, and in turn the collective will, by the socio-political and cultural hegemony that controls the imagery, symbolism, and invention or sustaining of traditions. As I shall later show, the traditions present in the representation of Galicia today are subject to change, perhaps toward the distant past or perhaps toward a cultural hybrid future. Galicia’s strong base of tradition is explained in Castelao’s *Sempre en Galiza*, one of the foundational books of Galician nationalism:

A nosa tradición revélase no idioma, no espírito, na cultura, na arte, no xeito de vivir e de pensar, no sentido trascendente da vida e da morte, no afán de universalidade e de particularidade, no amor á xusticia e ás boas formas de convivencia, na identificación amorosa coa terra, na esperanza d-un mundo mellor, na predisposición á poesía... A tradición é todo aquilo que endexamáis nos traicionará. (256)

[Our tradition is revealed in our language, spirit, culture, art, lifestyle and outlook, in the transcendental sense of life and death, the desire for universality and

peculiarity, the love of justice and acceptable patterns of coexistence, the affectionate identification with the land, in the hope of a better world, in the predisposition towards poetry... Tradition is everything that will never betray us].²

The effects of such a strong base of identity and ideology in Galicia exists, then, for two reasons. First, the people of Galicia feel, as Castelao points out above, a deep connection to a sense of themselves and their imagined Galician community by experiencing traditions. The traditions also have been produced, recycled and ‘re-presented’ in the interest of ruling institutions such as the Xunta in an attempt to keep the community tied to the sense of Galicianism that they support, as Hobsbawm has explained. In stateless nations the concept of tradition is more ‘up for grabs’ since the ‘nation state’ is not set in stone and clearly established and accepted by all of the populace as a whole. It remains in flux, and subject to the political will and influence of the party politic in power.

Globalization, the Promotion of Culture and Changing Identities

As noted above, the concept of the nation – and the question of the nation state - has a particular significance in Galicia. It is helpful to consider Benedict Anderson’s characterization of the nation here: “it [the nation] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). In Anderson’s terms, a nation as an imagined community is different from an actual community because it is not defined by everyday interactions between its members. On the contrary, individuals in the community each have a unique and personal understanding of their nationhood. Members may have similar interests and identify as the same nation, but the individuals will never personally know every other member, therefore making the

² Translation by Craig Patterson in *Anthology of Galician Literature*.

community imaginary. Anderson argues that, “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (6). Romero gives us a glimpse into the ‘style in which the Galician imagined community is created, or ‘invented.’

Normally the idea of a nation is built around the existence of a fixed geographic locale. Yet in the case of Galicia the angle of vision is best widened to include other possible Galicians, and indeed to also include the possibility that there exists no true, specific, or pure national identity, due to the long history of emigration. There may be distinct elements that continue through time. Culture, as Hall pointed out, is always having to be reproduced and reiterated and does change over time. Similar to Romero, Galicia’s geographic ambiguity, or lack of clear national boundaries because of the history of emigration and the outward focus of its citizens, has been identified as a key element of Galician identity by other cultural theorists (Beswick, Hooper).

Globalization is, along with emigration, another challenge to identifying a true national identity in Galicia, as well as a challenge to maintaining Galician culture and language intact. The integration of local markets into a global network of capitalism and opportunities that help sustain Galicia too, such as tourism as a global market are the result of greater interpersonal communication and the sharing of ideas, worldviews, products, and culture over wide spaces. These processes make the local Galician culture more accessible to a global audience, inevitably transforming culture and making more easily assimilated by tourists and visitors.

Globalization is an international integration process resulting in transnational social spaces. Néstor García Canclini has defined “the glocal” as a way to consider the results of

globalization on smaller, peripheral locales. He defines ‘the glocal’ as locally rooted and globally connected and claims that a glocalized culture “articulates information, beliefs, and rituals deriving from the local, the national, and the international” (*Consumers* 59). The process of glocalization essentially combines globalization with local considerations. The presence of a glocal paradigm is apparent in the functioning of Galicia, and even though the region is experiencing challenges due to the impacts of global change, Galicia was in some ways already prepared for the potential opportunities that globalization would present as a result of the history of pilgrim visitors from around the globe. Galicia has served as host to pilgrims, holiday-makers and other kinds of travelers for centuries, even if the greatest number has been received since contemporary times. This has meant that there have always been influences upon Galicia, but not so potentially and powerfully impactful perhaps as those that have most recently come with 21st century technology. Galicia has been open to the opportunities that globalization may present, however the residual and ongoing effects are yet to be more fully understood. The history of emigration and a largely open worldview have made Galicia accessible to globalization and its impact.

Contemporary Influences Upon Galician Identity

Due to the influences present today together with Galicia’s extensive history of migration, these contemporary and co-existing influences including multiculturalism, multilingualism, and the hybridity of individual and community identity are all integral to the Galician postnational cultural system. According to García Canclini in *Hybrid Cultures*, the term hybridization is defined as “a socio-cultural process in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects,

and practices” (xxv). Canclini focuses his attention on the process of hybridization in Latin America, highlighting a dizzying process of contemporary cultural change in a still-globalizing world. However, his theories on hybridity can also be applied to Galicia and to contemporary Galician cultural productions.

For example, Galicia is in a process of hybridization because it is a nation that maintains social and political networks with long-distance interactions such as those achieved through the Galician diaspora. It is also a region that has some form of influence, religious or otherwise, on a global scale. As a testament to this contemporary clout Santiago boasts the denominations of Santiago’s Casco Vello, the central medieval core of the city known in English as Old Town, as well as the Torre de Hércules as a World Heritage sites (1985). Concomitantly, Galicia is also experiencing the repercussions of a slight separation from the Spanish State due to the region’s political categorization as an autonomous community.

One term that has been used to describe the current status of Galicia today is ‘postnational.’ In the Galician context, the terms ‘post’ and ‘national’ are both highly charged with meaning. As we see in his article “Peripheral Visions,” Colmeiro argues that:

Galician contemporary culture is fundamentally redefined as a ‘post’ culture: first, post-Franco; then, paradoxically, both post-industrial and post-rural (or *rurban*); also, postcolonial (profoundly marked by the experiences of colonialism and migration, but also struggling for its own identity and survival vis-à-vis the imperialistic legacy of the centralist Spanish nation-state); and ultimately postnational and post-peripheral (beyond the nation and immersed in the global and economic and geopolitical order). (223)

Galicia enjoys a certain level of self-government which means essentially the weakening of

national elements (the Spanish State in this case). Due to this postnational status, the ‘glocal’ characteristics, and the region’s complex relationships with Spain, Europe and indeed many nations beyond, Galicia is positioned between two arguably distinct cultural forms and thus can be seen as having a kind of hybrid identity.

This postnational status is yet another thematic affecting the study of Galicia and the Galician condition. Postnationalism is the process of the weakening of national identities to larger, global entities. Increasingly, the forces of globalization, the forging of social and political bonds beyond Galician borders, and the extended cultural commodification and distribution have resulted in the creation of postnational identities and beliefs – identities and beliefs that will have been likely influenced by the many and growing connections to other global identities and cultures.

Since the restoration of democracy and the decentralization of Spain, Galicia has become separate in important ways from the Spanish state, and for many citizens Galicia already is its own nation, albeit a stateless nation. Galicia has its own language and culture, as well as multiple meaningful relationships with other nations. Indeed, Galicia has created and is continuing to develop its identity in large part from the diaspora, including through transatlantic networks. The diaspora brings global elements to Galicia and helps disperse Galician elements abroad, creating a complex global network of influences which functions in a postnational manner.

Exemplifying the earning power of Galicia and the importance of postnationalism is a company with an unquestionable global reach and earning power; the international textile giant Inditex founded by Amancio Ortega Ganao and Rosalía Mera in 1963. The company features

product lines such as Zara, Pull and Bear, Strativarius and Bershka, among others.³ International companies such as Inditex result in Spain and Galicia interacting in a postnational kind of relation, with a weakening or distillation of national elements to be traded to the world. In other words, the way that nationalism is now articulated has changed.

In “Remnants of the Nation,” Joseba Gabilondo explains that postnationalism “represents the continuity and permanence of both nationalism and its subject, albeit in new and heterogeneous forms. Nowadays, nationalism no longer coincides with the imperialist state, but instead, emerges from its crisis as postnational. The postnation is born precisely from this dislodgement or disjoint between nation, state, and empire” (14). Therefore, a study of ‘stories,’ cultural narratives and communicative forms allows an evaluation of the individual’s utilization of such narratives to create their own identity within the complex processes of neoliberalism, globalization, and postnationalism.

With its historically outward perspective, combined with its unique language and culture, the ‘glocal’ paradigm has been absorbed and utilized in Galicia in new and ingenious ways such as through the successful promotion of the Camiño to a global audience. At the same time, however, the insistence on a distinct, unique history and culture in opposition to the unifying effects of Spain, Europe, and the world must also be considered. José Colmeiro suggests that one must take into account “the multiple interactions between the local and the global, and the creation of the ‘glocal’ realities in complex relations of interdependence and interpenetration” (“Peripheral Visions” 214). I will consider the concept of the glocal below in the process of

³ In the face of the devastating economic crisis in Europe, Inditex has seen the most advancement in its stock market value of all the largest companies in the European Union in 2012. Inditex is valued at 62,300 million Euros as of October, 2012, rising well above the estimated values of national banks such as Santander, or telecommunication companies such as Telefónica. It offers stores in 77 countries worldwide and online stores in 18 countries such as the United States and Japan (Romero).

exploring selected cultural manifestations and narratives in order to understand Galician culture and identity. Further, I will discuss how contemporary narratives either support or threaten its heritage.

What is at Stake?

Today, Galicia can be considered at a pivotal moment in its development. The journey toward Galician selfhood as a reaction against a history of oppressive influences has accelerated in the last few decades. Yet, at the same time, the fast-paced changes and integration of different ideas and representations in narrative representations of Galicia pose new challenges for the region if they were to result in unique and treasured Galician elements falling into decline. In recent decades, the impact of globalization has resulted in Galicia being more exposed to international audiences and populations who bring with them new ideas and interpretations of what they see and hear. Transnational population movements and the globally dispersed cultural diasporas means that the concepts of nationality and culture are less stable than they once were. Harvey explains this contemporary experience as “the condition of postmodernity.” In his view, “Postmodernism swims, even wallows, in the fragmentary and the chaotic currents of change as if that is all there is” (*Postmodernity* 44). Keeping these ideas of constant change, fragmentation, re-creation and instability in mind, there are a few overarching questions that are important for this work.

Historically, Galicia has suffered extensive periods of social and cultural neglect, a lack of political independence or strength, and little power or economic resources. However, at the present historical juncture which reveals the notoriety of the region and its economic value to have grown, will Galicia’s increased significance be used to help Spain, the over-arching power, currently is in the midst of a major economic crisis? Galicia is not itself outside of the financial

crisis bearing down on Europe and Spain, however, the region has experienced a great deal of interest and revenue from tourism in recent decades and therefore Spain also can benefit from this economic development. In the midst of this current and continuing financial boon, to what extent will representations of Galician cultural heritage be used or exploited as a resource for the rest of Spain? Ironically, at this historical time when Galicia is experiencing a greater freedom of expression and increased recognition of its culture and language, will the region suffer under the forces of economic imperative, commodification and the effects of the ‘glocal?’

My dissertation seeks to better understand the current context for the representation of Galician identity and the rich cultural heritage that it can offer. To this purpose, I have selected a range of narrative representations of Galicia that have been produced in recent decades, for analysis and exploration. The texts and narratives that I have chosen allow for consideration of influences upon how Galician culture and cultural heritage are represented and/or imagined. My analysis will enable further consideration of how these discourses may either support or be harmful to the sustainability of Galician culture and history.

Some additional questions therefore follow: How do the selected Galician narratives represent, construct, and/or appropriate Galician cultural heritage and language? Do the narratives constructed by authors from within Galicia differ from those written by authors from outside of the region? If so, how might they differ and how might they be supportive or not of the region’s history and culture? Put another way, what role might they play in disseminating a particular discourse about Galician identity and cultural heritage? And finally, how do the official narratives of the state and of those with political and economic power in Galicia represent Galician history and culture? By posing these questions and exploring prominent and

well known narrative representations of Galician identity, my purpose is to better understand current trends in the representation and potential development of Galicia's identity and culture.

Galician Culture and 'Normalization'

Santiago de Compostela is experiencing both the impact of having become the political seat of power of Galicia and also the effects of rapid globalization and extensive commodification of Galician culture. The term 'normalization' has come into wide use in the Galician linguistic and cultural arena since the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1975. The concept of 'normalization' as used today refers to the process of the reclamation, reaffirmation, and propagation of the Galician language and culture.

This relatively recent normalization of Galician language and culture has been aided by various forces: massive growth of the audiovisual industry; the presence and influence of the mass media - particularly television and the Internet; increased attention and funding to cultural institutions, and the concentrated development of multiple cultural industries such as the cinematographic and multimedia industries. I propose to investigate the consequences of these influences by dissecting diverse cultural manifestations such as literature, urban space, websites, video and film. Yet, before delving more deeply into the questions posed above, it is important to understand the historical context for this exploration and the story of Galician struggle against State oppression.

The Story of Galician Struggle and a History of Violence

The history of Galicia has included long eras of subjugation and socio-cultural bias. A better understanding of the past is critical to a fuller understanding Galicia's present. Galician

history includes periods of cultural and historical importance, yet also political and social marginalization and prejudice. Most recently, the still-developing processes of reclamation, normalization, and reaffirmation of Galician language and culture offer in most cases, positive forward movement for the Galician nation against the legacy of historical violence and trauma. My historical review will begin with the myth of Saint James as well as the early creation and promotion of the Camiño as a site of religious pilgrimage and the starting point of a differentiated Galician cultural identity. My exploration here will chronicle the story of struggle for Galician identity relevance, self-hood, and nationhood through periods of oppression.

The Myth of Saint James and the Promotion of the Camiño

The Camiño de Santiago has historically been a shifting cultural construct intricately linked to the societal power structures of each period. The pilgrimage along the Camiño arose originally from a significant discovery - what was thought to be the remains of Saint James the Apostle in Galicia. James the Greater, son of Zebedee is widely considered the first apostle to Jesus and was martyred for his faith by King Herod I in the year 44. "...Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword." (*The Bible*, Acts 12.1-2). Saint James is the patron saint of Spain because of his martyrdom as well as the belief that he evangelized Spain and that his remains were found there postmortem, hence the basis of the invention of the myth of Saint James. It is important to keep in mind, however, as R. A. Fletcher says, that "[i]n early medieval Europe saints' cults did not simply happen: they were made" (68).

The creation of the myth began with one important historical discovery. The Catholic Church maintains that a sepulture was found in the ninth century in Iria Flavia, or modern day

Padrón, a town a few miles west of present-day Santiago. It was identified by the bishop of Iria Falvia and the ecclesiastical authorities as the remains of Saint James the Apostle and then transported to Santiago and enshrined. A myth was beginning to take shape and over time, it firmly took hold. Roland Barthes explains the tendency of narratives to become accepted over time through a process of ‘mythologisation,’ a sort of repetition of the notion over time by those in power. Barthes states that “[e]verything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by a discourse’ (107). In this way, the dissemination of discourse surrounding the discovery of the body of Saint James led to the development of a myth of the Apostle which became accepted over time in Galicia, Europe and about the globe.

The construction of myth was also used to support the Catholic Church during the Reconquest.⁴ Santiago was given the dubious title “Matamoros,” or the Moor-slayer. The Moor-slaying version of Saint James helped to galvanize the Christian Reconquest and was a powerful contribution to the process of ‘re-Christianizing’ the peninsula. The legend maintains that Saint James appeared to help the Christians in a decisive battle against the Moors at Clavijo, Spain, and led the Christians on to victory. R. A. Fletcher explains that “it was believed that Ramiro I had been assisted by St. James to win a victory over the Moors at Clavijo in 844, in gratitude for which the king was supposed to have lavished upon the church of Santiago de Compostela the right to certain categories of annual tribute paid by all the dwellers within Christian Spain. But the story is without historical foundation” (67). Later he explains that the myth of Saint James was often associated with a king to benefit the kingdom in question:

⁴ The Reconquest (711 - 1492) was the process of Christians retaking the peninsula from Muslim rule. For over 700 years the religion of Islam had been prominent in the peninsula. The Christians began from the North, specifically the Asturian mountains, which soon incorporated Galicia, to reclaim the territory. The process took almost 800 years.

In gratitude for St. James's assistance in the defeat of the Moors the king was made to decree that every part of Spain under Christian rule would render annually a certain quantity of corn and wine to the cathedral community of Compostela; and further, that a share of all booty taken in campaigns against the Moors should likewise be made over to Santiago. This was the render which later generations were to know as the *votos de Santiago*. Though the diploma has found impassioned defenders in the past, all scholars are now agreed that it is a forgery. (293)

Fletcher's conclusions show how the myth of Saint James was used politically. The invention and perpetual reconstruction of the myth/s surrounding Saint James the Greater gave life to the myths and legends forming around the Saint's reputation and fortified rulers along the way as well as the city of Santiago de Compostela and the pilgrimage in many ways.

As Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz explains in his compilation of studies about Santiago entitled *Santiago, hechura de España*, the invention of the myth was an "invención-hallazgo" – an invention-discovery. He clarifies his use of this term by citing the Latin roots of the word: "¿Invención=hallazgo? El verbo latino *invenire* tiene el doble significago de hallar, encontrar y de inventar, imaginar [invention=discovery? The Latin verb *invenire* has a double meaning of to discover, find and to invent, imagine]" (27). Such is the story of Santiago; a discovery followed by the invention of the myth of Santiago. Many other Galician authors have seen the process of the creation of the myth, the urban complex of Santiago, and Galicia's myths in general in the same light, for example Manuel Rivas.

Galician writer Manuel Rivas' article entitled "Siglos de niebla" ["Centuries of Mist"] gives a description of the success of the invention of myth of Santiago and the role it has played

in the mooring and propagation of the ideology of Compostela and the numerous types of narratives that are contending for dominance:

La buena estrella de Compostela, que comenzó cuando en el siglo XI una asamblea de clérigos y nobles, presidida por el rey Alfonso II, ratificó la *invención* del sepulcro apostólico, brilla ahora por tres motivos simbólicos, no para todos conciliables: ciudad santa de la Cristiandad, santuario del Patrón de España y *sancta sanctorum* del nacionalismo gallego, con su centro de espiritualidad laica en el Panteón dos Galegos Ilustres, donde yacen Rosalía de Castro y Castelao. (*Galicia* 18)

[The shining fortune of Compostela, which began when in the XI century an assembly of clergy and noblemen, presided over by the king Alfonso II, ratified the *invention* of the apostolic tomb, it shines for three symbolic reasons, not all reconcilable with each other: a holy city of Christianity, sanctuary of the Patron of Spain and *sancta sanctorum* of Galician nationalism, with its center of secular spirituality in the Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians, where Rosalía de Castro and Castelao rest.]⁵

Firstly, it is important to see how these three symbolic narratives of Santiago do not sit together easily, rather they are “no para todos conciliables.” Similar to the way in which this dissertation is the story of how different narratives are competing for adoption of Galician identity, the three symbolic narratives explained by Rivas are all uneasily balanced as vying for authority as the most accepted narrative. Rivas understands that more than just “the ratification” and the invention of a myth has taken place; rather, a set of ideologies surrounding the tomb including

⁵ All English translations, unless noted differently, are my own.

sacred spaces of veneration; the holy city, sanctuary of the Patron Saint and holy center of Galician nationalism. As Rivas shows, the myth has been the basis of the consolidation of Spain with the invention of the Patron of Spain, and a pillar of Galician nationalism.

The ideology has taken hold to such an extent that the veracity of the myth is no longer even pondered. Colmeiro explains in his article “Camiños de Santiago: identidade cultural, modernidade e reinvenición da tradición na fin do milenio” that

Pero en realidade, non importa tanto se o corpo do apóstolo Santiago chegou ás costas galegas e si os seus restos mortais están ou non soterrados en Santiago de Compostela. O importante é que a memoria colectiva construíu esa crenza a través dos séculos. Non importa tanto a veracidade dos feitos como o peso que manteñen esas imaxes do pasado sobre o presente. (420)

[Yet in reality, it doesn't matter as much if the body of the apostle Santiago arrived on the Galician coasts and if his human remains are buried in Santiago de Compostela. The importance is in the fact that the collective memory constructed this belief over the centuries. It doesn't matter as much if the facts are true as the weight that these images from the past have on the present.]

Indeed, the importance of the veracity of the myth is no longer important. Rather, the utilization of the myth in the invention of the identity of Galicia as well as in the fortification of a Galician ideology has become the focus. The myth of Saint James functions as one of the “mitos fundacionais reixioso-nacionais que descansan na memoria colectiva [foundational religious-national myths that rest in the collective memory]” (“Camiños” 420). Indeed, it certainly is and was a foundational myth of Galicianness. In the Middle Ages the myth was widespread, reaching outward into Europe as evidenced though the dispersion of the symbols of Saint James

through the region, beginning the labour of the national and symbolic unification of the European territory that continues today.

One symbol of the journey can show the dispersal of the myth through Christendom. James's emblem was the scallop shell, and pilgrims to his shrine often wore that symbol on their hats or clothes. The scallop shell made its way back from Galicia to far-off places by way of the many pilgrims completing the pilgrimage. The French for a scallop is *coquille St. Jacques*, which means "mollusk of St. James." The German word for a scallop is *Jakobsmuschel*, which means "mussel (or clam) of St. James;" the Dutch word is *Jacobsschelp*, meaning "shell of St. James." The extension of the myth of Saint James and the popularity in Europe during the Middle Ages is evidenced in these names and their surfacing around the region in churches and monuments, showing that many had made the journey and that the myth had been linked to a specific object of pilgrimage, the scallop shell.

The propagation of the myth gave rise to the cult of Santiago. Historian Ramón Villares describes the importance of the creation of the myth of Saint James in this way: “esta descuberta permite a aparición dun novo centro de peregrinación, a construción dun núcleo urbano e a difusión rápida polos reinos cristiáns ... do culto xacobeo [this discovery permitted the apparition of a new center of peregrination, the construction of an urban nucleus and the quick diffusion through the Christian regions ... of the xacobeian cult]” (93). Saint James was thus to become the patron saint of Spain and he soon became the focal point for Christians. The proliferation of the myth fits into the Spanish idea of mission and extension of Christianity. The myth and burgeoning pilgrimage route also allowed for a sense of cohesion between the regions that were to become modern-day Europe. Thus the pilgrimage served as an inter-regional connector, carrying cultural and economic trends back and forth across the Pyrenees.

In large part because of the myth and also due to the intense promotion of the city and a pilgrimage by Diego Xelmírez (1060-1149), the pilgrimage peaked during the Middle Ages. Diego Xelmírez was principal founder and proponent of the city of Santiago and the pilgrimage through his “intense ambition for the glory of St. James” (Fletcher 114). Villares explains that in the process “...Compostela convértese nunha das principais cidades da Europa medieval e nun ponto de referencia cultural, grazas ao Camiño de Santiago e á práctica da peregrinación [Compostela becomes one of the main medieval European cities and a cultural reference point thanks to the Camiño de Santiago and the practice of pilgrimage]” (95). The process set in place by the promotion of the city of Santiago de Compostela as important religious center and pilgrimage destination was thus taking shape.

At that time, pilgrimages were an essential part of western European spiritual and cultural life and fit well into the workings of the Spanish Christian idea of the extension of religion. “By the middle years of the eleventh century pilgrims on their way to Compostela were a common sight on the roads of western Europe” (Fletcher 53). The propagation of the myth of Santiago led to a great increase in pilgrimage. This was of fundamental significance to a blooming urban Santiago, to the politics and economics of the region of Galicia, and on an even wider scale for the Iberian Peninsula. The impact of the notoriety and draw of the Camiño de Santiago reverberated far beyond the Pyrenees. With the support of the cultural system of the religious community, it increased the trade and flow of money and aided in the circulation of ideas such as artistic and literary models. The pilgrimage transported vital political, economic, and artistic developments over long distances and created a dialogue, resulting in a communication system that served as a unifier of the territory at a time when the concept of “Europe” did not yet exist.

Silence, Repression and Neglect

The *Séculos Escuros* or Dark Centuries of the 1500s and 1700s (16th -18th centuries) were a time of decline and stagnation in Galicia for many reasons. Institutional power shifted away from religious centers such as Santiago and toward external nobility culminating in the power of the Reyes Católicos, the Catholic Kings of Castile and Aragon. The language of Galician was then no longer seen as a language of the learned and was replaced by Castilian. In 1479 Isabel de Trastamara assumed the throne of Castile, ushering in what historian Jerónimo Zurita (1512-80) has called an era of “doma e castración do reino de Galicia [domination and castration of the kingdom of Galicia].” The Reyes Católicos imposed their authority over Galicia and promulgated a new social organization, one under the power of the centralist way of unifying the state.

Stanley Payne explains the decline of larger Spain thus:

...by the middle of the seventeenth century Spain seemed to reveal a deeper malaise than temporary fatigue. While it is true that the country would have had to run faster than it had in the sixteenth century merely in order not to lose ground during the seventeenth century – a period of greater competition and development among the “modernizing” northwest European countries – it was unable to maintain even the pace of 1600. By the second half of the century the society and culture, not just the economy or the military, showed signs of decadence in the stricter sense of the term. (*A Unique History* 129)

The decay of nobility and aristocracy led Galicia into the Dark Centuries, the effects of which lasted until a faint light of hope and promise appeared during the XIX century - the loss of power of the Spanish nation. For centuries, the themes of silence, neglect and even ridicule by those

from outside can be seen to be present in the history and cultural struggle of Galicia. The way in which Galicia has been the subject of ridicule, for example, can be seen, in the Golden Age of Spanish literature: Quevedo, Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina all had a hand in mocking Galicia and Galician people. And the Castilian language progressed as Galician lost status. The devastating effects of this language shift are still undergoing rectification today and the process of reclaiming Galician language and culture began with the Rexurdimento Galego in the late XIX century.

Coming out of the Shadows

The transformation of cultural forms was instigated by the crisis of 1898 when Spain lost the last of its colonies overseas including Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Significantly, the idea of Galician nationalism began to gain power around the same time as the loss of power and prestige for Spain. The country's rapid collapse was perceived as a national disaster which inevitably undermined the credibility of the Spanish government.

The era of Galician cultural and social renewal in the latter half of the nineteenth century is referred to as the Rexurdimento (approximately from 1860 – 1990). The Rexurdimento—also referred to as the revival, rebirth, resurgence or reawakening—was a time of reaffirmation of Galician language and culture. It was a process that, over time, also allowed for Galician political and historical revival. It had been prompted and encouraged by progressive thinkers such as Padre Martín Sarmiento (1695-1772) who defended the use of Galician language and first called attention to its oppression.

The revalidation of the Galician language which took place during the Rexurdimento gave rise to a dramatic increase in the number of texts written in Galician. Indeed, the Rexurdimento is considered to have begun with one fundamental piece of literature – Rosalía de

Castro's *Cantares Gallegos* (1863). The period of literary development since this time continued with authors such as Curros Enríquez and *Aires da miña terra* (1880), Valentín Lamas de Carvajal with *Saudades Gallegas* (1880) and Eduardo Pondal with *Queixumes dos pinos* (1885). One of the last manifestations of the Rexurdimento in the twentieth century was the constitution in 1905 of the Real Academia Galega (the Royal Academy of the Galician Language) through which the process of validation, recuperation and propagation of the Galician language is moving in a more positive direction, even though there are still some serious issues to address.

The Significance of Rosalía de Castro

Though undervalued by her literary contemporaries, Rosalía de Castro (1837-85) initiated the process of the retrieval and validation of Galician language and culture. Her *Cantares gallegos* (1863) is arguably the most important literary work of all Galician literary history because it initiated the modern expansion of Galician literature as well as the political movement called Rexionalismo which led to modern-day Galician nationalism. The Rexurdimento was especially successful in the propagation of Galician language and history and created an intellectual and literary base for the expression of the modern Galician nation. It rekindled a sense of general pride in being Galician and a desire to preserve Galician language and culture. This strong Galician desire to sustain a distinct cultural identity and a longing to maintain specific Galician cultural identifiers can be traced from the Rexurdimento through to today. The contemporary interest in reclaiming a distinct Galician identity today can be likened in some ways to this prior period of the Rexurdimento.

Galician Nationalism and “Galeguismo”

Galician identity and its recognition by the cultural elites received a further boost with the coining of *Galeguismo* (Galicianism) which came about after the establishment of the Irmandades da Fala, the Brotherhood in Language (1916-32). It was the first political movement hailing Galician nationalism. The Irmandades da Fala was an organization of lower-middle-class intellectuals led by Antón Vilar Ponte (1931-1936) which held as its political ideology the objective to defend Galicia and its culture through the establishment and strengthening of its own particular institutions. Galeguismo was a political movement which stood and argued for the recognition of Galicia as an autonomous nation. It was further sustained under the Partido Galeguista (The Galicianist Party) formed in 1931 by Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao (1886-1950).

With a progressive parliamentary government, the years that followed were fraught with many problems caused by Spain’s uneasy transformation into a modern nation state. In contrast to the relative political instability in Spain, the Galician nation was at this time experiencing hope and optimism during the Second Republic.

Exile, Print Capitalism and the Survival of Galeguismo after the Spanish Civil War

However, the Second Republic’s vision of a new Spain did not come to fruition as was hoped due to the eruption of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Galicia’s peripheral culture and language was violently repressed in favor of a centralist program. During and after the Spanish Civil War, Galeguismo was kept alive in large part due to the exiled Galician community and Galician activists such as Rodríguez Castelao, who established modern Galician political theory with *Sempre en Galiza* [Forever in Galicia] in 1944. *Sempre en Galiza* is considered Castelao’s political ‘magnum opus.’ It was published in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1944 while Castelao

was in exile. Castelao called for Spain to loosen its hold on the Galicia and grant it the individual respect that it deserved. He argued, in no uncertain terms, that

...xa fai moito tempo que a súa [de España] matriz non dá máis de si i é xusto pedir que un *imperium* en estado de menopausia— raíña caduca da nosa colmea —renuncie á súa absorbente soberanía, permitindo a transformación de Hespaña [sic] como Estado-poder en Estado plurinacional... (*Sempre en Galiza*, 493)

[... it has been a long time since her [Spanish] matrix doesn't offer us any more help and it is fair to ask an imperial state in menopause — expired Queen of our hive— to renounce her sovereignty, allowing the transformation of Spain from a state-power to a plurinational state...]

Castelao, and the exiled community as a whole in Latin America, was important in the distillation and rearticulating of modern Galician political theory. Castelao strongly believed that Galicia should be its own nation. In his opinion, the autonomy granted to Galicia during the Second Republic gave Galicia a foothold from which to create a Galician State. Ultimately *Sempre en Galiza*, published in Argentina in Galician during Castelao's exile, became an instrument which furthered the cohesion of an imagined Galician community both within and outside Galicia, leading to the modern-day concept of Galician nationalism. The repression and violence experienced in Galicia during Franco's 'reign of terror' led to a strong, united and active exile community.

As with the case of Castelao, the Irmandades da Fala and Xeración Nós, nationalism was cultivated through 'print-capitalism' as explained by Benedict Anderson. Anderson claims that the prime influence of capitalism and the marketing of print-capitalism can explain the popularization of the idea of the nation (37). In his words, "the convergence of capitalism and

print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation” (46). In Europe, according to Anderson, the ideology of the nation became widespread with the growth of print-capitalism because it allowed, through the language in print of each nation, to create and sustain a national consciousness by creating “unified fields of exchange and communication” (44). National consciousness was constructed as a narrative built of component parts such as history, memory, tradition, and myth.

In Galicia, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the foundation of several vital newspapers, *Galicia* and *El Pueblo Gallego*, both published in Galician. In 1916 a group called Irmandades da Fala was formed, prompted by Antón Villar Ponte (1881-1936), an especially active journalist.⁶ The Irmandades da Fala comprised supporters of Galician nationalism. The group was born of a preoccupation and defense of the language, although they later they became more involved in other spheres of interest such as politics. In response to the earlier movement called regionalism, they declared themselves nationalists because they considered that Galicia had all the elements necessary to become its own nation: territory, culture, language, and a differentiated cultural identity. They supported making Castilian Spanish and Galician official co-languages.

In 1920, Vicente Risco published *Teoría do nacionalismo galego*, one of the foundational texts of the movement. The efforts of the Irmandades da Fala, Galician language newspapers, and authors such as Rosalía de Castro, Manuel Murguía, and later Castelao, created an early foundation for the further development of, and a way to sustain, Galician cultural heritage. It

⁶ The principal founders, besides Antón Villar Ponte, were Lugo Freire, Porteiro Carea, Ramón Millar Ponte, Banet Fontenla and later Otero Pedrayo, Vicente Risco, Castelao, Luís Peña Novo and Xaime Quintanilla.

was a process deeply rooted in Galician language, propagated through print-media by the Galician publishing industry, and which bridged the Atlantic for Galicians at home and in emigration and exile. In 1931 the Second Spanish Republic was declared. During the Republic, Galicia was granted status as an autonomous region with the Statute of Autonomy. Yet, because of the onset of the Spanish Civil War, all progress toward real political autonomy was halted.

Ramón Piñero founded Xeración Nós, a group of intellectuals and artists that between 1920 and 1936 expressed themselves through the pages of a magazine produced by Vicente Risco and Afonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao. Risco was literary director and Castelao was artistic director of the magazine. The coaction of the magazine was pluridisciplinary. It defended the beliefs of the Irmandades da Fala: giving Galicia a strong cultural identity, connect overarching literary and artistic trends of the time, and demonstrating exclusive use of the Galician language. The pages of the magazine, *Nós*, were the principal vehicle of expression of nationalism at that time and they provided the substantial corpus of thought that went on to influence future generations. However, with the beginning of the Civil War in 1936, such advances were to come to an unexpected halt.

A New Dark Age: Francoist Repression of Galician Language and Culture

During and after the Civil War, Franco's regime imposed authoritarianism, Spanish nationalism, and rigorous Catholicism. There was effectively, a reign of terror, or what Stanley Payne describes as "savage repressions" that included imprisoning and exiling those who opposed the centralist policies and assassinating others (*The Spanish Civil War* 103).⁷ Indeed,

⁷ Galician José Calvo Sotelo was a victim of assassination by the centralists, and his execution (1936) corresponds to the beginning of the Civil War. Among the attempts at antifrancoist

during the dictatorial regime of Francisco Franco (1939–1975) Galicia experienced extensive political, social and linguistic subjugation and prejudice. There was a powerful backlash against anything that could be perceived as oppositional or counter to ‘Spanish’ language and culture. In Galicia, it resulted in the silencing and oppression of Galician language and culture. The Franco Regime systemically dominated Galicia, and yet, ironically, Franco himself, a Galician by birth, took many Galician elements to support the narrative of Spanish Nationalism in Spain – and they were the deeply symbolic and profoundly accepted cultural elements such as the myth of Saint James and the Camiño de Santiago.

Significantly, the Spanish idea of mission and religious expansion was recaptured through the use of strictly enforced Catholicism and religious myths, such as ‘Santiago Matamoros’ [Moor-slaying Santiago], a myth originating in Galicia (Frey 238), were revived. According to Franco’s ideology, Spain was seen as the great Catholic reserve of the West. Popular religious expression was developed and controlled by both protecting and exploiting cultural and religious resources such as the myth of Santiago Matamoros. Santiago Matamoros also represented a spirit of crusade and uprising, indicative of the Franco Regime. The Regime was interested in unifying Spain, much like the myth of Santiago Matamoros was a unifier of Christian Spain during the time of the Reconquest.

The Regime attempted to recapture the Spanish idea of extension of Catholicism and predetermined destiny also through the Galician cultural relic of the Camiño de Santiago. The Camiño was, for Franco, an ideal ideological and religious narrative that could be used to further the agenda of his regime. The Franco regime supported research into the Camiño, initiating an

resistance were small leftist guerrilla groups such as those led by José Castro Veiga and Benigno Andrade, both of whom were ultimately captured and executed in Galicia.

upturn in academic and political interest which continued during the post-Franco era.⁸ Sites of cultural patrimony like the Camiño were valuable to the regime because its primary political identity was defined in cultural and religious terms, albeit for political and ideological gain. For example, religious and culturally significant place names along the Camiño were devised and public monuments and memorials were used to inscribe the ideology of Spanish nationalism onto the pilgrimage. For Franco, the Camiño was a space appropriated for the manifestation of the regime's version of religious and cultural nationalism. Overall then, the Camiño, located in Galicia, was utilized as a powerful narrative to further a nationalistic program. Later Manuel Fraga Iribarne would continue development of the ideals and cultural inventions related to Saint James and the Camiño as well.

During this time of profound repression against the Galician nation, Franco, understanding that power could be exercised through the imaginary community of the nation, rallied all Spaniards to join the nationalist agenda. Villares claims that dissident views were systematically silenced through censorship and coercion and at times violently (*Historia de Galicia*: 415). Franco helped the Catholic Church regain its political importance and respect through organizations like Acción Católica which led the way toward the “re-Christianization” of Spain. The power of the Franco regime was in large part based on the extensive revival of traditional Catholicism and the restoration of a position of favor for the Catholic Church through the myth of Saint James. Each year, Franco visited Galicia and the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela to pay homage to Saint James, the patron Saint of Spain, utilizing the same Galician culture that he had violently repressed.

⁸ In the first decade of Franco came the publication of two lengthy texts on the history of the pilgrimage; Luciano Huidobro y Serna's three-volume *Las Peregrinaciones Jacobeas* (1945-51) and later the classic three-volume *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago* (1948) by Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María LaCarra and Juan Uría Ríu.

In terms of the Francoist regime's relationship to Galicia, it considered Galician nationalism an 'anti-España' or 'anti-Spain.' Villares explains that the regime "[t]ratábaba se non só de instaurar un novo réxime, senón de combater a *anti-España* [not only tried to instate a new regime, but also to combat the *anti-Spain*]" (423). Regional cultures and languages represented a political threat to the Francoist regime's plan of unification. As a result, the budding Galician nationalist movement was violently repressed. The use of Galician language in public settings was forbidden and those who were found speaking it were persecuted. Ironically and significantly at the same time, however, the regime both supported and profited from iconic Galician cultural signifiers such as the myth of Santiago and the religious significance of the Camiño.

During Franco's 40-year reign there was also comprehensive repression of the Republican ideology of the pre-Civil War, the regional nationalist movements, and anything in opposition to the centralist and religious ideals of the regime. This seemingly endless time of repression is known in Galicia as the 'longa noite de pedra' (the long night of stone), that is, the oppressive years after the Civil War. The phrase originated with the poetic work of the same name by Celso Emilio Ferreiro (1912-1979). Ferreiro was a Galician activist, writer, and political journalist. His *Longa noite de pedra* (1962) was originally written during his imprisonment at the time of the Civil War, but later acquired a more symbolic meaning as a lament of the anti-Galician policies of the Franco regime. It is the one of the best-known and most powerful Galician poems of all time.⁹ Ferreiro poignantly expresses the pain, hunger, darkness and despair suffered after the Civil War during the reign of Franco. As in the time of

⁹ See Appendix for original poem in Galician and translation to English.

the Dark Centuries during the Middle Ages, Galicia was once again experiencing a time of prejudice, oppression and neglect.

The Regeneration of Galicia as ‘Autonomous Community’

After Franco’s death in 1975 the transition to Democracy began. In Galicia the process of recuperation of the political and cultural advances that had begun before the Civil War with the Rexurdimento and the Second Republic was underway. Galicia had drafted and approved by referendum its own statute of autonomy during the Second Republic and although the statute was not officially established then because of the Franco uprising, Galicia was able to recapture it following the dissolution of the dictatorship. During the Spanish transition to democracy, Galicia enjoyed a somewhat advantageous position due to the statute of autonomy predating the Civil War, but was less powerful than its historical counterparts, Catalonia and the Basque Country, which both had solid governments in place and had functioned in exile for the duration of the dictatorship. As a group, all three of these regions had substantial recourse when it came to reclaiming the right to their own particular culture and government following the drafting of the new Spanish Constitution in 1978.

The Spanish Constitution comprises a set of rules that show a compromise between diverse and often opposing views as Spain is a nation comprised of very different “historical nationalities.” It provides for Spain’s complex cultural makeup by placing the main political power in the peninsula with the Spanish state, but while also placing importance in the multiple autonomous communities which are regulated by their own respective statutes. For example, Galicia has its own statute, yet it is still subservient to the centralizing power in Madrid. In

1978, during the restoration of democracy, the region of Galicia was finally given more self-administrative autonomy.

Galicia as ‘Historical Nationality’

As Article 5 of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia (1981) indicated, Galicia is termed a “nacionalidade histórica” or “historical nationality” of Spain. Historical nationality is a term used to recognize the denominated region as having a unique and valuable culture. It designates the autonomous communities as having a collective linguistic and cultural identity separate from that of the rest of Spain. The term has always been problematic, in part because the distinct historical nationalities have differing levels of control over their own affairs. Nonetheless, Galicia is one of three of the most powerful peripheral administrations together with the Basque Country and Catalonia. Andalusia, Aragon, the Balearic Islands, Navarre, the Canary Islands and the Community of Valencia also consider themselves separate and unique cultures in opposition to the homogenizing effects of the Spanish nation-state.

Galicia’s status as an autonomous community, however, is somewhat complex in that Galicia has certain rights and privileges, but at the same time forms part of the larger Spanish state. Hooper and Puga Moruxa in their introduction to *Contemporary Galician Cultural Studies*, find it problematic that Galicia is still defined and functions as “an appendage” of the Spanish state because it complicates Galicia’s relationships with the rest of the world (3). Even though the state has influence and ultimate political power in Galicia, the ideology of Galician nationalism based on Galician language and culture is gaining momentum.

In the early 1980s more self-administrative autonomy came with The Statute of Autonomy of Galicia which resulted in three important steps forward for Galicia. First, it was

the catalyst for a process of linguistic and cultural normalization that is still at work today. Second, it also helped Galicia to function as a national culture even though the region was and is still a part of the Spanish state. And third, it allowed Galicia the right to self-government with the powers necessary to transform itself economically, socially and culturally. The Galician people are now enjoying a more autonomous mindset and consciousness. Citizens of Galicia now are more aware and admiring of their region and some do appear to realize the risks placed on historical sites such as the city center of Santiago. In 2013 the mayor of Santiago de Compostela, Ángel Currás, in an interview with *El País* journalist, José Precado, expressed concern about how to proceed in areas concerned with the recuperation and treatment of the city center. Currás claimed that the Casco Vello “[s]e está convirtiendo en un parque temático dedicado a los turistas. Queremos evitarlo por encima de todo [is becoming a theme park for tourists. We want to avoid that above all else] (qtd in Precado). Clearly, the Statue of Autonomy opened many doors that were once closed and has given Galicia the opportunity to change and grow in its own right into the future, but the changes evoked by the Statue have also resulted in greater Galician cultural value, causing concerns about the marketing of Galicia and the increase in curiosity in the region from far and wide.

The Rise of a Political Powerhouse: Manuel Fraga Iribarne

Manuel Fraga Iribarne was a commanding political figure; a very hard worker, organized, disciplined and intelligent with an outstandingly long and prosperous political career. He was born on November 23, 1922 in Vilalba, in the province of Lugo, Galicia and known for his unending vitality. Indeed, he was dubbed by the press as a wind of unstoppable force: “*Ciclón Fraga*,” and “*Huracán Fraga*” (Gilmour 85).

Fraga began his political career in 1945 during Franco's dictatorship. During the years spanning 1962 through 1969 he served as Minister of Information and Tourism, bolstering tourism in Spain and became the 'new face' of Francoism. He is most well-known for his slogan "Spain is different (*España es diferente*)!" While he was Minister of Information and Tourism, Spain became more open to foreign influences and ideas leading to substantial improvements in the general standard of living.

This new prosperity, in part, was one reason that the country was beginning to modernize and open up. Moreover, Fraga backed a policy of *aperturismo* – or openness. Thanks to Fraga, the tourism sector was also opening up to foreign holidaymakers. John Gilmour explains that "Not only was Fraga able to encourage young visitors to come to Spain in great numbers, but he also learnt the art of the official propagandist, anxious to present the dictatorship in the best possible light to the outside world" (30). Fraga saw tourism as a way of projecting the Spanish personality and making the outside world understand what Spaniards were like, partially in an attempt to respond to the hostility against Spain from abroad. He affirmed particular national cultural elements such as Flamenco dancing, bull fights, and beaches, a tactic which would serve him well as President of Galicia in the future. As Minister of Information and Tourism under Franco, Fraga saw tourism become the fastest growth industry, from less than 3 million visitors in 1959 to over 30 million by 1970 (Gilmour 52).

Later, during the transition to democracy, Fraga helped write the new Spanish constitution and was highly influential in the democratization process. He was not chosen as first President after Franco's death, however he served under Arias Navarro as the Interior Ministry and Deputy Premiership for Political Affairs, a position through which he could implement his reform program while the country freed itself from dictatorship.

After falling out of favor with the King Juan Carlos, Fraga retreated and regrouped. In 1976 he launched a new political party called the Partido Unido de Alianza Popular [AP] (in 1987 renamed the Partido Popular [PP]). Gilmour explains that the AP “claimed to be reformist, but only moderately so, for they were not prepared to deviate from the course which the Franco regime had taken in its developmental phase during the 1960s, and their principal aim was to build on the successes of the long period of dictatorship” (138). The alliance was an amalgam of ageing politicians who had not seen eye to eye in the past and were seen as “a group of Fascist wolves masquerading in sheep’s clothing” (Gilmour 141). The disparity between members of the party from different political factions led to little unity and much unrest.

Fraga was always seen as the embodiment of the Franco dictatorship and met with much scrutiny. In one instance Fraga was heckled with choruses of “Fraga, Fraga, el pueblo no te traga [Fraga, the people cannot stand you]” and “Fraga, el pueblo contigo naufraga [Fraga, the people sink with you]” (Gilmour 147). During his time with the AP, Fraga made a significant ideological shift from his previous identification as an *aperturista* to now being one of the men who were seen as *continuista*, continuing the Franco regime by not allowing any radical break with what Franco had set in place. This identification as a relic and extension of Francoist ideals would follow Fraga into his years as Xunta de Galicia president and even beyond.

Fraga in Galicia

Fraga returned to his homeland in 1990 as president of the Xunta. He was backed by the Partido Popular de Galicia – the People’s Party of Galicia – and served in that capacity a staggering 15 years, later serving as senator. In his initial campaign for election in Galicia “his message was unashamedly *galleguista*, interspersed with quotations from local literary figures

such as Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal and Celso Ferreiro, accompanied by a mixture of bagpipes, folklore and gastronomy, and laced with the inevitable *queimadas*” [a strong liquor burned in an earthenware bowl and offered with magical, ritualistic words] (Gilmour 306). Fraga had finally become President at long last, albeit in Galicia. His long political career had led him to his homeland and he chose to seize the opportunity. He would come to be as influential and active as ever and to have decisive influence on the future development of the autonomous communities, and with Galicia in particular. In his acceptance speech

he declared that he had realized his life-long ambition, which was to become *Presidente del Gobierno* in his own native land. As for his political ambitions, he declared himself to be a staunch defender of *autonomismo*, fully committed to achieving as much for Galicia as was permitted under the Constitution of 1978, helping the region to establish its own identity, but stepping back from pursuing the goal of self-determination. Fraga’s political rivals must have found it difficult to accept the truth of this claim, remembering how he had once banned the use of Galician in the press and organized anti-autonomy campaigns. (Gilmour 309)

Certainly Fraga’s association with the Franco regime was not helpful for him in that certain groups were skeptical and considered him an extension of the dictatorship. And yet, his years as Franco’s Minister of Tourism and Information had given him much experience in the ‘branding’ of a cultural identity and he carried this out flawlessly in Galicia, beginning with his acceptance festivities. In an exceptional ceremony celebrating Fraga’s taking office, thousands gathered in Obradoiro Square to watch as he paraded through the streets to the Raxoi Palace accompanied by over one thousand bagpipers. Fraga continued the focus on Galician culture later in the day as he laid flowers at the tombs of Rosalía de Castro, Alfredo Brañas and Alfonso Castelao in the

Panteón de Galegos Ilustres. He also hosted a banquet in which he prepared a gigantic *queimada* using an impressive 500 liters of brandy (Gilmour 310). The massive pomp and celebration and his focus on unique Galician cultural elements ushered in a whole new era in which Galician culture was put at the forefront of building an imagined Galician community while upholding Fraga's 'brand' of nationalism.

One cultural element that lent much support to Fraga's political career was Saint James the Apostle. Under Fraga there was a revitalization of the Camiño de Santiago – of *albergues* – pilgrims' hostels and the Camiño infrastructure in general. Fraga continued the focus on spirituality and the Catholic religion that was consolidated during the time of the Franco regime and created an extraordinary 1993 Holy Year [Xacobeo 93] celebration. Xacobeo 93 was politically significant because in 1993 Fraga faced his second election in Galicia. The great inversion of funds and interest in Galicia in 1993 was one reason why people consider that Fraga won the election that year. Fraga wanted 1993 to be 'the year of Galicia,' and with the influential help of the apostle and the myth of Saint James, he came to win the elections and make the year not only that of Galicia, but his own as well. Fraga was convinced that the Apostle Santiago had a hand in his reelection. Pilar Falcón, in her biography *Fraga y Galicia* explains that

Aquel año santo de 1993 los fieles, como todos los años santos, podían obtener gracias espirituales especiales y ganar la indulgencia plenaria al visitar la cathedral, rezar por las intenciones del papa, confesar y comulgar. Fraga debió de encomendarse al apóstol y de ahí su afirmación de que el apóstol ayudó para ganar sus segundas elecciones. (138)

[That holy year of 1993 the faithful, as is true with all holy years, could gain special spiritual gifts and also receive plenary indulgence upon visiting the cathedral, praying for the Pope's intentions, confessing and taking communion. Fraga must have entrusted himself to the apostle and from that his affirmation that the apostle helped him to win his second elections.]

Fraga leaned hard on the myth of Saint James as well as the Camiño de Santiago in order to assure his political future in Galicia. The sum of 850 million Euros was invested into Galicia and the Camiño to ensure a lucrative Xacobeo 93 (Falcón 138). This money financed infrastructures that helped modernize Galicia, a region that was at that time backward and isolated, but at the same time and in part due to Fraga, enjoying a more attractive tourist pull.

Significantly, Fraga invited King Juan Carlos to give a speech on the 25th of July. Fraga is said to have wanted to make Xacobeo 93 a reference point for Galicia, similar to that of the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 (Falcón 140). Xacobeo 93 included expositions, sporting events, opera, film, theater and all different kinds of concerts. Celebrities such as Bob Dylan, B.B. King, Bruce Springsteen, Julio Bocca and Sting all took part in the massive celebration. Significantly also that year, Julio Iglesias, a descendent of a Galician, was the ambassador of Galicia in the world with his song “Un canto a Galicia, hey.” Iglesias was afforded three hundred million Euros to promote Santiago de Compostela and Galicia (Falcón 142).

Although Fraga's political career in Galicia was fraught with problems, one of the most damaging was the ecological disaster of the Prestige. Toward the end of his time as Xunta president, on the 19th of November of 2002 an oil tanker, the Prestige, sank off the Galician coast. This massive oil spill was devastating for Galicians, eliciting great angst, anger and economic mayhem in sectors such as tourism and fishing. There was indignation on the part of

the Galician people as they believed that Fraga and his party reacted with incompetence in the face of this ecological disaster. In fact, a year after the disaster the people were still in such a state of disbelief at the inability, or as some claimed, unwillingness, of the authorities to take a stand and fix the situation, that there was a protest in Santiago de Compostela.

In a speech entitled “Manifiesto de las nueve olas” [Manifesto of the Nine Waves] actor Luis Tosar and writer Manolo Rivas explained that “la conciencia y la dignidad no tiene precio [y que el pueblo gallego] emergió del naufrago y demostró tener grandes reservas de civismo y esperanza [moral conscience and integrity do not have a price and that the Galician people emerged from the shipwreck and showed great reserves of civility and hope]” (qtd. in A. Pato). At the same time the speech explained the disenchantment of the people about how the government and Fraga in particular, had reacted. It was explained as “sin autocrítica, sin capacidad, sin escrúpulos y sin respect por su pueblo, ni siquiera por quienes les votan [without self-criticism, without aptitude, without scruples and without respect for their people, not even for those who voted them in]” (qtd. in A. Pato). Without a doubt, the Prestige disaster was one of the worst blows to Fraga during his time as Xunta president.

Similarly, one of the other great polemical issues that began during Fraga’s time as Xunta president was his initiation of the massive and controversial project of the Cidade da Cultura de Galicia [City of Culture of Galicia] built on Mount Gaiás high above the city of Santiago. Some jokingly call the City Fraga’s “mausoleum.” “Nació como el *mausoleo* de Fraga (así se conoce popularmente en Galicia el proyecto), siempre fue consciente de que el Gaiás no tenía contenido, solo tenía un contenedor precioso [It was born as the *mausoleum* of Fraga (that is how it is popularly referred to in Galicia), always conscious that Gaiás did not have content, but rather a

beautiful container]” (“La Xunta de Galicia no sabe qué hacer”). In Chapter 4 the influence of Fraga is explored in more depth and I examine the significance of the Cidade da Cultura.

Fraga died on January 15, 2012. His demise marked the end of an era in Spain and Galicia that few other events could. The last politician to be associated with Franco’s regime was gone. Fraga, while serving under Franco, had been a liberal voice and was later seen as a conservative echo of his policies. His political career was one of extraordinary longevity and his death signaled the definitive end of the dictatorial regime. And yet, Fraga’s influence is still felt in Galicia, in part due to the struggle to find an acceptable function for his polemical project, the Cidade de Cultura.

The ‘Normalizing’ of Galician Language and Culture

As noted earlier, the standardization of Galician language and culture began after the *Spanish Constitution* of 1978. It is said to mark the onset of the process of a focus on language and culture in Galicia and most specifically as a result of Articles 3 and 20 which called for the respect and protection for the languages spoken in the Spanish state. It was declared that all other Spanish languages were co-official in the respective Self-governing Communities, meaning that Galician was also declared an official language of Galicia (together with Castilian Spanish). Article 3, number 3 states that “La riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección [The richness of the different linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be specially respected and protected]” (Spanish Constitution, 1978).

Also forming part of the Spanish Constitution, Article 5 of the Statue of Autonomy of Galicia (1981) set a determined course toward the normalization of the Galician language by

denominating it “a lingua propia de Galicia” [“Galicia’s own language”]. Furthermore, the Statute in general called for the use of Galician in institutions such as the arts and media, gave its citizens the right to know and use Galician, and prohibited the discrimination of any citizen because of their language choice. This shows that Galicia is at a pivotal point with this new-found freedom of expression and validation. However, the potentially negative effects of tourism and commodification could diminish and dilute Galician cultural heritage and language, even as the benefits of globalization and economic development can be help provide for Galicia. In other words, potentially helpful but also potentially dangerous to maintaining a vital cultural identity.

The political process of normalization continued with the Lei de Normalización Lingüística [The Law of Linguistic Normalization] in 1983. It stated: “O galego, como lingua propia de Galicia, é lingua oficial das institucións da Comunidade Autónoma, da súa Administración, da Administración Local e das Entidades Públicas dependentes da Comunidade Autónoma. [Galician, as Galicia’s own language, is an oficial language of the institutions of the Autonomous Community and its Administration, of Local Administration and of the Public Entities dependent on the Autonomous Community”]. The Law of Linguistic Normalization made the authorities and institutions responsible for the strong defense of the Galician language through the guaranteeing of each citizen’s linguistic rights in fields such as administration, education, and the media.

Furthermore, in 2004, O plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega (PXNLG) [The General Plan of Normalization of the Galician Language], was approved and is still in use today. It condenses the contributions of over 200 specialists from a variety of fields, and details over 400 concrete steps toward favoring the use of Galician in all spheres. One of the general

objectives of the plan is: “garantirlle a posibilidade de vivir en galego a quen así o desexe, conseguir para a lingua galega máis funcións sociais e máis espazos de uso, promover unha visión afable, moderna e útil da lingua galega que esfarele prexuizos, reforce a súa estima e aumente a súa demanda [guaranteeing the possibility to live in Galician to whomever desires it, obtaining for the language more social functions and spaces of use, promoting a positive, modern and useful vision of the Galician language to expel prejudices, reinforcing its esteem and its demand”]. The approval of the plan represents a great step forward for the Galician language. It was an overdue and much demanded piece of legislation. It lends support to specific areas such as education and intergenerational transmission of the language. It urges all administrations to compromise with the normalization of the language. Yet, one of the most important outcomes of the PXNLG has been the consensus of the Galician population that their society, cultural patrimony, and identity should be based around the stronghold of the Galician language.

One decade has elapsed since the ratification of the plan, and today Galicia is still in the midst of an ongoing concentrated effort toward the normalization of Galician language and culture. There is no doubt then that linguistic advancements have been made since the end of the Franco dictatorship, but there is a strong need to erect these laws due to the damage that the Galician language has suffered at the hands of the Franco Regime. The precarious presence of ‘diglossia’ also threatens the use of Galician even today. Diglossia refers to a situation where two dialects, or in Galicia’s case two different languages, are utilized by one population, and where one language is considered “low” and another labeled “high,” with each language being utilized in distinct linguistic contexts. In Galicia the two co-official languages (Galician and Castilian Spanish) are dominant in certain social spheres. For example, Galician is utilized by a great number of citizens in “low” contexts, for example at home or with close friends.

Conversely, in “high” contexts such as the judicial, business, and religious, Castilian is normally chosen. Politics and TVG are exceptions in that one would expect the use of Castilian in these contexts, yet they are contexts in which Galician is also utilized. TVG is a product of the Lei de Normalización. Yet, Castilian Spanish is quite prevalent within Galicia. In general then, the Galician language still suffers from ideological prejudice and assumptions about the appropriateness of its use.

Documentation which clearly indicated these advancements were provided in 2010 by the Real Academia Galega [Royal Galician Academy]. Their data showed that Galician is the habitual language of 40% of Galicia’s inhabitants and another 35% utilize either Galician or Castilian depending on the linguistic circumstances. These statistics suggest that at least 75% of the population consider themselves proficient speakers of Galician. In addition, the data indicate that almost all of the population (98%) can understand Galician without difficulty, and have at least a passive knowledge of the language which is a positive sign for the survival of the Galician language into the future (Real Academia Galega). At first glance the growth of the use of Galician since the end of the dictatorship may seem promising, yet the presence of diglossia at the social level still prevents the normalization of Galician from being more fully realized. The linguistic situation is still precarious due to the predominant hold of the Spanish language in many linguistic contexts.

As a result of these linguistic tensions, subjects may and do negotiate their lives within different linguistic contexts in the course of a day. For example, they may employ Castilian in more formal settings and speak Galician in more informal settings with friends and family. And there are innumerable linguistic contexts and variations, leading the average citizen to make many choices in the course of a day as to linguistic usage. There also exists a myriad of opinions

about one's linguistic choices because the language a speaker chooses in a certain context places that individual within a collective identity and tradition as well as situating the audience's reception. For example, the language selected by a politician in a televised speech, or the language an author chooses for his novel is indicative of how they will be perceived in the general cultural context.¹⁰ The constant debate and consideration of language choice is symptomatic of the current linguistic tension in Galician national and cultural discourse.

In an interview published in the Galician newspaper *La Voz de Galicia*, Xosé Ramón Freixeiro Mato describes the linguistic/political situation today as troubling and that for mostly political reasons, the language is either preserved or disregarded.

As linguas dependen das decisións políticas. É o poder o que decide se se utiliza no ensino, se lles prestan axuda. Por iso existe esa vinculación... A lingua sempre vai unida ao poder. Cando gobernaba Castela impuxo o castelán e agora o que manda é o inglés. Hai ademais unha vinculación estreita no caso das linguas minorizadas. O castelán está no poder dende o século XV e o galego é un idioma subordinado, sometido, que agora se recupera tamén mediante movementos políticos que demandan máis ou menos e fan a súa defensa. A lingua é un factor político moi grande e o futuro do galego está ligado aos acontecementos políticos. Uns partidos protéxeno máis que outros. A lingua é un patrimonio de todos, que temos que defender, pero hai algúns que se ben non a atacan directamente fan pouco ou nada polo idioma. (Viu)

¹⁰ One example is the intense controversy and debate over the perceived disloyalty of some Galician authors who published in Castilian such as *Sonata de otoño; Sonata de invierno: memorias del Marqués de Bradomín* by Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, *La Colmena* by Camilo José Cela, *Los pazos de Ulloa* by Emilia Pardo Bazán and *Compostela y su ángel* by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester.

[Languages depend upon political decisions. It is those in power who decide if they use the language in teaching and if they are going to be helpful to schools. So there is this link... Language is always linked to power. When Castile ruled they imposed the use of Castilian Spanish and now the boss is English. There is also a link in the case of minority languages. Castilian has been in power since the fifteenth century and the Galician language is subordinate, subjected, so now there are political movements to recover the language and they come to the Galician language's defense to a greater or lesser extent. Language is a very big political factor and the future of Galician is linked to political events. Some parties protect it more than others. The language is a heritage that belongs to all, we have to defend it, but there are some (political parties) that are not good for language and not directly attack it or do nothing for it.]

Language is essential for cultural survival and those in power hold sway as to what happens with it. The discourses of politics, culture and education center around language choice. For example, language is referenced in response to attempts at centralization by the Spanish government, as well as in response to the impact of globalization. Globalization threatens the use of Galician since Spanish is a major world language, leaving Galician as less internationally relevant. According to Kirsty Hooper, the link between language and identity is vital to understanding Galicia's cultural politics as it "has become the centerpiece of the debate about how to define and delimit Galician culture and identity in the context of Galicia's ambiguous status as *nacionalidade histórica* within Spain" ("New Cartographies" 148). Language choice, then, is often viewed as the most important political statement an individual can make since it is often read as pointing to their cultural and ideological identification.

Normalization and the “Public Policy Vacuum”

One key impulse toward the normalization of language and culture is governmental support through subsidies and public television in accordance with the official Lei do audiovisual (1999). The Audiovisual Law made socio-cultural and popular output such as film, television, animation and other multimedia productions strategic, high-priority sectors in an attempt at aiding the normalization of Galician culture and language.

Various industries have joined forces with the cultural normalization taking place in Galicia. The umbrella institution is the Xunta de Galicia which supports the audiovisual industry with subsidies. Following The General Plan of Linguistic Normalization, other organizations closely associated with Galicia’s cultural hegemony such as the Consello da Cultura and the Real Academia Galega have also played a role in terms of bolstering artistic creation, promoting the audiovisual sector, and supporting its production in many ways. During the 80s, 90s, and early 2000s, many public and private organizations formed in support of the Galician audiovisual industry.

Since the implementation of the Plan xeral de normalización da lingua galega in 2004, copious amounts of money have been pumped into the audiovisual sector in an attempt to “normalize” language and culture through media, television, and cinematic productions. The institutional support system created for the industry is extensive. This boom in the audiovisual sector is intricately connected to governmental administration, filling what José Colmeiro calls “a public-policy audiovisual vacuum” (“Imagining Galician Cinema” 208). Because of the governmental push to support the audiovisual industry and its consideration of the same as a strategic and high-priority sector, there has been a rapid growth in recent decades. Galicia’s emerging audiovisual industry has a myriad of production companies capable of producing

competitive products in the world market. The new technology of 3D is also coming to the forefront in Galicia and was ushered in by the highly successful animated film *O bosque animado* [*The Living Forest*] by Ángel de la Cruz and Manolo Gómez (2001).¹¹ Since the film's release, the animation industry in Galicia has become a leader in all of Spain. Ángel de la Cruz himself explains that

Nuestro audiovisual es reconocido por dos marcas: Tosar y la animación. Tosar tiene el mérito de que son galardones individuales, y creo que todavía conseguirá más. Se habla de los gallegos que hacen animación y no deberíamos dilapidar este capital humano que tenemos. Se debería potenciar la implantación de empresas de este tipo, antes de que el capital se destruya y comience a buscar oportunidades en otras partes. (qtd in A. Pato)

[Our audiovisual is recognized by two brands: Tosar (Luis Tosar) and animation. Tosar has merit in that his are individual awards, and I believe that he will attain more. Galicians who work in animation are spoken of and we should not squander this human capital that we have. The implantation of businesses of this type should be maximized, before this capital is destroyed and they begin to look for opportunities in other places.]

The process of normalization has certainly helped and supported the expression of Galician language and culture. Contributors to the audiovisual sector are numerous and varied. For example, Televisión de Galicia is the public television station of Galicia and also aids in cinematic productions. O Consorcio Audiovisual de Galicia (Audiovisual Consortium of

¹¹ The film won 7 Galician audiovisual awards (Chano Piñeiro) and 2 Goya Awards. Its international appeal is undeniable and exemplified by the award of best animation children's film at the Chicago International Children's Film Festival in 2002.

Galicia) was created in 2003 to stimulate the audiovisual industry. Many other agencies exist for the promotion of film creation in Galicia and the promotion of Galician cinema to the world. These include agencies such as the Galicia Film Commission, Compostela Film Commission, Observatorio do audiovisual galego, Centro Galego da Imaxe and Axencia Audiovisual Galega. Various financial entities have seen the value of partnering with Galician production companies demonstrating the current vitality of the film market. The existence of this plethora of ancillary institutions, both public and private, permits abundant growth in the audiovisual sector and many opportunities to study identity creation and representation. The government's strong motivation to promote and stimulate the audiovisual sector, raises questions as to the viability, outcomes, and repercussions of these institution's overriding interests.

The Rise of Neoliberalism as Economic System

As the cultural appropriation of Santiago and the Camino has shown, the economic system of a nation can play a key role in disseminating particular representations of cultural identity and in disseminating cultural products and ideas. During the time of the reconstitution of Galician nationalism after 1975 a new cultural and economic framework was emerging on a global scale - an economic process called Neoliberalism.

In *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005) David Harvey explains that neoliberalism is a political and economic practice that assumes that individual freedoms are guaranteed by free market and trade (7). Harvey explains that there was a proliferation of neoliberal state forms throughout the world from the mid-1970s onwards and that the uptake in neoliberal social and economic thought around the globe paralleled the democratic, post-dictatorial transformation of

Spain (9). The term neoliberalism has come into wide use in Cultural Studies to describe an ideological paradigm that leads to certain social, cultural, and political practices.

Neoliberalism proposes then that the well-being of humans can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills with an emphasis on the creation of markets. Neoliberalism seeks to extend this kind of logic into all spheres of life, even to the realm of the social and affective. Harvey explains that the process of neoliberalization “seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market” (2). This means that even cultural elements with deep underpinnings in Galician identity could be subject to utilization for economic gain.

Neoliberalism within the cultural and economic system in Galicia has encouraged and fostered the commodification of an increasing array of cultural goods and the marketing of those goods globally. Ultimately the market logic of capitalism can be seen in the publicizing of cultural goods and cultural experiences such as the pilgrimage. The 1980s and the beginnings of neoliberalism corresponded with a swell of public interest due to the commodification of Galician cultural heritage that made it more valid and noticeable internationally. For example, the rise in interest in the Camiño since the 1980s has been widespread with Galician music becoming popular globally, and Galician film or films made in Galicia now popular and visible on a global scale.

Spain as Contributor in the Current Economic Crisis of the Eurozone

Another major milestone in Galicia’s history was its integration into the European Union (EU). On January 1, 1986, Spain and its autonomous communities such as Galicia joined with Europe in one of the most important political and economic global entities. Galicia is for the

most part a peripheral region in the EU, yet this new relationship has benefited the Galician region greatly in the form of subsidies for regional development as well as economic and territorial development (R. González 13). In short, Galicia's underprivileged status has allowed for significant gains since becoming part of the EU. Other effects of globalization are the formation of an international media and entertainment business, the ongoing dynamics of migration, and the continuing development of transatlantic connections.

And yet, as noted earlier, the current economic crisis in Europe and around the globe makes the future of a peripheral nation such as Galicia and the process of its developing self-identity uncertain. Clearly the forces that have shaped Galician identity are powerful and varied and the successful future articulation of Galician language and culture depend heavily on the economic backing of the Galician government, the Spanish government, and the European Union. The historic marginalization and subjection to Spain, the cultural and linguistic repression, and the processes of migration and emigration have all affected Galicia's cultural identity and development. More recently the impact of global capitalism, neoliberalism, and the current economic downturn all contribute to the challenges that Galicia faces going forward. At the same time the marketing of Galician culture brings an increasing influx of visitors and greater fiscal opportunities for Galicia and for Spain.

Geographic Ambiguity, Migration, and National Identity

For Galicia, transnational emigration has created a strong and active Galician diaspora, and in particular, strong transatlantic connections. Cities such as Barcelona, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires include large concentrations of Galicians. During Franco's repressive centralist regime (1936-75), the Galician migrant and exiled population preserved its public use of

language through periodicals, literary publications, and even the radio in host countries. Eras of significant emigration during the twentieth century created a community of “galegos espallados” or “scattered Galicians,” resulting in a dialogism within a system of open, transcultural, and global flux and “other Galicias” existing outside of the Galicia’s geographic borders.

Theorists who have explained the current theoretical ideology of Galicia as transatlantic and valuable to the Galician language and culture believe that the transatlantic is an element that allows Galicia to maintain its culturally distinct identity from Spanish nationalism. José Colmeiro, one of the founders of contemporary Galician Cultural Studies, in line with his postnational, interdisciplinary perspective, has noted that the “diasporic dimension is integral to modern Galician cultural identity, and its dynamic condition could potentially be a major advantage for its survival in our global age” (“Peripheral Visions” 216). For Colmeiro, Galicia’s transatlantic dimension of Galician culture and identity are beneficial in an era of globalization and “have brought Galicia to the global” (“Peripheral Visions” 222). Colmeiro’s observation reflects the broader trend in Galician Studies that highlights the nation, territory, and identity of Galicia as ‘elsewhere and global’ with a fluid boundary, in contrast to the normative view of nation, territory, and identity as more fixed concepts. In “Peripheral Visions, Global Positions: Remapping Galician Culture” Colmeiro argues that peripheral positions can lead to global visions as he explains:

Galicia’s historically peripheral condition has paradoxically facilitated its transition to the global condition. Galicians are geopolitically positioned away from the centre of the nation-state, at the margins of the centre but also beyond its confining boundaries and, therefore, are freer to experiment with alternatives, and more open to movement and engagement with the outside world in Europe and

the Americas, and beyond. This peripheral double position, inside *and* outside, also suggests a wider angle of vision, a supplementary vision that augments and enriches the narrow angle from the centre. (220)

Colmeiro's commentary illustrates the importance of Galicia's transatlantic position and that this is beneficial to both the survival and global dispersion of Galician language and culture.

For Eugenia Romero, in *Contemporary Galician Culture in a Global Context: Moveable Identities* (2011), Galicia is not mediated solely by its direct relationship to Spain and not even by its relationships with Europe. Rather, Galicia often looks across the Atlantic Ocean toward Latin America and to the Caribbean to see its reflection resulting in a larger perspective of itself within the world. She emphasizes "the role of migration as transcendental for understanding Galicia's imaginary" (xiii). For Romero, the extensive migration history of Galicia has created a national identity located in the imaginary (5). According to Romero, the 'Galician imaginary' must be informed by an investigation that is based outside of Galicia. She argues that Galicia has characteristically exceeded its geographic boundaries in the form of maritime expeditions, the Camiño de Santiago, emigration, as well as Galicia's global position.

Emigration and migration dynamics in general lead to the contemplation of the presence of other geographic "Galicias," and also to the invention of Galician identities in the imaginary realm. Eugenia Romero maintains that *galeguidade* (Galicianness) is impossible to define because it is in a constant state of flux, tension, and evolution due to its long history of emigration and transnational connections (xii). Romero thus identifies migration and movement as a key trope in the imagining of modern Galician identity, a trope which erases the disjunction between time and space, and the real and the fantastic. Yes, it is valid to think of Galician

identity as in flux and constant movement or tension, but there are also other approaches. I believe that stories by Galicians and non-Galicians also offer interesting perspectives.

What can Representations of Galician Culture Tell Us?

Galicia and its political center Santiago de Compostela boast particularly distinctive and nationally important cultural elements, such as the Camiño de Santiago, Santiago's historic Casco Vello, the City of Culture of Galicia, and a strongly subsidized literary and audiovisual sector serving to help preserve the Galician language. Santiago represents a complexity of cultures and political influences including Galician, Spanish, and those of European origin such as the European Union. One of the greatest challenges faced by the nation of Galicia then is how to distinguish and preserve its language and culture from that of the hegemonic Spanish state.

The identity of Galicia's inhabitants is in a constant state of ambiguity as they experience the duality of belonging to the Spanish nation and being their own autonomous community on a daily basis. Galicia's peripheral status in the European Union further complicates the definition of Galician identity. Galician identity is also thought of as 'elsewhere' in a sense, due in part to a long history of emigration particularly to Latin America and Europe resulting in strong transatlantic and transnational connections. The lack of a clear Galician political identity or even identities, results in a fixation with culture and language. The ongoing search for Galician identity creates the conditions for a hybrid Galician identity to emerge within the postmodern context amid transnational population flows and pilgrims and travelers visiting from about the globe.

American cultural theorist Paul Gilroy has critiqued Cultural Studies for its underlying acceptance of unexamined national categories, and the connection between language, culture,

and identity. In *The Black Atlantic*, he offers an alternative perspective when describing an important paradigm affecting nation and culture as the “fatal junction of the concept of nationality and the concept of culture” (2). Gilroy’s evaluation of the “fatal junction” has been adapted to the Galician situation by Kirsty Hooper. In an attempt to examine these national categories she argues that in the Galician context the fatal junction is present in the paradigm of cultural nationalism which has a linguistic base (“New Cartographies”). The constant focus on language as a legitimizing element of Galician culture and nationality is an effect of this concept. The “fatal junction” can be seen as well in the struggle for political autonomy based on the denomination of ‘historical nationality’ in the Constitution which already signaled a movement toward a cultural and linguistic definition of the Galician nation.

Kirsty Hooper explains that “in Galicia, the absence of institutions of state throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries means that with a few rare exceptions, the cultural space has functioned as the only public space” (“New Cartographies” 124). In other words, in lieu of state institutions there has been an elevation of cultural nationalism as a legitimizing discourse which has exacerbated the fatal junction described by Gilroy. According to Hooper, “one of the most serious implications of the ‘fatal junction’ in the Galician imaginary is the intense pressure placed on the study of Galician language and literature” (“New Cartographies” 124). Hooper is criticizing and historicizing the traditional “criterio filolóxico” – a term coined by González Millán—to define Galician culture. Given this juncture, I consider my research to be especially urgent because Galicia is a ‘stateless nation’ where the preservation of cultural heritage is at stake.

Conceptual Framework and Organization

It will be helpful to define how I am using the term ‘narrative’ in this present work. A quite simple definition for my purpose is that a narrative is a story that encompasses meaning. Stories fill our lives and give them meaning. Narrative theory is based on the belief that a basic human strategy for understanding our reality comes from producing narratives. Narrative theorists, such as Hayden White in his article “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality” (1987), study how stories help people make sense of the world. Narratives help navigate experiences and the pervasiveness of a narrative in our culture solicits a further investigation into its functioning and utilization.

Traditional methods of story-telling are conveyed in many ways such as through myth, fairy tales and fables. My usage of the word ‘narrative’ includes many such cultural forms in addition to written texts and other forms of literature. In the way that narratives can connect actions and events to show the significance that these events have for a nation and its people, the narratives I have chosen can show how contemporary narrative representations of Galicia may influence the way that Galicia and Galician people are identified and perceived. I include stories told through language, images, music, space, lighting and architecture, and a blending of new and old.

In Chapter 1, I have discussed the history of Galician oppression and explained the theoretical boundaries of this work. In Chapter 2, I analyze Marica Campo’s short story “Mulleres no Camiño” (1996) and Suso de Toro’s *Trece Badaladas* (2002). My purpose in doing so is to show that through a review of narrations ‘from within,’ as it were, that the techniques and strategies of cultural preservation of Galician authors create an imagined community through the rewriting and re-inscribing of myths.

In Chapter 3, I focus on how the cultural concept and experiential event of the Camiño has captured the world's attention. I include analysis of narratives written 'from without' about Galicia. I begin with a Spanish novel, *La estrella peregrina* (2010) by Ángeles de Irisarri and then consider a Galician novel, *As frechas de ouro* (2004) by Englishman John Rutherford. Finally, I discuss *The Pilgrimage* (1987) by Brazilian author, Paulo Coelho. I thus explore the ways in which literary outsiders appropriate the cultural elements of the Camiño and some of the effects of this boom in contemporary narratives inspired by the Camiño.

In Chapter 4, my focus shifts to narratives or stories presented through official or governmentally sanctioned channels such as the St James' Day Celebrations and The City of Culture of Galicia. These are 'narratives' in which the Galician government is constructing the history of Galicia. They reconstruct history and myth to create a credible story for public consumption. I examine the ways in which these narrative celebrations including that of the enormous structure atop Mount Gaiás serve to contribute to the creation of a contemporary Galician national identity.

Chapter 5 takes the dissertation into a type of narration that is arguably enjoyed worldwide and which is experiencing an upturn in popularity – that featuring technology and film. I begin with a discussion of Antón Reixa's "Pórtico da Gloria", a short video commissioned in 2000 when Santiago was named a European City of Culture. I then turn to two very different films which have resonated with audiences from within and without: *Trece campanadas* (2002), a production based on Galician legends and folklore with a Hollywood flare, and then *The Way* (2010), a North American road movie featuring the Camiño. Digital technology and cinema are two areas in which Galicia is experiencing much growth, making Chapter 5 relevant for consideration of where such narrative trends may take Galicia.

Implicit throughout my dissertation is the issue of power and ideology and the ways in which power is inscribed through cultural hegemony. One of the central ways in which power is manifest is by way of the construction of institutions, traditions, and public spaces and their successive promulgation throughout society. Those who play a role in sustaining the cultural hegemony hold the power to indoctrinate and subordinate groups of subjects. In this view, culture and national narratives can be seen as a form of propaganda through which those in power may engender passivity and conformity among mass audiences to the status quo. The dissertation seeks to demonstrate how previously understudied forms of culture connect to power and how these forms of culture contribute to the articulation of Galician identity in relation to Spanish, European and Global power structures

The field of Galician Cultural Studies has until recently remained generally unknown in the wider academic world beyond Galicia. The attention that Galician Studies has received in academia, particularly in North America, has been mostly that of an appendix to Peninsular Studies. However, today there is an exciting new trend around the investigation of culture, nationality, and identity creation in Galicia. It has yielded a proliferation of scholarly research in English.

Xoan González-Millán pioneered the new movement toward the academic study of Galicia abroad by founding the first Galician studies center in the United States at Hunter College in New York. The movement has most recently been advanced by academics such as John Rutherford and Kirsty Hooper in the United Kingdom, José Colmeiro in New Zealand, and Eugenia Romero and Joseba Gabilondo in the United States. These researchers maintain that the previous writing about Galician culture was reductive and did not recognize Galicia as a vital culture with its own language and individual set of characteristics. The new trend seeks to bring

Galician Cultural Studies to the forefront and examine the ways in which this peripheral region is adapting to the ongoing processes set in motion by globalization. As a result, a niche has been created for the study of Galician culture in the over-arching field of Cultural Studies.

Chapter 2

Approaches to Galicia from Within: Collective Memory and Identity Creation in Marica Campo and Suso de Toro

Cómpre cantar no mundo ista pancarta:
Hai mortos de primeira e de segunda,
e mortos que non teñen onde caírse mortos.
– Emilio Celso Ferreiro, “Cimiterio de Cidá”

This banner should be raised around the world:
There are first and second class dead,
and there are dead who don't have a place to fall down dead.

Memory and Ghosts as a Means of Collective Identity Creation

Written forms of representation offer various outward materializations of culture from which to understand Galicia, both through literary representation from within as well as from outside. Santiago de Compostela, with its associated myths and complex history, provides a rich tapestry of spatial and ideological material from which to draw literary inspiration. The evidence lies in the myriad of literary interpretations and narrations of the urban capital. Contemporary authors who write about Santiago include Manuel Rivas, Antón Reixa and Suso de Toro. Historically there have been texts about Santiago from authors such as Rosalía de Castro, Manuel Murguía, Ramón del Valle Inclán, and also from authors outside of Galicia such as Federico García Lorca and Ernest Hemmingway. The abundance of literature about the city can be at least partially explained by the fact that Santiago holds a privileged symbolic position, in terms of its relationship with Galicia, Spain, and Europe. Santiago de Compostela is the political center and capital of Galicia and is regarded as a religious center for Spain and Europe as a whole. As the political capital of Galicia, Santiago creates a connection with the political power in Madrid, and serves as a powerful and direct connection to each Galician resident. As religious center, it draws people from all around the globe down the path of the Camiño and into its

ancient city streets full of myths, memories, and even ghosts.

Perhaps also, the explanation for the plethora of literature inspired by Santiago lies in the mystique associated with ancient tombs and granite stones of the Casco Vello, as well as the omnipresence of the foundational Xacobeian myth and the aura of Santiago's medieval splendor. Because of the insistence on the narration of the myth of Saint James, Santiago is the destination of the most popular contemporary Christian pilgrimage, the Camiño de Santiago, about which many literary interpretations have been written. The Xacobeian cult has historically brought pilgrims to the tomb of the apostle while at the same time purveying political and economic power from the Catholic Church. Nonetheless, the city and the pilgrimage do seem to have the power to summon things or people long-forgotten or stir unexplored or dormant parts of a person. The Camiño has been travelled for millennia by all types of people whose memories may still remain embedded along the path, people who hiked the Camiño for a plethora of reasons. The cobblestone streets and granite monuments of the Casco Vello of Santiago speak as well of the memories that may still be present in the spaces, or of the ghosts that inhabit the stone itself. Indeed, a focus of this chapter is the power of ghosts to speak to us from beyond the grave, ghosts haunted with memories that cannot remain silent.

Memory and the way it is approached is key to the construction of contemporary national identities and a focus on the collective past is a way to create a unifying, shared identity. The issue of remembrance and national identity is affected today by globalization and increasing transnational connections. During the post-civil war dictatorship Spain was portrayed as unified for the purpose of creating cultural and ideological adhesion and cohesion in the population. As explained in the previous chapter, the Franco regime subjugated and oppressed all peripheral cultures. Following the end of the dictatorship in 1975, however, there has been a cultural need

and social imperative to investigate and uncover the past of the violent and repressive Civil War and the 40- year Franco dictatorship. Relatedly, a construction or reconstruction of collective memory has become important as a political project by the Spanish government.

Although much has been done that examines the pilgrimage's historical past, little scholarly work has been published studying contemporary representations of the Camiño or examining the ways in which the 21st-century examines, imagines, or experiences the spaces of this pilgrimage. The study of the literary Camiño is important because the Camiño is a very powerful narrative in Galicia and in Spain, and now has global interest and relevance. The popularity of the Camiño de Santiago has increased dramatically since the 1980s and as a result the pilgrimage has recently received a great deal of notice internationally.¹² Clearly, the Camiño is an enduring historical event spanning centuries. And the promotion of the Camiño for the global community of today is manifest in many ways. One example is the series of well-orchestrated and massive Xacobeo (Holy Year) religious and cultural celebrations.¹³ It is intriguing that in the new global context the route is imagined as a space of not only Galician or Spanish cultural heritage and history, but also a narrative recognized as relevant to Europeans and a global audience.

Another curious process taking place in Spain that effects the creation of the imagination of a Galician identity revolves around the way the country has chosen to not directly and publicly address the violent events of the Civil War and the repressive time of Franco. The events of the past have been guarded, hidden, and rewritten by the Franco regime to conceal the reign of terror

¹² In 1987, the Council of Europe designated the Santiago Pilgrims' Routes as the first European Cultural Itinerary and UNESCO named the Camiño a World Heritage Site in 1993.

¹³ Holy Year 2010 resulted in 272,703 visits according to the records from the official Dioceses' Pilgrim's Office, and Galicia as a whole received over 1,500,000 visitors that same year according to the *Instituto nacional de estadística*.

that he, as Spain's dictator, imposed. The 'disappearance' and negation of the past has resulted in a void and a virtual absence of detail about the reality of the past and instead a fixation on memory in contemporary culture. After Franco's death in 1975, memories were reclaimed and restored in part, yet there was an official 'code' of amnesia, a *pacto de silencio* [pact of silence] within which the political elites agreed to bury the past with no questions asked. All dialogue about what had happened under Franco ceased, since many felt that talking about the past would limit the country's ability to move ahead. The atrocities of the Civil War, including the violent repression of the Spain's peripheral cultures and languages, as well as the social impact of the Franco dictatorship thus became taboo subjects in the public sphere. Yet they are far from forgotten as the narrations of this chapter will show.

In spite of the *pacto de silencio*, the reclaiming of previously disallowed collective memories of the peripheries (Basque, Catalan and Galician, in particular) was on the rise, and concomitantly, there was an emphasis on the restoration of regional governments predating the Civil War. Today the transnational flux exemplified by the participation of Spain, in, for example, the European Union, complicates the concept of memory as greater international connections are made. New versions of memory and ways to access national memory are growing and gaining acceptance in the peripheries. For example, in Galicia a culture of nostalgia, insistence on the cultural spectacle, and the focus on museum culture are all institutionalized forms of memory. They are forms that have been approved by the cultural and political elite and which promote culture for their own gain. Nonetheless, the multiple challenges of globalization impede a clear, unambiguous definition of collective memory and identity and the way it is articulated forms the foundation of collective identity creation. This is true especially in peripheral locales such as Galicia where the collective memory has been

repressed and ‘forgotten’ resulting in the appearance of ghosts in literature, or the resurgence of the impossibility of completely vanquishing the memories of the past.

José Colmeiro explains in his article “A Nation of Ghosts?: Haunting and Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain,” that there is a crisis of memory of sorts today. He offers an explanation as to why there is a lack of memory today:

similarly, the recurring postmodern assessment that our contemporary global culture suffers amnesia, and its accompanying rhetoric of mourning and obsession with the loss of identity, as seen in the pervasive signs of fragmentation, dismemberment, simulacra, fissures and the cultivation of nostalgia, has renovated the interest for the recovery of memory and cultural identity. (20)

The amnesia and ‘rhetoric’ of it causes a sense of mourning and obsession with memory. It leads to a desire to recuperate an identity for the group. Thus begins a “construction of national identities [that] is directly shaped by the recollection of collective memories of a common past” (23). Therefore, the *pacto de silencio*, having silenced all official voices about the past, did not help the construction of Galician national identity. All the same, a national identity can be identified in the ‘recollection of collective memories of a common past’ and the narrations chosen for the current chapter work to unite a collective memory through the apparition of ghosts. Moreover, today there is a cultural anxiety generated by “the unleashing of currents of globalization and the resulting fear of collective forgetting” (21). In part, to alleviate the fears of forgetting, ghosts have surfaced many times and historical memory influences the process of identity formation and is pertinent in today’s cultural context in Spain (21).

Colmeiro’s observations are based on the phenomenon of “the centrality of marginality” and the role of cultural difference in identity formation. As the marginal has taken on new and

dynamic significance, those cultures and peoples that are “different” have become important sites of investigation and focus. He argues that this process is “a reflection of the enormous social and historical changes that have occurred globally in the last decades of the 20th century” (21).

Importantly, these changes have led to the realization that Spain is a multicultural and multilingual reality has become more evident in recent decades. Other nations and communities globally are also struggling to keep their cultures from becoming diluted in the current global age such as the peripheral region of Wales, and those experiencing democratic transformation and globalization as is the case in Latin America. The governments of peripheral regions have “refocused the interest towards alternative configurations on the margins of power and traditionally marginalized or excluded stories from underrepresented groups, as well as their neglected memories and collective identities” (Colmeiro 20). In opposition to a historical focus on national memory, minority communities are taking a look outside of their own limits to see how other marginalized regions are making sense of and constructing their own particular definitions of themselves, informed by situations outside of the nation, and making Galician identity construction all the more pertinent in globalization.

From a postcolonial perspective, Jamaican-born intellectual and political activist Stuart Hall explains that identity creation is not the recovery of an identity, but rather a retelling or production of identity (“Diaspora” 224). Looked at with this perspective, just as narratives and cultural representations can give a glimpse into the current state of a particular culture - in this case Galician culture, this very culture is at the same time in a constant state of being remade and produced. In other words, the retelling or production of an identity is not a fixed process, but rather a constantly shifting and unstable construction that can always be developing. The

thinking that characterizes modern identity construction creates a coherent sense of a past identity, yet one which has to be sustained in the present and remade in the future. Hall explains that “[p]erhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (“Diaspora” 222). This relates to the earlier notion of narrative as a story that takes form during its retelling. Narratives occur in a very similar way as the production and retelling of identity.

Identity is often imagined in relation to representations of ourselves with which we resonate and seem to be like or assume to be connected to ourselves since we recognize aspects of ourselves in images and representations that we observe. Following Hall’s view of identity as production, the constant remaking of identity reveals that identity is to some extent an illusion, because identity requires a constant interaction with the external world and the external world is full of constructions created by cultural institutions such as the Galician government, constructions that may serve to create a sense of a group or national identity. Institutions or others work to create a representation that people can adopt, reject or manipulate for their own purposes. These representations are sometimes achieved through association to history and could be linked to a tangible physical object such as a monument, museum, or work of art.

French historian Pierre Nora is known for his contributions to the field of memory and identity. His theory on the *lieux de mémoire*, ‘sites of memory,’ is useful for thinking about the significance of such sites of memory present in Santiago today. The *lieux de mémoire* refers to the attachment of memories to a concrete entity such as a monumental cathedral. The *lieux de mémoire* also shows how history can be appropriated for a mythical site of cultural memory as well, such as an artificial landscape. Sites of memory can thus represent a cultural displacement

of history into an imagined realm of memory and collective identity. As Nora describes it, *lieux de mémoire* are “moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, nor yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded” (12).

Nora was concerned with rethinking French identity and memory and his theory is worth examining in the Galician context because of the questions it raises about nation, nationalism, and the effects of memory on collective identity creation. Many political and cultural aims of a society are constructed upon sites of memory such as literature, monuments, urban spaces, symbols, and films. What takes place at these sites often affects the consolidation of collective identities. In light of the recent identification of a postnational paradigm within Galicia (Colmeiro, Gabilondo and Hooper) this chapter will analyze sites of memory in contemporary Galician narratives to examine how they are utilized and how representations of the same can affect the way that Galician culture is portrayed.

Other cultural components that can be taken into account are the many absences and fragments that are symptomatic of Galician cultural identity, most notably in the linguistic sense. The first fragmentation occurred when Galician and Portuguese languages split, after having experienced its high point in The Middle Ages. Later, Galician as a language was eventually considered provincial by the Catholic Kings Isabel and Ferdinand and was not widely used outside of the interpersonal sphere of communication. This resulted in a period of linguistic neglect, and in effect, a silencing of the Galician language, known as the *Séculos Escuros* - from the 16th to the 18th century. As a result, Galician literature from this period is almost nonexistent.

Another era of silence of the Galician language and cultural traditions occurred with the eruption of the Civil War in 1936. Indeed, its effects are still poignantly felt in the Galician

nation today. Following the war, Franco's centralist regime took power in Spain by suppressing dissident views through censorship and coercion. Franco did this in order to uphold his centralist narrative after gaining power. Those who were ideologically opposed to the new regime were imprisoned and the regional languages and cultures of Spain were suppressed in favor of a central political domination which meant speaking only in Spanish. As a result, there was a violent social and linguistic repression against Galician culture and language.

These interruptions and absences of expression of Galician are significant examples of a larger trend articulated by Galician Cultural scholars José Colmeiro, María do Cebreiro Rábade-Villar, and Kirsty Hooper - that of fragmentation and discontinuity of Galician culture. The identification of these periods of silence and absence has encouraged a greater contemporary desire for the reclaiming of Galician culture and language through Galician nationalism. This has resulted in a fixation with the past, referencing it, rewriting it, and letting its 'ghostly' traces come to the surface.

The many silences, censorships, and interruptions to the expression of Galician culture and the preservation of collective identity have been linked with the recurrence of ghosts in Spanish literature (Colmeiro, Labanyi). Within Galician narratives the metaphor of ghosts and the themes of the horrors of the past haunting the present through the apparitions of ghosts have been identified by theorists such as Colmeiro and Rábade. In "Spectres of the Nation: Forms of Resistance to Literary Nationalism," Rábade Villar has shown that Galicia is at its core a "community of the dispossessed" and a "nation of ghosts" (244). Here we see the recurrent theme of the nation as culturally dispossessed and haunted by ghosts. She situates the national project of Galicia within the space between reality and the ghosts which haunt Galicia's history. Rábade also highlights the alliance between spectrality and literary history (235). In general, in

response to the periods of silence and suppression of Galician language, authors have responded with the symbolism of haunting to represent a difficult and truncated literary past. In many Galician (and for that matter peninsular) literary texts the challenges and cultural limitations of the past are relived through the manifestation and recurrence of ghosts.

The images of ghosts and hauntings can be seen as the resurgence of a violent national past similar to that experienced in Spain with the transition to Democracy after the reign of Franco. Colmeiro examines the post-Franco period in his article “A Nation of Ghosts?: Haunting, Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain.” He explains that “the erasure and eradication of historical memory, and the forgetting and silencing of the past” resulted in a kind of collective amnesia (25). The ramifications of this pact and forgetting were a far-sweeping silence on the part of politicians on both sides about the atrocities that occurred during both the Civil War and the centralist regime. Colmeiro is referring to the pact made by the parties involved in the transition to democracy when they agreed to renounce the past and ask no questions in order to achieve some form of progress. The ‘absence’ of memory in the Spanish political sphere resulted in a fixation on the preserving of historical memory and identity on the cultural front, especially in regions such as Galicia which had been violently repressed during the post-war era. The resurgence of the past that has yet to be reckoned with has been particularly poignant in literature and sometimes has taken the form of ghosts.

The symbolism of haunting, absence, and ghosts were also identified in response to the forced silence of the existing historical accounts. According to Colmeiro, “[t]hese haunting narratives thus make visible the disappearances and absences silenced in normative historical accounts, and replicate the process of confronting a difficult past that still needs to be dealt with in the present” (“A Nation of Ghosts?” 30). Likewise, cultural theorist Jo Labanyi reworks

Derrida's formulations about "hauntology" to describe the ghostly characteristics of history. The monster or ghost, as Labanyi maintains, is "...a perfect illustration of the ontological (hauntological) status of history in the present" (78). Labanyi further explains that "ghosts are the return of the repressed of history—that is, the mark of an all-too-real historical trauma which has been erased from conscious memory, but which makes its presence felt through its ghostly traces" (80). This is much like the character in a horror genre movie who returns to seek revenge for the atrocities of a tragic past such as their own murder or demise.

In an effort to challenge the officially sanctioned amnesia of national Spanish History, particularly in relation to Galician history, numerous Galician authors have written from their own situatedness and perspective that is different from the powers that be or the status quo as part of marginalized, subjugated community. They highlight sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) and the manifestation of ghosts. Their narratives shed light upon the creation of identity in Galicia today.

In the next part of this chapter I explore the work of two Galicians. First, a short story by Marica Campo from a collection entitled *Confusión e morte de María Balteira*, and then a novel *Trece badaladas* by Suso de Toro. Campo chooses the legend of the most prominent woman in Medieval Galician-Portuguese literature, the famously immoral María Peres, a Balteira, who is the subject of at least fifteen Cantigas. Toro, chooses the myth of the celebrated author of Galicia's renowned Romanesque Portico of Glory, Mestre Mateo. Balteira and Mestre Mateo are deeply embedded within Galician culture and history. They are each grappling with their own identity; Balteira through her desire to be pardoned for her sins and to rewrite her own life story, and Mateo's desire to shed the centuries of evil and to die a second, final death. It is significant that both authors chose protagonists from the Middle Ages because these are some of

the initial, foundational myths of Galician identity. Protagonists from the Middle Ages can help rewrite the present in a sense and they lend validity to the creation of a national identity. However, the two authors propose very different models for resolving the dilemma of national identity, even as they both take up the trope of haunting as a major thematic. The shared premise of the two works then is their insistence on myth, memory and ghosts to create identity.

By choosing texts by both male and female authors in this chapter I hope to provide some balance to my consideration of identity politics seen through the prism of literature written by contemporary Galician authors. The current chapter also seeks to examine the approach of Galician authors toward memory and identity as the authors create an alternative to the official version of collective memory. I will describe how the collective memory of the past rewritten for today and for the future is manifested through revisionist myths, the insistence on sites of memory, and ghosted narratives, and explain the effects of these narratives on collective identity formation.

Lieux de mémoire, Ghosts and a Shadow of Rosalía de Castro in Marica Campo

As a result of the greater, if gradual freedoms afforded Galicia after the return to democracy during the last three decades, a vital and spirited national literature has grown. Yet until recently, Galician women writers were mostly absent in the national narrative. The author who broke the mold and became a prominent, if not *the* most prominent figure of Galician culture is Rosalía de Castro. In fact, the current exploration of a contemporary Galician woman writer, in this case Marica Campo, would be incomplete without Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885). Indeed, since the XIX century, Galician literature has been cultivated and renewed, fundamentally through the literary figure of Rosalía de Castro. Castro was arguably the most

influential author in the initial modern creation and propagation of Galician language, culture, and identity, and for presenting the idea of Galicia as its own nation. She has been elevated to the epic status of the *madre de la patria gallega* – mother of the Galician nation (M. Castro 21). Indicative of her mythical status and her propagation of Galician culture, her remains were moved in 1985 into the Panteón de Gallegos Ilustres – Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians where Castelao also lies (M. Castro 40). Therefore, her personae, literary works, and body itself have been woven into the contemporary fabric of Galician identity and as such they undoubtedly form the background for all literary and cultural works today.

Castro published her first two books of poetry in Galician, thus recuperating a popular lyrical tradition. She seamlessly wove herself into the tradition with *Cantares gallegos* (1863) which began the consolidation of Galician literature and later with *Follas novas* (1880).¹⁴ Together these two books of poetry returned a sense of dignity to the Galician language and vindicated a language that had been in a state of disuse for many centuries. She helped forge a Galician cultural revolution with her utilization of Galician, yet not entirely alone. Through her union with political activist and historian Manuel Murguía, Castro was in a sense coached into utilizing her literary acumen for the betterment of Galicia.¹⁵

“Murguía fue decisivo en cuanto a su contribución a la obra y a las tareas creativas de su esposa: él fue quien, según parece, dio a Rosalía la idea de escribir *Cantares gallegos* y quien,

¹⁴ In her time Castro was considered a rebel for publishing in Galician and had to look to the diaspora, particularly Cuba, for support and assistance in publishing her books of poems. The time of the Rexurdimento movement, to which Castro contributed greatly, was concerned with the recovery of the Galician language as a vehicle of social and cultural expression. It featured writers who were elemental to the founding of modern-day Galician nationalism such as Castro, Manuel Murguía and Eduardo Pondal.

¹⁵ Murguía became the first president of the Real Academia Galega, the Royal Galician Academy (founded in 1906).

movido tal vez por las ideas románticamente nacionalistas promovidas por el Rexurdimento, le sugirió la temática así como la lengua – el gallego... [Murguía was decisive as far as his contribution to the work and creative works of his wife: it was he, as it seems, who gave Rosalía the idea to write *Cantares gallegos* and who, moved by romantically nationalist ideas promoted by the Rexurdimento, it occurred to him the theme of language – the Galician...]

 (M. Castro 37). Indeed, Murguía had much influence in the way Rosalía expressed herself, and her figure was later appropriated by a nationalist discourse.

Another link between Castro and contemporary Galician women writers is, as Mercedes Castro explains Rosalía de Castro's focus on women in her writing,

Es cierto también que con relativa frecuencia Rosalía hace protagonistas de versos y poemas a mujeres solas, a veces desengañadas, a veces humilladas, a veces abandonadas o viudas (tanto “de vivos” como “de muertos”), generalmente desgraciadas a causa de los hombres, que han jugado con su ilusión, su orgullo o su honor, que las han traicionado... (23)

[It is also true that with relative frequency Rosalía makes protagonists of verses and poems of women who are alone, sometimes disillusioned, sometimes abandoned or widows (widows of a “live men” as well as “dead men,” generally experiencing misfortunes caused by men, men that have played with their illusion, their pride or honor, that have betrayed them...]

This is similar to the way in which Campo's story is focused on the female experience and many of the women in Campo's story have been in some sense abused by men and are disillusioned as a result.

Indeed, Castro has had a penetrating and poignant influence on the revaluing of Galician

culture and on the development and growth of Galician nationalism. She also drew attention to many collective problems such as the subjugated state of Galician women and the devastating effects of emigration of Galician people.¹⁶ In addition, she wrote the woman's voice into Galician national consciousness, literature and even to Spanish literature as a whole, a field which had previously been dominated by men. Today she is revered as the 'mother of contemporary Galicia' and her persona and poetry are considered invaluable cultural heritage.

Regrettably, however, Castro was rejected by the literary canon of her time because of her gender, and, in ironic historical terms, because Galician was then considered an unacceptable literary language. As Castro explains in the prologue to her novel, *La hija del mar*, that after reading the story the reader should "arrójele lejos de sí y olvide entre otras cosas que su autor es una mujer. Porque todavía no les es permitido a las mujeres escribir lo que sienten y lo que saben [cast it far from themselves and forget among other things that its author is a woman. Because it is still not permitted that women write about what they feel and what they know"] (xi). Castro understood the plight of the woman writer. She drew attention to their unequal status, and paved the way for female Galician writers that followed. Although recent advancements have meant that female writers in Galicia have become more of a counterpart to males, their relative positioning is still not equal. They remain subordinate in number and in terms of professional status.

Castro, from a woman's perspective, offered emotional descriptions of urban Santiago de Compostela. The spaces of the city of Santiago are prevalent primarily in Castro's *Follas novas*. Xesús Rábade Paredes explains the significance of the poems in this way: "pode dicirse que a

¹⁶ For example, the last section of *Follas novas* entitled "Viudas dos vivos e as viudas dos mortos". Poet Manuel Curros Enríquez (1851-1908), who represents the splendor of the Rexurdimento, also wrote about the issue of emigration and exile in his work. For an example see "A emigración" in his collection of poems *Aires da miña terra* (1880).

maioría deles presenta en estado puro esa veta existencial (metafísica), fondamente moderna e turbadora, que, unánimes, ten impresionado á crítica e aos lectores [It is possible to say that most of her works are presented in an existential vein (metaphysical), deeply disturbing and modern, that unanimously has impressed critics and readers”] (9). Her evocative poems demonstrate a vein of existentialism with potent descriptions of cityscapes such as Bonaval Park, the oak groves of San Lorenzo, the central *rúas* (city streets) and plazas, the Pórtico da Gloria, the statue of Mestre Mateo and the Berenguela Clock Tower. Yet, her poems and the descriptions therein held deeper meanings and were at times a bit darker than some may initially perceive.

In Castro’s poetry there are shadows—“las sombras, más concretamente la ‘negra sombra’, las voces que la llaman, el vacío del alma, los recuerdos como tinieblas a veces acogedoras, a veces consoladoras, la angustia, la muerte como un alivio a la pena del espíritu... [shadows, more specifically the ‘black shadow,’ the voices which call her, the emptiness of the soul, memories like dusk which were sometimes friendly, other times comforting, the anguish, death as a reprieve from the pain of the spirit...]” (M. Castro 22).

One of Castro’s poems that demonstrates the darker side of Castro’s poetry and also the way in which the protagonist of the poem intimately approached the cathedral as a spectral presence is “Na catedral” from *Follas novas*. As noted earlier, the character of a ghost is common in Galician literature of the Rexurdimento (Rábade 239). I include an excerpt from one section of the poem below, which offers a description of the site of memory of the Portico of Glory and the statue of its architect Mestre Mateo who haunts the space along with the human figures he has carved:

¡védeos!, parece qu’os labios moven,

que falan quedo
os uns cos outros,
e aló n'altura
do ceu a música vai dar comenzo,
pois os gloriosos concertadores
tempran risoños os instrumentos.
¿Estarán vivos? ¿serán de pedra?
aqués sembrantes tan verdadeiros,
aquelas túnicas maravillosas,
aqueles ollos de vida cheos?
Vós que os fixeches de Dios c'axuda,
de inmortal nome Mestre Mateo,
xa que aí quedaches homildemente
arrodillando, falaime deso;
mais con eses vosos cabelos rizados
santo dos croques, calás... i eu rezo. (*Follas novas*)
[Look at them! It seems that their lips move,
that they speak softly
one with another,
and up there in the heights
of the heavens the music is going to begin,
because the glorious musicians
make their instruments resound

Are they alive? Are they made of stone?

those semblances look so real

those magnificent tunics,

those eyes full of life?

You who made it with the help of God,

Mestre Mateo of immortal name,

you who stayed humbly there

crouched, speak to me of that;

and moreover with your curly hair

Santo dos croques, you stay silent... and I pray.]

The incredulity of whether the figures sculpted onto the Portico are real or made of stone speaks to a sense of awe that the Portico can inspire in the onlooker. Sanitago and its monuments have the power to stir questions in those present as to the possibility of the city's deceased to speak to from beyond the grave. The religious sentiment and faith present in the poem is not that of orthodox Catholicism but rather an intimate and at times personally turbulent dialogue with the space. In this case, it is with the stony figures depicted on the Portico with their "ollos de vida cheos [eyes that were full of life]" and Mestre Mateo himself. Here, appears the specter of the ghost that is so characteristic of Castro's poetry. The poem's protagonist desires for Mestre Mateo to tell her about his secrets; "falaime deso [speak to me of that]." The spaces create a fearful experience explained in the line that reads "mitá asobrada, mitá con medo [half astonished, half fearful]."

In the last line of the poem the depth of fear that the ghostly spaces of the cathedral inspire is exposed. The poem concludes with these impactful words, "¡e funme, pois tiña medo!

[And I left because I was fearful!]" The *medo* or fear and unease is suggestive of the troubling vein of existentialism in Castro's work, and the uncanny sentiment brought about by the space of the Portico and the author's identification with the figures with whom she has had a spectral encounter and becomes afraid. As Rábade explains, the encounter with 'the ghost of the nation' occurs when the poet recognizes her identification with the dispossessed ghost (239). Castro is examining her own place within the Portico, as well as within Galician history and within Galicia as a nation. But when she becomes aware of her identification with the spectral figures, she becomes afraid and rejects them. She recognizes that the ghosts are not outside, but rather within her because she is a member of the nation.

Galician authors such as Marica Campo are indebted to Castro for her recovery and revival of Galician culture and language. Campo was honored in 2003 with the Premio da Asociación de Escritores en Lingua Galega for her first novel, *Memoria para Xoana* [Memory for Juana] (2002). As an author, poet, and playwright, Campo is a multifaceted literary figure and artist. She conjures up a magical and mythical Galicia between the imaginary and the real, reminiscent of the literature of Álvaro Cunqueiro.¹⁷ As in the case of Castro, it is important to examine women's writing in the shaping of Galician identity because it can offer an arguably different viewpoint and perspective, given women's differential experience, literary recognition and social positioning.

Women have only recently become part of the Galician literary canon and moreover, Campo is a female inhabitant of a stateless nation and thus a "Double Minority" - to use

¹⁷ Álvaro Cunqueiro is known for recuperating Celtic myths into the national narrative through his poetry. He also initiated a neo-troubadour style (rewriting, recycling and reinterpreting the Medieval splendor of the language) with his collections *Mar ao norde* (1932) and *Poemas do si e do non* (1933). The magical and mythical Galicia can be seen in *Merlín e familia: i outras historias* (1968).

Kathleen McNerney and Cristina Enríquez de Salamanca's term. Her status as a 'double minority' makes her contributions all the more poignant and creatively powerful as she uses her insights from the perspective of a woman as well. Her experience and perspective is different to that of men in general since she is much more invested in the creation of community. The female voice finds a place for women and for women's history as it attempts to give its own version of Galician national consciousness and literature. It does so by supporting women who have been dismissed and subjugated through Galician literary history.

Campo's book of Galician-language short stories *Confusión e morte de María Balteira* (1996) offers a contemporary form of Galician identity and one that is presented from a woman's perspective and as a product of the past. The book is a collection of stories that recreate and reinterpret the world of Galician legends, highlighting the female characters. In "Mulleres no camiño," the second to last story in *Confusión e morte de María Balteira*, Campo introduces the legends of notorious historical females who take the form of ghosts. She rewrites and intertwines their histories and myths through a shared female oral tradition.

An example of this is shown in "Mulleres no camiño" which juxtaposes the stories of five women, all from different times in history, with the narrative of Galician identity. It creates both a powerful reinterpretation of the past and a strong collective identity for today. Clearly, Galician identity is based on the complexities of its past, its absences, ambiguities and silences, and the meeting of present and past is where national meaning can be established. It is here at this meeting space that Campo completes a revision of female history in Galicia and globally. I will specifically focus on Campo's use of the literary sites of memory as well as the manifestation of ghosts to examine how she creates meaning around collective and individual identities.

Set at the time during which the story was written (1996), the tale unfolds during a snowy winter night within the confines of a female monastery along the Camiño de Santiago. Five historical female figures traveling as pilgrims arrive together to the door of the monastery. The group includes: Ingrid, a medieval Swedish princess; Ana de Castro, the witch of Armenteira; Dona Bela, the muse of a gothic painting in the apse of Vilar do Donas; María Peres (a Balteira), a character in the *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dezir*, and the contemporary narrator who helps tie all of their personal histories together.

As they arrive at the monastery, they are greeted by a nun who is at first mistrusting, but who later decides they are no threat and invites them in to stay the night. Magically, the women are covered in the “po da Vía Láctea” or the dust of the Milky Way and “leite sideral” or heavenly milk. This signifies their status as women and the connection to each other. Their presence together on the Camiño de Santiago (which follows the Milky Way from East to West) and the magical happenings occurring as they find themselves together outside of their own space and time (119).

These five women – “seres constelados” or bespangled beings – shimmer inexplicably as they enter the monastery. Even though they are dressed very differently and represent different time periods of history, they find common ground during a very personal conversation later that evening. While gathered around a roaring fire and within audible distance of faint echoes of the nuns’ prayers, even as they hear the first lines of the story and the narrator’s life and time period (the present of 1996) they are united with a collective conscience of Galician history. The author says “Chegaremos xuntas” or “we arrived together” showing that Galician culture today, and especially female historical characters, comprise an amalgam of the past (119). This transcends traditional (and historically male) histories in that the women are attempting to form bonds of

unity and community through sharing their stories and retelling them in their own words.

These women along the Camiño are at ease within this space and find comfort there and in each other's company. The Camiño is an ideal space for Campo's short story because it is a site of memory such as Pierre Nora explains. That is, it is a site of memory that serves as a collective unifier for those who experience it. The Camiño supports a supernatural encounter between the five women because it has its own mystic components such as its relationship with the Milky Way, its shadowy pagan roots, and its uncanny ability to unify humanity. Participation on the Camiño often consolidate collective identities among participants, lending to Campo's goal of creating a collective identity in "Mulleres no camiño." Below I explain the importance of the three women in the story and how the retelling of their personal histories creates a sense of community that can unite the women in their commonalities and make them, as a group, stronger.

One of the main stories that are reclaimed in "Mulleres no camiño" is the legend of María Peres (a Balteira), *una soldadeira* – a woman who in medieval times accompanied the jongleurs and sang and danced. Balteira is the protagonist of at least fifteen different medieval poems written in Galician-Portuguese. She was a beauty from Armenta, Galicia. She is described in the *Cantigas* as beautiful and well-known in Leon and Castile, Aragon and Portugal and maybe even in France (Martínez Salazar 204). The genre of lyric poetry in which she is recorded is called the *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*. It includes satire and irony in the political, social and personal realms and contains descriptions that some may consider graphically obscene. In fact, Lanciani and Tavani explain that in the *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* there is the "presencia activa e preponente do elemento absceno, ou xeralmente vulgar [active presence of the obscene or generally vulgar element]" (97). Unfortunately for Balteira, the *Cantigas* mostly

mention what they describe as her immoral intimate life, not her artistic performances as a *soldadeira*. According to the *Cantigas*, Balteira is known for having many lovers and lascivious sexual relationships with many men, including Alfonso X. She has been portrayed by male historians in a negative way and Campo attempts to assuage some of the damage to her reputation in this story.

Her personal history was recorded by a chorus of malicious male troubadours in the *Cantigas*. In Campo's short story, Balteira is understandably embarrassed by most of the graphic versions of her related by the men. She is most wounded by the author Xoán Baveca who truly injured her pride when he referred to her as old. She states: "Eu, que sabía case todos os segredos da vida e dos homes, non souben envellecer con dignidade. Eu, que coñecía os físicos mellores da época, no atopei ninguén que pudiese parar o tempo na miña porta [I, who knew almost all of the secrets of men, didn't know how to grow old with dignity. I, who knew all the best doctors of the time, couldn't find one who could stop time at my door]" (127). She cannot come to terms with aging and was not able to find anyone who could reverse the effects of time. In her mind, the Camiño leading to the tomb of St. James is her last hope for salvation. Balteira had been unable to repent for her sins, but realizes that she has become old and close to death. She pursues the pilgrimage to reach Santiago and win the favor of God with her "maleta de indulxencias [suitcase of indulgences]" (121). Just as Balteira, Galicia has been spoken of poorly and inaccurately depicted through history.

When comparing these works of María Balteira and Rosalía de Castro a parallel can be drawn between the literary figure of Balteira and the literary figure of Castro in Galician literary history. In their time, both women were ridiculed and culturally admonished for their "inappropriate" choices and each was belittled due to their gender. Yet, each in her own way

later recuperated and inspired the nation of Galicia and its culture. In the case of Castro she has become known as ‘the mother of modern Galicia’ and for initiating a time of rebirth and validation for Galician language and culture. Balteira’s legend has been disinterred as a curious example of medieval life and is studied today for her curious role in the male-centered sphere of the troubadours. Also, Campo has rewritten her personal history for the purposes of vindicating her memory and for connecting herself with womankind globally throughout history. While being undervalued in their time which cost them greatly on a personal level, both women have since been elevated to the status of a national treasure. They also both form intricate parts of Galician and even Spanish national history and create meaningful ways to think about women’s roles in the future.

Another important figure in “Mulleres no camiño” who symbolizes Galicia’s deep connection to the supernatural world of magic that is so prevalent in Galicia is Ana de Castro, the famous witch of Armenteira. As a young orphan she was brutally raped and felt completely hopeless about her life and what she might do. In a search for direction, she finds herself by chance under the tutelage of a supportive person who happens to be a witch. Her story continues as she explains to the other women in the convent that during San Xoán – the celebration of the summer solstice – and around a blazing bonfire, surrounded by dozens of witches, Ana is coaxed into giving her soul to the devil in return for his power and dark secrets. In adulthood Ana was persecuted several times during the Inquisition for witchcraft. She was imprisoned in a monastery jail, tortured, and shamed publicly in the name of the Catholic Church.

At one point Ana was banished from Santiago, and later, after her second infraction, from all of Galicia. Her experiences as a captive within the walls of the monastery were horrific, making the space of the monastery echo with the terrors of her memory. As a result, Ana de

Castro's journey along the Camiño, as well as the recounting of her personal history, is one of memory; “[n]on é frío o que me fai tremer, é a memoria: as paredes dos mosteiros e os latíns prodúcenme arrepíos [it isn't the cold that makes me shake, it is the memory: the walls of monasteries and the Latin prayers give me the chills]” (120). Understandably, for a woman who had experienced such cruelty in the name of religion, a religious space similar to the one in which she was belittled, tortured, and taken advantage of is not a space in which she is at ease. In contrast to the other women who find the space of the monastery and the fire comforting, Ana has a different reaction. As a ghost, she finds herself on the pilgrimage to Santiago to ask Saint James for forgiveness. She also wishes to find some part of the innocence of her youth before she was coaxed into becoming a witch. For Ana, as is similar for Balteira, Saint James' tomb which rests within the cathedral of Santiago, represents their salvation, much like the tomb and cathedral offer a sort of cultural and linguistic ‘salvation’ for Galicia today.

Another character, Dona Bela, is the woman who is depicted in the famous frescos of the Church Vilar de Donas in Palas del Rei, a town traversed by the Camiño. Initially the monastery was for females, and later became the resting place of many of the Knights of the Order of Saint James. In the story, Bela clutches a flower in her hand, the same flower that is depicted in her hand in the painting. The flower releases a beautiful fragrance which infiltrates the space surrounding the women. Bela is so moved by the recounting of Ana de Castro's suffering that she bequeaths upon her the magical flower so that “na equipaxe haxa algo que non sexa froito da maldade [in her suitcase there would be something that wasn't the fruit of evil]” (125). The flower is an object that represents the common ground of all the women in the story. As the narrator explains, it symbolizes “o arrecendo do tempo que foxe na flor de dona Elvira, de dona

Bela, de Ana de Castro... e de min mesma [the scent of time that fled from the flower of lady Elvira, of lady Bela, of Ana de Castro... and of myself]" (126).

The image of the flower is firmly depicted in the apse of the Church Vilar de Donas, just as it is steadfastly held in the hand of Dona Bela until she passes it and its magic on to another deserving woman, Ana de Castro. Dona Bela represents unity and peace with religion as she has graced the walls of the church for centuries and was one of the original donors who helped build the church. In contrast, Ana was insubordinate, in defiance against the church and in direct violation of the church's rules. Certainly these women represent different experiences and perspectives yet the women are united by the magical powers of the flower, the magical powers of the Camiño, a shared destination, and the fact that they have traversed time to come together in unifying conversation one night in the monastery in the creation of a powerful community of 'homeless' women who have no place, or an equivocal place, in Galician cultural history.

Campo creates an 'unspeakable home' in "Mulleres no camiño" by rewriting the history of women who have become dispossessed of their home, their life, or their identity. Each of these female myths helps reclaim their position in history and Campo seeks to rewrite or redefine their personal histories. As María do Cebreiro Rábade Villar argues in her examination of Rosalía de Castro, home is a community of the dispossessed, or an unspeakable home ("Spectres of the Nation"). Each of the female characters seeks to rectify their 'homelessness.' Ana de Castro was disinterred from Santiago, later from all Galicia for witchcraft; Ingrid seeks to rewrite the lie that her lover wrote into her story; Bela searches for the "regreso imposible" of the one who painted her into the apse of the cathedral, carrying her "maleta de indulxencias," and Balteira completes the Camiño to appease her desire for absolution. The ghosts of these

mythical women can be seen in a general sense as the illustration of the plight of all “homeless” women throughout Galician history and through history more broadly.

The narrator serves as a link between all of these “homeless” women and also provides a connection to the present for the reader. She narrates from the perspective of knowing their histories and being able to bridge gaps in their understanding of one another with historical explanations. She promotes and encourages their conversation. As it turns out, the narrator is an avid reader who has fallen asleep surrounded by her research including books on medieval poetry, the Inquisition, and the Camiño. The ghosts of these historical accounts have come to her in her dream to unite the seemingly dissonant histories and to show her how related they all are, including her personal history.

Another important site of memory is revealed at the end of the story, the Plaza Obradoiro in Santiago de Compostela. The Camiño is situated on the border of Santiago, but is arguably a defining part of Santiago’s identity because it has historically brought new cultural and political ideas into the city and to Galicia. In Santiago the narrator of “Mulleres no camiño,” or the link to present day for the readers, is on her way to a women’s conference, and prompted by her strange encounter of the previous night, she becomes pensive about all the other women around the globe who are suffering: “as nenas tailandesas vendidas en prostíbulos..., as Filipinas ás que un mesmo amo paga doce veces menos que ás que fan un traballo semellante no primeiro-mundo,... as escravas da beleza mercantilizada, submisas aos canons trazados polos homes. E... [Thai girls sold to brothels...the Philippine women paid by the same boss twelve times less than those who do similar work in the first-world,...the slaves of commodified beauty, submissive to the canons created by men. And...] (129).

The narrator expresses the depth of her own solidarity with all the distressed women of the

world. The nun with whom she has just had a short exchange becomes the incarnation of a collective women's history in the last line of the story as she “alongouse pola rúa Raxoi arrastrando un hábito tan vello coma o mundo [drew away down Raxoi street dragging along a habit as old as the world]” (129). The recuperation, legitimization and rewriting of Galician female myths reaches its peak in last lines of the story which takes place in the empty plaza de Obradoiro. This signifies that the women of history are all united and exemplifies the extension of a Galician-centered identity outward to include the history and identity of all women. In Rabadé's terms, Campo shows the power in “the impossibility that the vanquished can ever be completely silenced” (Rabadé Villar 235).

Lieux de mémoire and ghosts in Galicia

Contemporary Galician literature boasts prominent authors publishing in Galician and recognized in the wider Spanish literary context. These are authors such as Manuel Rivas, Xosé Luís Mendéz Ferrín and Suso de Toro. Another narrative that can bring the telling of Galician culture into perspective is that of Suso de Toro. Toro was born in Santiago in 1956 and grew up surrounded by the myths and legends of the city, the *Galicia meiga* (Witch Galicia, or the dark and magical Galicia). As an aspiring writer, he made a conscious decision early on to write in Galician despite the pressure of Franco's cultural hegemony which encouraged only the use of Spanish. Suso de Toro considers it a moral obligation to write in Galician. Much like the use of Galician by Rosalía de Castro in her time, this caused criticism and contempt from the literary canon, such that Castro abandoned writing in Galician after her first two books of poetry. From a contemporary perspective, we can view the writings of Castro as having rescued Galician

language from the long silence of the Dark Centuries and having affirmed it as an appropriate literary vehicle with *Cantares gallegos* and *Follas novas*.

In the same way that Castro helped rescue Galician from the long silence of the Dark Centuries, Toro has reclaimed the language from the silence imposed on it by the centralist regime of post-Civil War Spain. He has also connected it with a young urban audience through his works of fictional and political essays. Hooper and Puga Moruxa assert that Toro's decision to write his novels in Galician offers the Galician people – who as a whole were traditionally marginalized and dispossessed of power – an opportunity to validate their language and culture. Toro's is “the voice of the culturally disenfranchised Galician people” (21). Firstly, Franco prohibited the use of Galician and later Fraga tried to use it to his advantage as political tool. Neither Franco nor Fraga, both Galicians by birth, respected Galician as a language and Toro is seeking to remedy the damage that their time in power has cost Galician language, society and culture. As Suso de Toro himself explains in *F.M.*, a compilation of his news articles, “o ideal é escribir en galego coma se fose en inglés... pero en conxunto o feito de facer literature nun país oprimido na lingua oprimida dese país xa é un acto de afirmación política [the idea is to write in Galician as if it were English... but overall the act of making literature in a oppressed country in the oppressed language of that country is already an act of political affirmation]” (1991: 104-05). His linguistic choice, then, represents a bold political act and a great social commitment during a time of repression and subjugation. This choice also helped support the creation of an imagined community for Galician people.

Interestingly, there is another Galician novel that centers around important *lieux de mémoire*; Manuel Rivas's *O lapis do carpinteiro* [The Carpenter's Pencil] (1990). Both Riva's and Toro's were transformed into cinema, and both starred internationally renowned Galician

actor Luis Tosar, showing that both novels had sufficient ideological pull to have garnished the interest of a large public. Perhaps this is also because in both novels and films there is a certain narration – the rewriting and recuperation of spaces of memory. In Rivas’ novel a powerful space for the recuperation of memory is the *Torre de Hércules* – the Tower of Hercules, or the ancient Roman lighthouse on the peninsula of A Coruña. The Tower is a very important monument in Spain and has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2009. Many myths have been told about the lighthouse, one of them explaining that King Breogán of Ireland built the tower, ushering in the era of the Celts in Galicia. One thing historians know for sure is that, more recently, mass executions of Republican soldiers occurred here during the Civil War. The site, since so full of memories and history, is surrounded by a park full of monuments. One of the monuments is dedicated to the Celtic people who are believed to have greatly influenced the area, including a colossal statue of Breogán. There is also a Stonehenge-like monument which is a tribute to the people who were executed on those shores during the Civil War.

Rivas’s novel is a direct affront to the *pacto de silencio* that was agreed upon after Franco’s death. It explores the dark and silenced memories of spaces of memory and of those who suffered and were killed during the Civil War. Toro’s novel too, instead of focusing on Galicia and Spain as a whole, focuses on the dark memories of the political and religious capital of Santiago de Compostela. The novel *Trece Badaladas* (2002) has resonated with the Galician and Spanish sensibilities and therefore won the Premio Nacional de Narrativa. Similar to Castro’s “Na cathedral,” *Trece Badaladas* deals with the fear and even terror that the Pórtico da Gloria inspires in the onlooker. The novel is an example of a supernatural horror fiction with many gothic elements. Suso de Toro explains his work “nació de un misterio, de un fantasma que pasea por la ciudad, y Santiago es muy fatasmal. Va deambulando alrededor del sepulcro

mágico. Es una novella gótica del siglo XIX, con su misterio, el ambiente denso que te va envolviendo y que me llevo inevitablemente a narrarla con suspense” (Díaz de Tuesta 38).

It is also a contemporary revision of foundational myths and history of the city of Santiago de Compostela, but with Toro’s own ominous plot. In the novel the city is portrayed as a “cidade labiríntica, opresiva e xeradora de neurose [labrynth-like city, oppressive and creator of neurosis]” (340). The powerful historical-mythical historical focus of the city upholds the revisionist myths infusing the Portico, the Berenguela clock tower, the crypt of Saint James and also *Fisterra* (Land’s End). The popularity of the novel is due in part to the cleverly revised, reinvented, and complex historically based stories that Toro employs. In terms of mood, it is similar to gothic fiction in that perilous and strange happenings occur in isolated settings, for example, at the Portico during a torrential downpour, on the top of the Berenguela Clock Tower at the stroke of midnight, and at the solitary and dangerous Cape Fisterra at Land’s End.

Ghosts of the Past in Suso de Toro

I will now discuss two theoretical viewpoints in order to support understanding of what the novel can tell us about the treatment of history and how the myths of Santiago are used. First, I will draw upon Pierre Nora’s theory of the *lieux de mémoire*, or “sites of memory” to consider the construction of memory around urban spaces and particularly the two spatial polar opposites in the novel, the Portico and Land’s End. I will then draw from Labanyi’s observations about the presence of ghosts to evaluate the narrative presence of the ghostlike demon in the novel and its relationship to the fragmentation and silence of history. I will also examine what the ghost’s presence and recurrent manifestations of the main character can tell us about identity politics in Galicia.

Toro's *Trece Badaladas* is based on the Xacobean myth and in particular the myth of Mestre Mateo, the architect of the Portico. The story follows the protagonist orphan Xacobe through his tragic encounter with a ghost, the evil remains of an arrogant, bitter Mestre Mateo. The Portico and its creator are embellished as the novel retells the myths surrounding them and their importance to the city's history. The persona of Mestre Mateo is particularly intriguing in that he has sculpted his own image in a large slab of granite, crouched behind the masterpiece of Santiago's statue and the Portico. The statue of Mestre Mateo, or the Santo dos Croques (the statue's epithet) is silent and peculiar as described in Castro's poem. Curiously, the statue is not a 'Saint' at all, but a self-representation completed by Mestre Mateo himself. Over the centuries the stone has gone from being simply a sculpture to having the name of 'Saint' associated with it, which points to the fascination with the myth of Mestre Mateo in Galician culture.

The Portico and the famous statue of Mateo, the 'Saint' are both examples of *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory. The Portico is a site of memory because of the tremendous cultural weight that it holds. It is one of the most famous pieces of Romanesque art in all of Europe and it is reproduced in movies, television, novels, even t-shirts. It is a reminder to Galicians of their rich cultural past and a source of cultural pride. Aside from being one of the most important pieces of Romanesque architecture of all time, it also holds a highly symbolic significance for the citizens of Galicia as a collective marker of identity; it is a shared locale that arguably forms an important part of all Galicians' identities.

In this novel, as explained in the introductory chapter, the idea of narrative is prevalent - the retelling of a History that refuses to be vanquished, much like that of Galician. Toro also rewrites the legends of Santiago around the space of the Portico and the revised myth of Mateo. Santiago de Compostela is constructed upon legends and myths as Xacobe notes, "toda a cidade

é así, desde o principio, lendas [the whole city is like that, from its inception, legends"] (156). In the novel Mateo's son falls from scaffolding while working on the Portico and bleeds to death at the feet of Santiago's statue. The tragic death of his son and the subsequent refusal of the church to allow his son to be buried within the holy ground of the cathedral cause Mateo great anguish.

In response to the church's rejection he makes a pact with the devil and becomes granite, "a pedra, a luz escura [stone, dark light]" (30). The ghost of Mateo lives outside of time but is attached to specific locales, the Portico and the medium of stone. The ghost explains "volvinme eu fera, monstuo. E a boca do pozo fecho sobre min [I became a beast, monster... the well closed in on top of me]" (185). The phantom haunts the spaces he was associated with in life, chiefly the cathedral and its annexes, but he also has the power to haunt urban Santiago and Finisterre through the magical power of stone. The ghost also has the power to appear to humans and to speak to them. He haunts Xacobe, an orphan who offers him the possibility of a second death and subsequently freedom from his eternal torment. Throughout the novel the ghost of Mateo has the ability to influence Xacobe's thoughts and emotions which quickly spin out of control toward the moment of his death. The appearance of the ghost to Xacobe can be interpreted as the harbinger of death as the novel reveals the evil plan of a vengeful and demonic ghost tormenting him, draining his life energy like a vampire. Much like the effects of the *pacto de silencio* – the pact of silence after the violence of Franco, the tormented ghost cannot remain silent.

There are two main dramatic sites of memory around which all other spaces of the novel vacillate: the Portico and Finisterre. The myth-laden stone of the Pórtico da Gloria and the icy, death-centered water of Cape Fisterra are opposites yet also complementary. The action of the novel radiates outward from the space of the cathedral and of the Portico with an insistence on a

connection with the Atlantic Ocean and Finisterre. In fact, the ancient city center is likened to the bottom of the ocean or “un fondo de mar invertido [the overturned bottom of the sea]” (65). These spaces and the myths that permeate from them form an intricate part of each character’s identity and sense of self and the symbolic relevance of Galician history and oppression.

In the case of the Portico and ghost of Mestre Mateo, there is a traumatic crisis of memory related to the death of his son at the base of his sculpture that eternally imprisons him within the stone of the sculpture. The ghost claims possession of the space when he says “Este lugar é meu, correspóndeme. Este é un lugar santo, xazo no lugar onde caeu o sangue do meu meniño, a carne que máis ameí [This place is mine, it belongs to me. This is a sacred place, I lay in the place where the blood of my son fell, the flesh that I loved the most]” (31). His evil plan to avenge his son and the wrongs he believes have been done to him by the Catholic Church is to destroy the cathedral by destroying the myth of Santiago. He wants to exchange the relics of the Apostle Santiago with those of his pagan god. This version of Mestre Mateo differs greatly from that of the traditional story of the masterful sculptor who created such grand statue as the famed Pórtico da Gloria. Toro’s radical retelling of the story which includes the resurgence of the violent past in Galicia exemplified by the eras of silence and disinheritance that exist throughout Galician history.

In order to carry out his evil plan, the ghost of Mateo has chosen Xacobe as his pawn, his *corpo aberto*.¹⁸ Xacobe is a young and famous movie producer living in the medieval center of Santiago. He is orphaned and lost his twin brother when he was only a few months old. In the

¹⁸ In Galicia a *corpo aberto* is a person who has premonitions and is able to hear and communicate with *ánimas* (ghosts). According to popular belief, certain people are predetermined to have this power, normally in conjunction with seeing the *Santa Compañía*, or a wandering group of souls or dead people who warn the living about their imminent death. The souls are in purgatory and in between life and death. The procession of souls is normally seen near *un cruceiro* – a cross of stone –, or at a crossroads in the night.

novel, a newspaper article covering the deaths of Xacobe's parents and twin brother reported that the deaths occurred as a result of a fatal car accident. The car left the road and veered off the Viaduct of the Rocha. In Galician, Rocha means rock, leading to the assumption that the ghost somehow used the rocks beneath the road of the viaduct to bring about the accident.

The Viaduct could be seen then as a dramatic *lieux de mémoire*. It is a site that contains the memories of many centuries. It is a remnant of the Roman road that later extended the Jacobean road on the way to Land's End. Since Roman times, Land's End has been a place where diverse types of pagan ceremonies and rituals are celebrated due to its location at the end of the then-known world, the destination of the trail of the Milky Way, and its beautiful sunsets. In the novel, it is the locale where Xacobe first comes to realize that he is being haunted. It is also the place where the evil ghost tosses him to his death, into the abyss, along the Costa da morte, the Coast of Death. The ghost appears at sites of memory such as the Viaduct of the Rocha and Land's End in order to cause the demise of those who he deems his enemies, in this case Xacobe's parents, his twin brother, and later, Xacobe himself.

Because of the ghost's evil actions Xacobe comes to represent a traumatized identity. After his parents' and brother's death he is left alone in the world with the presence of the ghost always reappearing and hinting at unspeakable horrors from the past. Colmeiro explains "[g]hosts, as embodiment of the past in the present, destabilize the accepted notions of history, reality, and self, and the clear demarcations that define them. The here-but-not-here borderline existence between the dead and the living blurs the binary divide that constructs our perception of reality" ("A Nation of Ghosts?" 21). The impact of this "borderline existence" and the lack of a personal history affect Xacobe's identity, much like the spaces of Santiago and the identity of its inhabitants. Suso de Toro's novel gives us a glimpse into the fissures of history and more

closely connects us to a subject whose identity has also been fragmented in much the same way as Galician history. Therefore, I have noted the symbolism of the characters who parallel and represent Galician history, who are the embodiment of Galician history who are carried through ‘in living memory’ or ‘tormented living memory’ through the narrative.

Moreover, Xacobe’s fragmented past can be seen as a metaphor for the fragmented cultural, religious and social history caused by the marginalization and subjugation of Galician culture during the centralist regime. Toro’s ghost takes the reader through the ‘cracks of history’ and into the abyss that is the horror of Xacobe’s state of being. The death of the nation during the Franco regime can be seen in the symbolism of the death of Mateo’s son and Xacobe is paying the price. Indeed, the ghost’s first words are; “Nada. Nada me agarda, agárdame a Nada. Perdín. Perdino todo. Son vencido e entrego o campo da lide. [Nothing. Nothing awaits me, that which awaits me is Nothing. I lost. I lost everything. I am vanquished and I hand over the battlefield”] (29). The fragmentation of history is apparent in the empty words of the ghost. The ghost itself represents the missing pieces of history, delegated to silence and exposing the residues left in the vast fissures of the past.

Trece badaladas offers a very important narrative example then from which to draw a better understanding of identity creation in Galician literature. The use of sites of memory and the literary trope of the ghost and the haunting of the contemporary time period are present in the novel. The author points to the utilization of history and public space in the political and cultural capital Santiago de Compostela for collective identity creation. As Celia, Xacobe’s ‘love interest,’ comments early on in the text “lo que hay enterrado en las tumbas sale para fuera y contamina el presente, intervine na vida dos vivos [that which is buried in the tombs comes out and contaminates the present, intervenes in the life of those living”] (54). Since the city of

Santiago was built upon a tomb, that of Saint James, her comment helps explain the eerie feeling that one can get when wandering its old stone streets. As mentioned earlier, the name Compostela itself may derive from the Latin word *compositum*, or burial.

The Plaza da Quintana is also built upon an ancient cemetery, and the plethora of archaeological digs beneath Santiago beg an investigation into whether the dead below have the power to speak to us in some mysterious way. In the words of Xacobe, “a cara escura da cidade atrae todo resto de pasado. A substancia da cidade é a memoria histórica [the dark side of the city attracts the rest of the past. The substance of the city is historical memory]” (90). Similar to the ghosts of history that have been conquered by the official narrative of Galician history, the memories and ghosts of history do have important meanings to convey and a way is offered through the telling narrations and revised myths such as those present in Toro’s *Trece Badaladas*.

Conclusions: Galician Identity from Within

It is helpful to understand Galician authors in the cultural context of the affirmation of a collective Galician identity, and to consider this in response to the subjugation and marginalization that Galician culture had historically received from the larger socio-political framework of Spain. The strands of history, myth, sites of memory, and specters of the past run through the literature reviewed in this chapter. So, what do all of these themes and layers of symbolism mean for Galician collective identity creation today?

Foremost, these narratives can be read as suggesting that Galicia is beginning to come to terms with its history and creating different strategies to bridle the past and make it relevant for contemporary times. The myths and specters of the past invoked are retold in the interest of the

present. These literary works also respond to the literary and cultural needs of Galicia by representing or reinventing the way Galicians conceive of themselves in a global context. Campo's text is set in one of the most significant spiritual attractions of the world, the Camiño, expanding the power of identification and community while rewriting the past. Suso de Toro's novel is set in urban Santiago and rewrites the horrors of the past through a violent narrative that almost erupts from the fissures of the past.

One strategy employed by both of these Galician authors is the inclusion of rewritten myths, many of the most well-known myths of Galician history as well as other foreign elements. The myth of Balteira is especially relevant to a female audience today and stretches its habit of womanhood toward the future, including all women globally. The myth of Mestre Mateo creates cultural and ideological cohesion for the Galician public out of what could be thought of as a distant history. These authors have also strategized to create identity around the spaces which encase those histories. The five female ghosts in Campo's short story have their transcendental exchange within the walls of a female monastery along the Camiño. The ghost in Toro's novel is imprisoned within the stone of Compostela, the Portico, the rúas, and the plazas. Both authors have also followed Galician literary tradition with their powerful manifestations of ghosts, reflecting a past that cannot be silenced and which repeatedly returns. Campo utilizes female ghosts to create a sense of cohesion with the past that looks also toward the future. Toro's ghost represents the horror of past absences and emptiness and the search for a new way to approach the discontinuities of history.

The construction of modern Galician identity is certainly one of flux and inconstancy, as may be the case for many peripheral identities within the current context of globalization. Like many other peripheral locales, Galicia is struggling to maintain a clear identity and sense of self

in an era of rapid change and international connections. Some of the elements that hold the narrative of Galician identity together are the unique myths and capabilities of Galician authors to revise these myths for a contemporary audience. Authors such as Campo and Toro establish sites of memory that function to create cohesion within the population and make citizens feel a part of the Galician collective. The manifestation and recurrence of the ghosts of Galicia's past historical traumas can serve to remind Galicians that they are part of something much older and profoundly complex than the present moment, and that they are interconnected with others who may have similar histories, across geographic and political borders.

Chapter 3

The Camiño de Santiago as Global Narrative: Contemporary Trends in Ideology in Ángeles de

Irisarri, John Rutherford and Paulo Coelho

...este gran caballero de la cruz bermeja háselo dado Dios a España por patrón y
amparo suyo...

— Miguel de Cervantes, *El ingenioso Don Quijote de la Mancha*

...St. James the Moorslayer, one of the most valiant saints and knights the world ever
had... has been given by God to Spain for its patron and protection...

The Grand Narrative of the Camiño

The nation of Galicia, its capital city Santiago de Compostela and the Camiño de Santiago are important spaces of cultural heritage. The Camiño, which has historically served as a cultural conduit between Galicia, Spain and the rest of Europe, is today taking its place in ever-increasing ways within global culture. Since the onset of globalization and the increase in scope and speed of communication and information-sharing that it has brought, there has been something of a reinvention of the Camiño. This has happened through a process of the Camiño's representation and through competing narratives by authors from outside of Galicia and their portrayal in narrative and visual form.

The impact of globalization has been to rapidly connect different people from all parts of the world to the unique cultural elements of the Camiño. This has enabled increasing propagation of what Galicia has to offer for both localized communities, international tourists and would-be travelers. A prime example of an international and particularly European spotlight on the Camiño is the Council of Europe's designation of the Route of Santiago de Compostela as the first European Cultural Itinerary (1987). The Camiño de Santiago stands with Rome and Jerusalem as one of the major pilgrimage sites for Christians since medieval times, and therefore it is quite significant that the Camiño was named the first, or primary, European Cultural

Itinerary. This designation signals the Camiño's unifying and cohesive force not only historically but also in contemporary times.

Another example of the Camiño de Santiago's increasingly significant and international profile is that UNESCO considers the route to be an important European connector. In today's economic crisis and at a time when the solidity of Europe hangs in the balance, bonding elements such as the Camiño are useful in that they offer a sense of international cohesion. In the words of José María Ballester, former Director of Cultural and National Heritage at the Council of Europe, UNESCO's goal is that of "bringing the routes of Santiago to life in the overall project for the construction of a new Europe and the development of a new form of democratic citizenship on a continental scale, whose humanistic foundations demand examination in depth" (33).¹⁹ These official designations of the Council of Europe and the inscription on the World Heritage List of UNESCO are significant because this recognition has re-ignited interest in the Camiño, particularly in Spain and Galicia. It has also increased the study and identification of new pilgrimage routes throughout Europe and bringing large numbers of travelers to Santiago and revealing the European cultural value and cohesive function of the pilgrimage.

In parallel to this burgeoning international interest, there has in turn been a substantial growth in marketing or publicizing of what the Camiño has to offer the outside world. This has been evidenced by the increase in marketing facilities, a move toward more secularized fiestas and fairs, and a catering to the increasingly varied and particularized needs of travellers who have themselves come from more diverse backgrounds and cultures than in the past. The global

¹⁹ Over the last few decades UNESCO has named various World Heritage sites along the Camiño. For example, Vézelay, Church and Hill (1979) in France; Arles, Roman and Romanesque Monuments (1981) also in France; Burgos Cathedral (1984) in Spain; and Santiago (the Casco Vello) (1985), The Route of Santiago (1993), and Routes of Santiago in France (1998) are all designated World Heritage sites.

pool of tourists and other travellers are enticed by the uniqueness of Galician culture and spiritual pull that the Camiño offers.

However, these kinds of interests also present a potential threat to Galician cultural heritage by way of encouraging its simplification or reduction for easy consumption by the many tourists who flock there. For example, Exceltur runs analyses of all sorts of information surrounding tourism in autonomous communities. In 2010, the year of the last published study of Exceltur's Impactur Galicia, touristic activity made up 10.6% of the economy of Galicia, that is 6,138 million euros. All of this tourism has been managed by the Xunta de Galicia (the Galician Government), Consellería de Cultura e Turismo (Tourism and Culture Council) and the Secretaria Xeral para o Turismo (General Secretary of Tourism). With companies such as Turgalicia, tourism research has been carried out by interested parties at the University of Santiago such as the Departamento de Estatística e Investigación Operativa (Department of Statistics and Operating Investigation), as well as studies undertaken by the Instituto Gallego de Estadística (IGE, Galician Institute of Statistics).

Exceltur's report notes an advance in 2010 for the tourist sector in Galicia because of the "efecto tirón" or pulling effect of the Holy Year celebration, highlighting the socioeconomic importance of such festivals. Impactur Galicia's report states that "el efecto ejercido por la celebración del Año Xacobeo ha incentivado el buen comportamiento de las excursiones de los gallegos en Galicia, así como la mejora del consumo turístico de los turistas españoles residentes en otras comunidades y de los turistas procedentes del extranjero... [the effect of the Holy Year celebration has been the incentive for excursions of Galicians in Galicia, as well as the increase of tourist consumption by Spanish tourists who reside in other autonomous communities and by foreign tourists....]" ("Estudio Impactur"). This finding suggests that the celebrations are a main

tool for tourism and economic stimulation. Not only are native Galicians tourists within Galicia; those from the wider Spanish nation have also been drawn in by the excitement of the celebration and/or the Camiño de Santiago. At the same time, however, and on a positive note for the region, these developments in tourism also mean employment opportunities - in new hotels, travel agencies, restaurants and those indirectly linked who support these facilities in farming, construction and electricity and gas services.

Indeed, tourism certainly helps the Galician economy, but how do the government and its many agencies help support tourism? In Monitur's 2010 report (also a publication of Exceltur, the company responsible for researching tourism statistics in Spain), Galicia is in the top ten (eighth place) of autonomous communities as a competitive location for tourism. The report ranked the autonomous communities by 79 different indicators of successful tourism. Some of the categories in which Galicia received its highest scores were "strategic marketing vision and commercial support," "diversification and categorization of tourist products," and "tourism as a political and governmental priority." This last category of the governmental priority, is where Galicia's tourist sector was rated #2, second only to La Rioja. There is clearly then a successful and still-growing tourist campaign in place which is helping grow the number of tourists to Galicia and in turn to generating revenue for the region.

The gains for the Galician economy through this growth in tourism are well-monitored and supported by the Galician government. In fact, according to the Exceltur report *Impactur Galicia*, in 2010 the government reinvested 10.6% of taxes from citizens (904 million euros) into the tourist sector of the economy ("Estudio Impactur"). One of the ways in which this money was reinvested was in the promotion and care of the Camiño as well as the presentation of cultural celebrations and further investment in Religion through, for example, the Holy Year

events. The statistics related to tourism suggest that there is a dynamic process of promotion on the cultural and spiritual heritage front in order to reinforce tourism.

There is certainly much at stake then today as Galicia welcomes more and more international tourists and is thus further exposed to the cultural and economic forces of globalization. It is ironic in some ways that just as Galicia is poised to experience greater cultural freedom and self-expression, the region is at the same time more subject to the forces of commodification and postmodernity. Moreover, the burden of the current economic crisis also threatens the preservation of Galicia's unique culture, heritage and beautiful landscape. Herein lies the inspiration and principal reason for this dissertation - to better understand the recent effects of globalization and postmodernity on this peripheral nation which currently offers a quite different kind of escape for all modern-day travellers as well as a spiritual destination for those seeking a pilgrimage site or more profound travel experience.

That which draws many tourists and spiritual travellers along the Camiño and into Galicia is this possibility of an intensively personal or subjective experience distant from the structure of organized society. The change in emphasis of a traveller's experience toward subjectivity, or an inward focus, leads many to write memoirs and narrations based on the Camiño. These narrations connect travellers transnationally and create a sense of, as sociologist Khaldoun Samman would say, a "global citizenship" (13). At the same time, the local Galician culture is not a focus, rather the pilgrim-traveller cares about their interior landscape of subjectivity and even interpersonal relationships. The focus of the participant is based upon their desired result and certainly the motivations for undertaking the pilgrimage differ depending on the person.

Indeed, there are as many types of Camiño narratives as there are reasons for completing the pilgrimage route and when focusing on narrative accounts of the Camiño it is surprising in some ways that there are so many by international authors and so few written by Galician authors writing about the Camiño. This may be due to the logistical challenges of Galicians having to travel from their homeland abroad in order to begin a journey back home. It also may be that the value of the Camiño as a personal experience is marketed more successfully to those outside of Galicia than to those within.

The majority of authors choosing to write about the Camiño today are outsiders sharing their experiences for a global audience. Camiño literature is a popular way for travellers – whether tourists or spiritual adventurers – to digest and share the sense of their own personal experience. The selection of literary works explored here represent a sampling of some of the more noteworthy works of fiction by those outside of Galicia writing the Camiño, but there are certainly many other narratives based upon the Camiño, of digital, audiovisual, and musical scope.

Despite the fact that the corpus of texts comprising Camiño literature is considerable, academic study of this body of work is limited. This current chapter begins to explore that gap by examining the works of authors from outside of Galicia who chose the Camiño as their inspiration. Certainly the subjective experience shared by authors from around the globe demonstrates the capacity for the Camiño to enable those inspired to transcend potentially restrictive boundaries of nationality and a single nationhood identity. These texts have much to tell us about the Camiño and how it has captured the imagination of many regarding an increasingly globalized experience that leads to imagined communities such as the civilizational

imagination and a transnational identity, in opposition to those of the state which will be explored in the next chapter.

It is helpful to conceptualize the Camiño as a tautological construct assembled upon many strata of political and economic history. Since the medieval beginnings of the pilgrimage, the Camiño has been a cultural invention, a construction of meaning suiting the political and economic needs of those in power at the time. One example of this is the appropriation of the pre-Christian and Celtic routes to Cape Fisterra, that is, the location once believed to be ‘the end of the earth’ and which is located about 50 miles from Santiago. The pilgrimage of the Camiño made use of these routes and also created a myriad of new ways which all led to Santiago where the alleged remains of Saint James are laid to rest.

Some have argued the opposite, however, that the Camiño is free of the politics and hypocrisy of society with its primary focus on spirituality, but the Camiño’s dependence on the Roman Catholic Church shows that it is also connected to power in some important ways. As the Official Pilgrims’ Office of the Archdiocese of the Cathedral of Santiago promotes the Camiño it suggests that one prepare for the journey is the following:

le recomendamos que reflexione acerca de sus motivos para hacer el Camino de Santiago. Tradicionalmente éstos solían clasificarse en tres grupos: como deseo personal; para cumplir un voto o promesa; o como penitencia por los pecados cometidos. Algunas personas pueden verse atraídas por el aspecto cultural del Camino, otras por lo paisajístico, etc.; pero se puede decir que todas las motivaciones son el complemento de la esencia espiritual y religiosa que caracteriza al Camino de Santiago, y definitivamente hacer el Camino es una experiencia que con mucha frecuencia acerca a los peregrinos a Dios.

(peregrinosantiago.es)

[We urge you to think about your motives for wishing to make the pilgrimage to Santiago. Traditionally these fell into three categories: from a personal desire; to complete a vow; or in atonement for sins. Some people may be attracted to the cultural aspects of the journey. These entirely complement the religious heart of the Camino and indeed making the Way often leads the pilgrim to draw closer to God.]²⁰

An increased spiritual awakening for an individual may well be achieved, however, at the same time, I argue that religion or a heightened spiritual experience is not the main function of the Camiño from a political, ideological and religious standpoint. Rather, a most important function of the Camiño for both the Catholic Church and the government of Galicia appears to be promoting the pilgrimage and the city of Santiago de Compostela for increased tourism and vital economic resources. The focus of the state appears to be much more on consumerism and income generation rather than spirituality.

However, the spirituality and sacredness of the Camiño is a very powerful motivation, as the Catholic Church understands well. As Wall Street journalist Alain de Botton explains, modern travellers today have noticed the spiritual potential of the Camiño and that they can have deeply meaningful spiritual experiences through the journey. He explains that

[t]here are places that, by virtue of their remoteness, vastness, climate, chaotic energy, haunting melancholy, or sheer difference from our homelands, exert a capacity to salve the wounded parts of us. These sites, valuable rather than holy,

²⁰ Both selections are taken from the official website of the Pilgrims' Office in Santiago de Compostela. Interestingly, the website does not offer a version in the Galician language, again showing how the Camiño is not marketed to those within Galicia, rather to those from without.

help us to recover perspective, reorder our ambitions, quell our paranoias and remind us of the interest and obliging unexpectedness of life. (“Have Modern Travelers”)

Indeed, as de Botton points out, today there is no longer a purely religious aspect to the act of travel down the Camino de Santiago, but rather a focus on things such as healing our wounds, recovering perspective or simply reenergizing our zest for life. The ways in which spiritual journeys and pilgrimage visits are celebrated may differ quite strongly from those of the past and yet still hold value. Travellers are becoming more spiritual (not necessarily religious) and the purpose of pilgrimage is changing through globalized marketing and international reach. Modern tourists and travellers are looking for alternative routes and more significant and meaningful experiences. In a sense, along the Camino, religion has been replaced with culture, and for many this is a deeply meaningful change. Culture can offer morality, guidance and consolation that the weary modern traveller seeks. For example, the experience of coming face-to-face almost daily with a site of religious sanctity can remind a traveler of what there is to love as well as what there is to hate.

As Nancy Frey explains, the ideal of a pilgrim as solely a religious traveller at some point vanished, and there appeared the pilgrim as general seeker, focused on realizing personal goals. Recently the Camino has offered such experiences as more and more tourists flock to its routes to find alternative ways of approaching their sense of self. According to Frey, “the reanimation [or, the recent uptake of tourists along the Camino] took an unexpected turn in the 1980s and 1990s when the act of making the pilgrimage as a long-distance physical journey based on the models of the medieval past became popular on a wide scale” (254). The medieval pilgrim made a serious journey in search of spiritual truth, healing, penitence, redemption and the divine. As

Wall Street Journal writer de Botton explains, modern pilgrimage lacks the “ancient feeling” of a search for knowledge, but reflects a search for sport, diversion, and pleasure and a new, culturally-based sort of spirituality.

In order to explore the significance of the Camiño as it relates to the construction of transnational identity and national ideology creation, I have chosen novels by authors from three different nations; *La estrella peregrina: una peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela en el Año Mil* by Spaniard Ángeles de Irisarri (2010), *As frechas de ouro* (2004) by Englishman John Rutherford, and *O Diário de um Mago [The Pilgrimage: A Contemporary Quest for Ancient Wisdom]* (1987) by Brazilian author Paulo Coelho. I have chosen these authors, not only because they have written from outside of Galicia, but also because they offer varied types of narratives: a historical novel based around the female experience (Irisarri); an academic, fictional autobiography from a linguistic point of view (Rutherford); and the most widely read of the three, a New Age bestseller creating global interest in the alternative spirituality it endorses (Coelho). They also were each originally written in a different language: Spanish (Irisarri), Galician (Rutherford), Portuguese (Coelho) and encapsulate three distinct world views. A closer look at each novel show the creation of transnational identity and national ideology.

Each novel also appropriates local elements experienced during the Camiño and narrates them for a wide audience. In different ways, they utilize the peripheral cultural element of the Camiño, and sometimes the peripheral nation of Galicia placing them at the center of the narration. By looking at narrative creation outwardly from Galicia; first Spain, then England, and finally across the Atlantic to Brazil, it is possible to consider how a variety of external perspectives view and utilize the Camiño. Also important, is that through their narratives, Irisarri, Rutherford, and Coelho validate the significance of the Camiño within global culture by

providing a way for others to experience it outside the boundaries of the nation-state. The theories of Khaldoun Samman will be used to examine the ‘civilizational imagined communities’ created through the city of Santiago de Compostela and its vital appendage, the Camiño. Samman contends that in sacred cities “[compromise] a far more complex and inclusive system than any nationalist imagination can produce” and render the nationalist sentiment inept, opting for the “transnational imagination,” one that operates outside the borders of the nation-state. Therefore, the texts highlighted in this chapter show the importance of the blending of culture and language across national boundaries and the creation of a powerful ‘civilizational or transnational imagination’ that fits better with the process of globalization.

The Foundational Myth of Saint James

As explored above, the spiritual moorings of the Camiño are upheld by the myth of Saint James. The sustained importance of the foundational myth that the body of Saint James is housed within the cathedral cannot be underestimated since it has been systematically promoted throughout history. R. A. Fletcher, among many others, has signaled the fabrication and falseness of the myth when he states “it need hardly be said that the story is in the highest degree unlikely” (54). Nonetheless, it is not important if it is true or not, rather what is important is that many Christians believed the invention. Following Eric Hobsbawm, the invention of traditions is one of the main pillars of ideological cohesion within a population and its collective memory, and the invention of the myth of Saint James is an example of this. Hobsbawm explains that “[i]nvented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1). The

construction, propagation and diffusion of the myth continues today. Américo Castro explains that there is no use in questioning of the veracity of the tomb of Santiago because “a autenticidade do sepulcro de Santiago non é maior nin menor que a da estatua da Libertade no porto de Nova York [the authenticity of the tomb of Santiago is neither more nor less important than that of the Statue of Liberty in the New York harbor”] (qtd in Sánchez Albornoz). The invention and myth were narrated and written and the veracity is not important.

As the extensive amounts and different forms of literature show, the Camiño has been written about and publicized for centuries in a plethora of ways. Certainly the dispersal of the myth of Saint James through medieval Christendom was instrumental in the cultural and political Reconquest as well as the foundation of the city of Santiago de Compostela and its central historical position within the Iberian Peninsula. The perpetuation of the myth today is paramount to the economic functioning of the city of Santiago and Galicia to a wider extent. The first written narratives of the Camiño were the medieval guidebooks that described the hardships of the journey and provided advice as to where to find food, drinking water, and assistance. These guidebooks were excellent sources of information for pilgrims and other travellers. Written and dispersed in the 12th century, the *Códice Calixtino*, or *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, made Galicia known in the West, initiating the pilgrimage, and marking Santiago as a desirable destination. The *Códice* is a compilation of five books. The fifth book, the *Pilgrim's Guide*, is considered the first guidebook in the modern sense and is believed to have been written by Aymery Picaud de Parthenay, a French monk at Cluny, in the now Burgundy region of central France, where the book was copied and disseminated (Werckmeister 104).

The Abbey of Santiago had communication with Cluny Abbey, a center of Christendom in Europe. The Cluny Abbey had the direct support of Rome and was involved in many political

affairs throughout Europe. Werckmeister suggests that in search of new resources, Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1024-1109) “embarked on an effort to increase the international scope of money contributions by expanding the abbey’s connections with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela” (103). Cluny had far-reaching influence and the publication of the *Códice* helped to promote the agenda of Santiago and the Christianizing of Europe. It also had a hand in the political and economic systems in place during a transition from an agricultural economy to one based on monetary exchange. The distribution throughout Europe of this foundational text, the *Códice*, helped, as it spread the myth of Santiago, advertise and commodify the Camiño for the first time and was written from an external and clearly French point of view.²¹ Walter Starkie explains that “we find that it [the *Códice*] was written as a manual of propaganda, in order to boost the pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James” (40). The socio-political invention and promotion of the Camiño de Santiago thus began more than a thousand years ago and the cultural construct of the Camiño has been further reinvented, reimagined and recycled through many other narratives over time. Today, as with Frenchman Aymery Picaud de Parthenay, those who succeed in narrating the Camiño are also often foreigners with unique views from without Galicia.

La estrella peregrina: Transnationality, Communitas and Self-Identity through Pilgrimage

Spanish novelist Ángeles de Irisarri (1947 -) brings the medieval time period to life along the Camiño de Santiago and the focus of her novels and short stories is usually the medieval time period and the characterization of strong female protagonists. Her historical novel

²¹ Finally in 2009 the translation of the *Códice Calixtinus* into Galician was completed. In *Códice Calixtino: O Codex Calixtinus en galego*. Xosé López Díaz, trans. A Santiago de Compostela: Consellería de Cultura e Turismo DL, 2009. Print.

La estrella peregrina (2010) guides the reader along the Camiño de Santiago in the year 1000 through the most unlikely of pilgrims, the widow Countess of Conqueril and her two daughters -- one of which is a dwarf, as well as her entourage of 200 servants and mercenaries. Irisarri's novel also shows the dispelling of overarching institutions such as nationalism. Obviously nationalism did not exist during the time of the novel but which can be considered equivalent to a local affiliation such as the Countess' connection with the county of Conqueril or her native Sein Island. Irisarri's novel can thus show the formation of transnational identity.

Throughout *La estrella peregrina* Galicia is an exotic reflection of the Countess' homes Brittany and Sein Island. For the Countess, many similarities exist between her land and Galicia. She learns of the Galician Finisterra and likens it to a 'Land's End' in Brittany, known as the Pointe du Raz. Pointe du Raz is a promontory that juts out into the Atlantic Ocean pointing toward the island of Sein where she grew up. Located just off the coast of Pointe du Raz in Brittany, Sein Island sits within a perilous stretch of sea and is well known for its dangerous waters and numerous shipwrecks. Galicia and tales of the Galician Land's End brings her memories of this, her childhood home. Moreover, Sein is said to have been the last settling place of the druids in Brittany and there are many Celtic influences as well. Sein and Galicia are both 'exotic' locales meaning that they are rather unusual marginal places with cultural value. However, while there are many similarities between Brittany and Galicia, there are 800 miles in between the two locations. This has the effect described in the novel of making Galicia seem exotic and distant for the Countess but at the same time uncannily familiar.

The co-existence of the many cultures is pervasive throughout the novel as the protagonists create new definitions of self through the pilgrimage and encounters with others. The recreation of the historical time from a modern perspective is interesting in that the main

protagonist, a Countess, in effect, becomes a transnational travelling subject, or an individual crossing through kingdoms, counties, and church lands, always striving to reach the sacred city of Santiago. The sense of transnational identity is clear in the case of the Countess. In his study entitled *Cities of God and Nationalism* (2007), Khaldoun Samman also explains the transnational identity in contemporary pilgrimages as he describes the importance of sacred cities such as Mecca, Jerusalem, and Rome. Though not a sacred city of the first order like Rome, Santiago de Compostela may still be considered a sort of sacred city as it “introduced the possibility of transcending locality, of bonding together large numbers of men and women who would otherwise have no apparatus through which to imagine having any relations with one another. They are spaces that are highly conducive to the creation of imagined communities...” (8). Santiago may also be considered a sacred city in that it functions as a ‘mythography.’ Samman explains that the term ‘mythography’ was first used by Arjun Appadurai, in his *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Appadurai, building on Anderson’s concepts of the ‘imagined community,’ explains that mythographies “create solidarities of worship and charisma regionally,” providing a “community of sentiment” through which groups can imagine themselves together (qtd in Samman, 7). Certainly, Santiago de Compostela holds these traits as a sacred city and as a functioning mythology, since as the political and religious capital and the centerpiece of Galician nationalism, it holds the power to create imagined communities of “sentiment” bound by the destination of one of today’s most popular pilgrimages. According to Samman,

... sacred world cities, functioning as mythographies, operate beyond the boundaries of a nation-state, enabling the construction of an imaginary community that stretches over a wide area of the world. They mobilize the

imagination of individuals by directing attention away from a localized, immediate experience and placing it into another context of existence that compromises the activities and feelings of a larger world community. The sacred site itself captures the imaginations of people and lures them away from a more localized identity toward a much larger transnational one. (7)

In relation to contemporary pilgrimages, his theories could be applied to the sacred city of Santiago de Compostela. The effects of the move toward a more transnational identity originating from a sacred site such as Santiago de Compostela, is that the space becomes a part of a transnational creation of community – what Samman calls a “transnational or civilizational imagination” (5). Samman expands on Anderson’s idea of the imagined community in the nationalist sense to the broader term of “civilizational imagination” which is more precise today in the context of globalization. It suggests an imagination which connects the consciousnesses of various people from around the globe and in essence, is a different kind of experience than that of homage to the nation-state. Indeed, pilgrims’ processes of self-identity do not coincide most closely with the nation-state, but rather resonate more with the sense of a transnational or ‘civilizational’ community formed within a globalization paradigm. This moves the individual away from a national identity and toward a civilizational one, and most especially, arguably, for pilgrim-travellers on the Camiño.

Pilgrims to Santiago can be said to comprise a disparate collective of individuals from many nations who use the inspiration of the sacred space of Santiago (the tomb of the apostle Santiago) to form their own personal, subjective identities. They therefore, to a greater or lesser degree, negate the influence of nationalism. As Samman argues, the creation of an alternative imagined community is “in essence competing with modernity’s most powerful organizing

institution: the state” and during the pilgrimage to Santiago, the importance of national and local affiliations are usurped by the importance of the civilizational affiliation –or the civilizational imagination – that the pilgrim experiences (5).

As Samman further explains, sacred cities are “clearly distinct in that they serve as a civilizational and transnational center and, moreover, they articulate the potential for an undifferentiated global citizenship that supersedes and renders irrelevant the nationalist imagination” (13). In this way then, the state’s official tourist-targeted narrations which include reference to Santiago de Compostela may not resonate and could even seem cognitively dissonant to pilgrims and even other travelers who complete what often turns out to be a deeply spiritual and personal journey. Therefore, in a sense, the narrations explored in this chapter give a more representative view of what pilgrim and other travellers may feel through their experience on the Camiño today.

In Irisarri’s novel, the experience of traveling toward the sacred city of Santiago opens the protagonists up to deeper self-inspection. The day-to-day experiences with others on the pilgrimage route, much like the experience of pilgrims today, has the capacity to change the self-perception of the protagonists. This is sometimes referred to the experience of ‘liminality.’ Liminality is the quality of ambiguity or disorientation that often occurs in the middle stage of deeply personal experiences, including rituals such as the Camiño. At such times, individuals no longer hold their pre-ritual sense of self, but have not yet begun the transition to the sense of self they will hold when the ritual is complete. During the liminal stage, individuals stand at the threshold between their previous way of structuring their identity and a new way established during the pilgrimage. Turner explains the liminal phase as a state when: “the ritual subject becomes ambiguous, he passes through a realm or dimension that has few or none of the

attributes of the past or coming state, he is betwixt and between all familiar lines of classification...all previous orderings of thought and behavior are subject to revision and criticism” (2). Therefore, during the liminal stage on a pilgrimage – the transitional time of change from what one was, to what one might become – apparent differences between individuals such as social class are often de-emphasized or ignored. According to Victor Turner, a social structure of ‘*communitas*’ can form: one based on commonality rather than other hierarchies such as social class.

Communitas has positive values associated with it: good fellowship, warm contact, and an unhierarchised vision of society. For example, during a pilgrimage, members of different classes might mix and converse as equals, whereas in normal life they would rarely converse at all or their conversation might be quite limited, such as to giving or receiving orders. According to Turner, this sense of *communitas* is created as pilgrims “distance themselves from mundane structures and their social identities, leading to a homogenization of status” (7). A group of different individuals can undergo a becoming of a new identity, both individually and collectively, through the experience of liminality and *communitas* which makes possible a certain distancing of themselves from their previous lives and the accompanying structures and institutions by which they once lived. This is precisely what the Countess and her daughters experience on their medieval journey to Santiago.

The Abject in *La estrella peregrina*

Irisarri’s story revolves around the main characters, the Counts of Conquereuil and their two daughters, Mahaut and Lioneta, who couldn’t be more different. The oldest daughter Mahaut has a fair complexion and is described as very lovely. Lioneta, the dwarf, is described as

“ugly” and even monstrous. Don Robert, Lioneta’s father, describes his daughter in the following way:

mi hija, que ha cumplido seis años largos, es una criatura imperfecta... Las gentes la llaman la ‘monstrua’... Tiene la cabeza muy grande para su cuerpo; los rasgos de su cara son raros y deformes con la frente muy grande, las mandíbulas prominentes, la nariz muy chata y los labios y la lengua muy gordos... ¡Ah, además, como tiene la lengua muy gorda, no parla bien y tiene voz chillona, incluso estridente! (39)

[my daughter, who has lived six long years, is an imperfect creature ... People call her the 'Monster' ... Her head is too big for her body, the features of her face are rare and misshapen, large forehead, prominent jaws, very stubby nose and lips and tongue that are very fat ... Ah, and, since her tongue is too fat, she doesn't speak well, she has a shrill, even piercing voice!]

To the chagrin of her father, Lioneta’s physical deformities are impossible to conceal. It is with great interest as well as with disdain that the people of the kingdom are said to look at the girl. Lioneta experiences rejection and shame due to her physical deformities, but reacts most violently to her father’s rejection. This is symbolic of Galicia in that the region and its people have historically suffered great rejection and exclusion.

Don Robert, her father, cannot overcome the feelings of inadequacy at having begotten his dwarf daughter. His view of Lioneta leads to obsession, disgust, disdain, and hatred toward her and in a sense her own self-hatred, a condition that the oppressed also often experience. Lioneta is either treated with disdain or otherwise ignored by her father as he becomes obsessed with how to rid himself of the curse he believes that she embodies. The reactions that Lioneta

causes in Don Robert are so strong that he demands that Lioneta be exorcised to rid her of any demons. In response, Lioneta, who had been hiding in the folds of her mother's dress, races toward her father and pushes him violently against the back of his legs. The shove from the small girl makes him fall forward into a low doorway resulting in a crack his skull and his sudden demise. For Doña Poppa, the death of her husband holds one terrible question: was his death an accident, or was he murdered by her their daughter? During her pilgrimage, the recently widowed Countess struggles to overcome her grief and her shame: the loss of her husband, the knowledge that Lioneta may have purposefully killed her father, and the reactions from strangers in response to Lioneta.

Irisarri's novel deals with a time period when pilgrimage was a collective, religious event, yet it also broaches a very contemporary issue surrounding the Camiño, that of the individual, subjective search for identity and affirmation. The experience of a search for identity and affirmation is clear in *Lioneta* and can be grounded in the theory of the 'abject' as presented by psychoanalytic feminist, Julia Kristeva. The abject is that which is rejected by or disturbs social reason. It calls into question identity and cultural concepts. As Kristeva has argued, the abject "is [...] what disturbs identity, system, order" (4). It can refer to the state of historically-marginalized groups such as women, people of minority racial or cultural groups, people of minority religious faiths, and the disabled. Kristeva further explains that "[T]he one by whom the abject exists is thus a deject who places (himself), separates (himself), situates (himself), and therefore strays instead of getting his bearings, desiring, belonging, or refusing" (8). In other words, the abject strays or journeys to recover a sense of self.

The protagonist in *Isarriari*'s story is a woman, a widowed queen who has given birth to her deformed daughter, Lioneta. I argue that she and the main characters in Irisarri's novel,

including ‘the abject’ can be understood as representing the relation of Galicia to the controlling power of Spain. There is symbolism in that Galicia has always been marginalized and forgotten by the larger Spanish nation, thus the symbolism of Irisarri’s choices. Much like the treatment of Lioneta by society at large, Galicia often experienced prejudice through the ages.

The experience of the Camiño offers an opportunity for recovery or even discovery of a sense of self. It can provide a comfortable space for the abject, the uncertain - those who are searching for their place in a world that has so far not offered them a place of peace or acceptance. Moreover, the pilgrimage is a journey on more than one level. Besides the physicality of the experience, it can also provide a space of exploration for transient, marginalized and other subjects who have been cast out by their community or their society. For the females in the novel, the experience of becoming pilgrims on the Camiño is one of healing and self-recognition as they travel toward the sacred city of Santiago and take the path to a transformed sense of self.

At the end of the novel the Countess learns the answer to a question that was troubling her soul; whether her daughter murdered her own father - the Count of Conquereil. Indeed, it is revealed that the small girl did intend to kill her progenitor, as she confesses to her mother “Madre, yo maté a mi padre, le empujé... [Mother, I killed my father, I pushed him...]” (557). The countess accepts her child’s confession and is relieved to have found out the truth, albeit the worst truth possible. Certainly the experience of *communitas* and unconditional acceptance experienced during the pilgrimage is beneficial for Lioneta. She has come to express and to release her deepest secret. The Countess also returns to her land a changed person, no longer subsumed by her physical appearance or her dependence on her male counterpart for survival and identity. She has overcome many hardships, seen the world, and experienced the accepting

and open *communitas* of the pilgrimage. She has left her worldly possessions behind and become one of a more fulfilling collective - part of the great ‘civilizational imagination’ that Samman describes.

Irisarri’s historical novel explains the medieval experience of pilgrimage, but presents it from a contemporary perspective. It is easy to see how the loss of the importance of borders between lands and regions and the creation of a *communitas* spirit can be experienced today. The modern traveler, much like the Countess and Lioneta, may also experience this negation of one’s self as a national subject, but often in exchange for a more powerful and subjectively fulfilling sense of transnationalism and the civilizational imagination. At the same time, Lioneta’s characterization, albeit quite extreme, can show the freedom from identification by others such as her father – much as a patriarchal power can exert over a controlled territory – leading to the possibility for greater self-realization, self-expression, and ultimately, self-acceptance.

Re-Imagining the Self: Pilgrimage and Identity as Performance in *As frechas de ouro*

John Rutherford, the so-called “father of Galician studies” in the United Kingdom, is an active ambassador for Galician language and culture. His project in itself is rather quixotic in that it retells the story of a modern-day Don Quijote “tilting at windmills” on a starry-eyed search for enlightenment. A former Director of the Centre for Galician Studies at the University of Oxford and an honorary member of the Real Academia Gallega, Rutherford is also a renowned linguist, having translated both Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *El ingenioso Don Quijote de la Mancha* as well as *La Regenta* by Leopoldo Alas, Clarín. He continues to be an outspoken ambassador for Galician language and culture in the United Kingdom and globally.

Rutherford has been acknowledged as an honorary member of the Galician Royal Academy as well as *doctor honoris causa* from the University of Coruña. Manuel Rivas refers to Rutherford as a “corpo aberto, un lugar para esas palabras feridas e para a lingua [an open body, a place for those wounded words and for language]” (Pereiro). Indeed, his novel can be seen as an alternative form of promotion and preservation of the Galician language, in contrast to the official narratives of the state.

In 2004, Rutherford published his first book in Galician, *As frechas de ouro*, noting in his published speech, finding freedom in writing narrative and attributing his change from academician to novelist to his personal experience on the Camiño de Santiago: “Supongo, pues, que esto que estoy contando fue otro de los muchos milagros del Camino: la conversión de un profesor de inglés, si no en creyente católico, por lo menos en novelista gallego. [I suppose, well, that this that I am telling you is another of the many miracles of the Camino: the conversion of an English professor, if not into a Catholic believer, at least into a Galician novelist”] (6). In an interview with Xosé Manuel Pereiro, Rutherford explains his history with the Camiño de Santiago and his desire to write a book in this way:

A min pasoume unha cousa curiosa, a primeira vez que fixen o camiño a Santiago desde Roncesvalles, que, sen ser relixioso, me causou unha impresión tan forte que o volví facer cinco veces e penso facelo máis. Empecei a escribir o que pensei ía ser unha serie de ensaios sobre o Camiño, en inglés, claro. Pasei tres días en Ribadeo escribindo e rachando, porque o que facía parecía duro e frío. Estaba desesperado por esa incapacidade, e dicíame que era un académico aburrido que só podía facer crítica. E, por probar, probei co galego. Non digo

que o texto comezase a fluír, pero si a medrar, e o que ía ser un ensaio en inglés acabou sendo unha novela en galego. (Pereiro)

[Something curious happened to me, the first time I hiked the road to Santiago from Roncesvalles, that, without being religious, it created such an impression on me that I returned to hike it five more times and I plan to complete it again. I started to write what I thought would be a series of essays on the Camiño, of course in English. I spent three days in Ribadeo writing and chipping away at it because what I did seemed hard and cold to me. I was hopeless due to my inability, and decided that I was a boring academic that could only write criticism. And, for the sake of trying, I tried with Galician. I am not saying that the text began to flow, but yes to grow, and what was going to be an essay in English ended up being a novel in Galician.]

The novel showcases Rutherford's unquestionable mastery of the Galician language, including the difficult terrain of such Galician conversational difficulties as colloquialisms and puns. The novel shows true lyricism on the part of Rutherford and his decision to write in Galician shows his devotion and respect for Galicia and the Camiño. Here is how he explains his decision to write in Galician: “debe de tener que ver con mi creciente identificación con Galicia desde que llegué a Ribadeo por primera vez hace medio siglo, y con el profundo disgusto que me provocan muchos aspectos de la Inglaterra contemporánea [it probably has something to do with my growing identification with Galicia since I arrived in Ribadeo for the first time half a century ago, and with the profound disgust that I find with many aspects of contemporary England]” (“El Camino de Santiago”).

The novel chronicles the two protagonists' journey from Roncesvalles to Santiago de Compostela. It begins in O'Cebreiro and offers flashbacks to what happened during the three previous weeks since the departure from Roncesvalles as they travel onward toward Santiago. The two Englishmen are very different. One, the main character, is attracted by Galician culture and is repulsed by modern England with its newfound 'Americanization' and increasing materialism, while the other is a defender of England's traditional values.

The protagonists are without name, thus the main character or Galician at heart is *eu* or I, and the supporter of England is *o outro* or 'the other.' Rutherford explains his decision for a more universal character in a public talk published by Gómez-Montero in this way: "Me parece que la idea funciona bien, porque es observable que cada persona que hace el Camino va perdiendo gran parte de su identidad individual para sumirse en la comunidad peregrina, de sufrimiento y gozo [I think the idea works well because it is evident that each person who completes the Camino loses a great portion of their individual identity in order to join the pilgrim community, of suffering and joy]" ("El Camino de Santiago"). Here the loss of identity is seen as a positive element of the journey, a process meant to invoke a new way to think about oneself. It is perhaps one reason why the novel may resonate well with the Galician public.

The "I" protagonist of the novel, like Rutherford, is a professor at Oxford, and in the midst of a search for identity: "Din que é unha viaxe en busca dun mesmo, pero quen son eu? Que ou quen é este eu que eu tiña que estar aquí buscando? Un anxo cruel? Un santo malvado? Onde está aquel centro do meu ser que din que ando procurando? [They say that it is a journey in search of ones self, but who am I? What or whom is this I that I am supposed to be here searching out? A cruel angel? A malicious saint? Where is that center of my being that they said I'm going in search of]" (63). At a turning point in his life, he affirms his alternative

identity as an adoptive Galician through his experience on the Camiño. He describes his pilgrimage as helping him at “inscribéndome como membro adoptivo, penso, creo, espero, daquela gran sociedade secreta que se chama galeguidade [registering myself as an adoptive member, I think, I believe, I hope, of that great secret society called *galeguidade*”] (20).

Importantly, as noted above, the protagonist is unnamed, aside from the references of his companion to him as the ‘gran intérprete,’ the great interpreter or translator. He searches for his true identity by traveling along the Camiño and expressing himself in his near native Galician language, thus enjoying his time in Galicia. The narration begins in O Cebreiro, the entrance to Galicia on the Camiño, and ends in Santiago de Compostela with flashbacks and diary entries from his traveling partner interwoven through the novel. The physical space of Galicia marks the beginning and the end of his journey as far as the way the narration is organized. Therefore, Galicia becomes the central portion of his journey. The walking of the road is in essence a recreation of himself, just as it is for any tourist-traveller along the Camiño today, making the choice not to name the protagonist more significant since it can resonate symbolically for the reader as well.

The centrality of Galicia in the novel makes it a unique and intriguing narrative from which to view the effect of Camiño culture and the peripheral Galician culture on global identity and ideology. The protagonist comes closer to his identity as a Galician primarily through language, and he has several reasons to complete the journey: to come to terms with his aging, to practice his ‘galicianness,’ and to find inspiration for a novel as an imagined ‘infiltrator’ among other travelers and pilgrims. He explains that the pilgrimage is “un escapar de si mesmo e do egoísmo [an escape from himself and from egotism]” (63). Aside from escaping himself and his

egotism, it is possible to also see his journey as an escape from his English nationality, which he forcefully rejects as over-bearing and restricting.

The protagonist also shows a rebellious spirit in opposition to national categories. For example, he is opposed to his official passport classifying him as English, stating that “segundo o meu pasaporte non son galego senon inglés pero ás veces os papeis menten [according to my passport I am not Galician, but rather English nonetheless sometimes documents lie”] (42). He feels close affiliation with an idealized Galician condition and desires to be Galician. And he expresses his aversion and disdain for his English roots, as the following quote clearly shows.

His vision of Galicia is a:

visión romántica e idealizada dunha Galicia protexida e illada dos males do mundo moderno para conservar a súa humanidade e mais a súa identidade, solo fértil cuitado durante milenios no que botar fondas raíces, saber quen es, ter o teu sitio na vida, a diferenza do estandarizado, centralizado, cocacolonizado, miquimauseado, masificado, globalizado, deshumanizado país do meu pasaporte. (64)

[romanticized and idealized vision of a Galicia isolated and protected from the evils of the modern world to preserve their humanity and moreover their identity, fertile only thanks to millenia of fostering deep roots, knows who it is, has its place in the world, in contrast to the standardized, centralized, coca-colonized, mickey mouseized, massified, globalized, dehumanized country of my passport.]

He sees Galicia as simplistic and exotic and has found a ‘home’ in an imagined community – having created his own conditions for the freedom to choose his own means of self-expression and self-identity – not that which he no longer recognizes or feels to be an integral part of

himself. In the above quote the narrator makes a formidable argument against globalization and its effects in England. For the protagonist, England has in essence sold out to the highest bidders and has been “coca-colonized and mickey mouseized.” His homeland now represents to him an amalgam of neoliberal capitalist ventures at the cost of the loss of a distinct English identity.

Rutherford thus views Galicia as a nation that has somewhat resisted the changes wrought by globalization but one that is for him, worryingly in a process of being commodified. He therefore takes up the cause of Galicia’s historical oppression and the path of commodification that the Camiño has more recently be subject to. He sees this commodification through elements on the Camiño such as Pelegrín, the cartoonish mascot of the Camiño, whom he despises, perhaps because he represents the 1993 Xacobeo and the commodification of the Camiño by Fraga. Nancy Frey describes the 1993 Holy Year in this way:

Holy Year 1993 took Spain by surprise. In 1993 millions came to visit Santiago and more than one hundred thousand walked at least 100 kilometers or cycled at least 200 kilometers to receive the cathedral’s document of certification. In a last-minute attempt to capitalize on the resurgence of interest in the way the Galician government invested millions of pesetas in the ill-conceived Plan Xacobeo 93, a plan to make the Camino a tourist trap par excellence. Pelegrín, a Disneylandized version of the modern pilgrim, became the Xunta’s standard-bearer and began to march across Spain inviting citizens of all walks of life to become pilgrims for a day in Santiago... Few knew what Xacobeo meant or who Pelegrín represented... Ill-conceived marketing turned the pilgrimage into a spectacle. (251-52)

Therefore, for the protagonist of *Frechas*, the mascot Pelegrín is a representation of the commodification of the Camiño and the linking of the pilgrimage to the state. The simplistic pilgrim-mascot is an empty-eyed compilation of mostly geometric shapes and primary colors, carrying a staff with a gourd for water as was customary in medieval times. The representation is thus a mix of modern and historical elements. It has inundated the Camiño as a way to connect the pilgrimage to ‘everyman’ by way of official signs and all type of commercialized items such as hats and shirts. The cartoonish figure is still somewhat prominent along the Camiño today as vestiges of it remain.

The protagonist has multiple internal conversations with Pelegrín that exemplify his hatred of the commodification of Camiño culture. Pelegrín is a representation of the influence of Manuel Fraga, who some consider as having sold-out Camiño culture (and Galician culture at large) to a larger, globalized version. As explained in Chapter 1, Fraga saw Xacobeo 1993 as his opportunity to present Galician culture to the world and to connect it with the state. The state and the Xunta, led by Fraga, also created a campaign for the city of Santiago which was called Compostela 93. The word Santiago was not used in the campaign which focused instead on the urban center. Certainly there has been manipulation of the cultural elements of the pilgrimage and the city of Santiago, something that does not sit well with the English protagonist of Rutherford’s novel who is all too familiar with the commodification and subsequent loss of indigenous culture.

The protagonist holds this tumultuous, imagined internal dialogue with Pelegrín throughout the novel. However, during this dialogue, Pelegrín’s response is to degrade him and belittle his experience on the Camiño. He threatens that the protagonist, will: “volver á realidade da túa cómoda vida de sempre, e esa vida non a vives no camiño de Santiago nin nun albergue de

peregrinos, non ho, ti vives nunha cidade importante e nunha casa moderna e comfortable e vas dun lado para outro no teu coche ¿Teño razón ou non a teño, tío? ¿Eh? ¿Eh? [return to the reality of your comfortable life, that life that you don't live on the Camiño de Santiago or in a hostel for pilgrims, no man, you live in an important city in a modern and comfortable house and you get around in your car. Am I right, or am I right, man? Huh? Huh?"] (163).

Pelegrín breaks through the perceived self-discovery of the protagonist and shows him that he is no authentic pilgrim, but rather a first-world consumer in a neoliberal economy. He reminds him that he will once again become this person when the Camiño and his transitional experience as a pilgrim has ended. No doubt the truths that Pelegrín shares are one reason why the protagonist characterized Pelegrín as “noxento [vile]” and avoids eye-contact with this cartoonish representation throughout the narration.

Nevertheless, however, the protagonist, has one main tool with which to recreate himself as a Galician: the oral language. He considers the act of speaking Galician as a creation of identity and a reaffirmation of his national affiliation. The following quote illustrates his point of view: “a conversa diaria é en Galicia toda unha obra de creación literaria e afirmación de identidade nacional [daily conversation in Galicia is a work of literary creation and affirmation of national identity]” (185). The Camiño fits into the trope of conversation because, as Homi Bhabha and Sander Gilman explain, “conversation depends on a certain kind of culture: of evocation, nostalgia, metaphor, the permission to ramble, periphrasis, peripateia- all those kinds of interesting wandering, associative things are part of a conversation...” (2001: 4). A ramble down the Camiño in Galicia is an ideal setting for conversations and Galician is the perfect language in which to have exchanges that can meander and flow, for as the protagonist of Rutherford’s novel explains, to learn Galician one must understand and manage: “rodeos,

ironías, retrancas, elipses, indirectas, evasivas, vaguidades, ambigüidades, desvíos, voltas e revoltas e reviravoltas, repregamentos, circumloquios, pausas, silencios, alzamentos de cellas, chiscadelas de ollos, encollementos de ombros... [round abouts, ironies, that special Galician irony, ellipses, indirect, evasive, vague, and ambiguous comments, twists and turns and more twists and turns, backtracking, circumlocutions, pauses, silences, lifts of the eyebrow, winks, shoulder shrugs...] (21).

We see his linguistic prowess in action throughout the novel, though he does experience setbacks in his search for *galeguidade*. For example, while digesting a somewhat disappointing comment from a countrywoman about his being lost on the road, he practices a sort of projection, using the conversation with the woman to see himself. The woman uses the *vostede*, or formal register when addressing him, which ultimately makes him feel like an outsider. He focuses on the positive of their linguistic connection and shared, unique identity and community when he states, “de todas as formas é un bo consolo poder falar por fin na fermosa lingua galega, fonte e garantía da nosa diferenciada identidade [in any case it is a consolation to be able to speak in the beautiful Galician language, source and guarantee of our differentiated identity]” (59). From this quote it is possible to extrapolate that he sees ‘the other’ in his conversations as the fantasy or projection of his desire to be Galician, a differentiated and differentiating identity in his view. Rutherford’s novel is, in contrast to Irissarri’s novel, an example of Camiño culture as well as *galeguidade* and the culture of Galicia appropriated by an outsider who uses it to recreate his identity.

When he finally reaches O’Cebreiro, the beginning point of the novel but chronologically near the end of his journey, the protagonist encounters the most difficult ascent of the Camiño and also the entry point into Galicia. The ascent to O’Cebreiro teaches the pilgrim-traveller an

important characteristic about Galicia. As the protagonist explains, “Non che é doado entrar en Galicia. Galicia deféndese do mundo con barreiras fortes [Entering into Galicia is not easy. Galicia defends itself from the world with strong barriers”] (11).

Geographically, Galicia is surrounded by mountains on its Eastern borders, and has dangerous seas along its northern and western extremes. When the protagonist finally arrives in Galicia where he can speak his learned Galician, he is perceived stereotypically by the locals to speak Spanish with a hint of Galician, or “un galego deses que viven en América [one of those Galicians who live in America”] (17). What he wants, in fact, is to be able to speak a Galician that others would consider learned from the Galician territory, or “un galego deses que viven en Galicia [one of those Galicians who live in Galicia”] (17). All the same, he accepts the compliment. In this exchange we can see both the reaction of Galicians to outsiders, specifically those who wish to become Galician, as well as the adoptive Galician yearning for acceptance into the Galician nationality. The search for acceptance and self-acceptance are important themes which play out against the backdrop of Galicia’s current search for self-determination and statehood within the nation of Spain. These tensions are repeatedly echoed in the protagonist’s self-realization in the novel.

In comparison to Irisarri’s novel, Rutherford expresses an insistence on the theme of Galicia and the quest for acceptance into the Galician nation through the personal process of becoming Galician. England and Galicia have a lot in common outwardly such in that they are both geographically isolated “islands” and have particularly unique cultural characteristics. Nonetheless, compared to his native England as seen through his eyes, Galicia has yet to fall victim to a complete sellout of its heritage, culture and language. In the mind of the narrator, Galicia still stands strong and is, with its unique and unifying cultural element of the Camiño, an

example of a nation that is accepting of many different types of people and ideas, yet at the same time, one which is still difficult to become a part of.

In the final chapter of the novel Rutherford very clearly spells out one of his protagonist's main goals “o aumento da mutual comprensión e cooperación internacionais mediante a destrución dos estereotipos que tanto dano fan e que tantas barreiras erixen contra unha Europa forte e unida para afrontarmos con ecuanimidade os desafíos do novo milenio [increased mutual understanding and international cooperation through the destruction of stereotypes that do so much damage and all the barriers against a strong and united Europe to brace ourselves with equality against all the challenges of the new millennium”] (244).

Clearly, Rutherford's call, is a call to unity, to transnationality, to the acceptance of a person's desire to ascribe to diverse values and self-definitions. The protagonist's search for Galician identity and the rejection of his own nationality speak to what he perceives to be the negative consequences of globalization on his native England and at the same time the present strength of Galicia to have withstood those external forces. In this narration it is possible to identify the theme of the Camiño serving as unifier and cohesive connector just as it historically has, even in the midst of globalization. Rutherford's personae as ambassador of the Galician language, or in Rivas' words *o corpo aberto* of Galician language, has endeared him to the Galician public (quoted in Pereiro). Overlooked in the United Kingdom, his novel *As frechas de ouro* offers a commentary that resonates with Galicians' identity, while at the same time promoting and preserving the Galician language.

Treasure Hunting Ancient Wisdom in Modern Times in *The Pilgrimage*

Brazilian novelist Paulo Coelho (1947 -) is a global publishing phenomenon. His most popular novel, *O Alquimista* [*The Alchemist*] (1988), is a novel about a Spanish shepherd boy, Santiago, who journeys to the pyramids of Egypt to find his “treasure,” or destiny. As of July 21, 2013, *The Alchemist* had spent 260 weeks on the New York Times Bestseller list. In France, Spain, and Germany, Coelho is considered a celebrity and he enjoys widespread popularity in the United States, Mexico, throughout Latin America, and the world.

Coelho has become “one of the world’s most successful popular writers” (Riding). His popular New Age novels have been translated into many different languages. His bestseller, *The Alchemist* has been translated into more than 70 different languages and has sold over 31 million copies worldwide. According to researcher Stephen Hart, *The Alchemist* is one of the best-selling novels of all time (304). Coelho transcends imagined national borders and nation state supported identities with translations of his books into many languages and his masterful utilization of the Internet to reach his now global fan base. His New Age philosophies are subscribed to by millions of people worldwide through his books, his personal blog, and his Facebook profile.²²

However, according to Hart, “Coelho’s work has not always endeared itself to academic audiences who often see it as pandering to popular taste” (305). Academics see Coelho’s work as being of poor literary quality due to his insistence on stereotypes, clichés, and the abundance of grammatical errors, resulting in little positive critical attention. At the same time, it is hard to

²² Following are some of Coelho’s staggering social media stats. His Facebook page has over 11 million fans, his Twitter account has over 8 million followers, and his personal blog has over 1,350,000 followers with the numbers steadily increasing. For example, in Spain (from which approximately 2.9% of his fan base originates) Coelho’s Facebook page receives an average of 1,400 new fans per week and 7,200 per month (socialbakers.com, statistics tracker and Facebook marketing developer).

overlook the popularity of Coelho, a widely celebrated global author who has successfully disseminated his own brand of New Age philosophy. Below I will show how *The Pilgrimage* creates a civilizational imagination based on transnationalism and a blending of the contemporary and the ancient, rendering institutional ideologies such as organized religion and nationalism irrelevant.

In contrast to the Middle Ages when pilgrimages were an essential part of western European spiritual and cultural collective as well as Roman Catholic identities, today there is a different, more subjective focus on pilgrimage. Therefore, as the narrations chosen to be explored in this chapter demonstrate, the experience of the Camiño has largely changed from a collective, religious experience to that of a more subjective one related to tourism, personal growth, consumerism, and transnationalism. This internally-driven way of approaching the journey stands in direct opposition to the systems of power sustained by the state such as nationalism and their support of central religious institutions. Much can be gleaned from exploring these transnational narrations.

Coelho's first novel, *The Pilgrimage: A Contemporary Quest for Ancient Wisdom* (1987), confirms the draw of the narrative of the Camiño on a global scale as a dynamic and poignant metaphor in western society. It promotes the belief that completing the pilgrimage is a very powerful exercise in the creation of personal identity. Like Rutherford's novel, it is also autobiographical. And it effectively launched Coelho's literary career serving as a stepping-stone toward the proliferation of New Age philosophies and his own international acclaim.

At first Coelho's germinal novel received little attention, but after the release and subsequent popularization of *The Alchemist*, *The Pilgrimage* enjoyed a second breath of life and was translated into English and published in the United States in 1992. So far, the novel has

been translated into at least 38 different languages including Persian, Chinese, Greek, Albanian, Galician and Catalan, among others. Its popularity is due in part to the interest in Coelho's philosophies later popularized in his bestseller *The Alchemist*, but also due to the utilization of the universal narrative of the Camiño as accessible to all people. Coelho has achieved literary stardom by creating a global audience, or to use Samman's terminology, a civilizational imagination, based on celebration of the Camiño as personal spiritual journey and his New Age philosophies.

The New Age movement arose in late 20th century Western society and adapts a variety of ancient and modern beliefs normally considered to be outside the mainstream such as alternative approaches to spirituality and healthy living. Hanegraaff explains that New Age thinking and living results from "a general dissatisfaction with certain aspects of western thought such as one may encounter in contemporary culture... and a feeling that mainstream culture leaves no room for certain important dimensions of personal human experience" (291). He maintains that New Age thought "derived from certain so-called 'western esoteric' traditions which have long existed in our culture but have seldom been dominant" (292). In essence New Agers believe that "an inner core of true spirituality lies hidden behind the outer surface of all religious traditions, and that the knowledge of it has been kept alive by secret traditions throughout the ages... and a universal spirituality based on the primacy of the personal inner experience" (292). The popularization and acceptance of Coelho's New Age novels can be seen as reflecting the dissatisfaction of many with contemporary culture and society and a search for the core of spirituality that culture and organized religion sometimes fail to offer. It is also thus the search for a more recognizable sense of self.

The Pilgrimage presents a myriad of New Age elements such as the appearances of enigmatic guides, spiritual tests, devilish opponents, omens, and miracles. It is a novel about a man named Paulo who is on a cryptic spiritual mission. The story begins in Itatiaia, Brazil in 1986, the same year that Coelho completed his own pilgrimage to Santiago and experienced a spiritual awakening. Paulo is told that he must hike the pilgrimage, or what he refers to as the “Strange Road to Santiago” to recover his secret sword and discover his “personal legend” or reason for being. One can imagine the sword as a symbol of his true innermost self and the search for it as his quest for self-realization. He must complete the mission in order to gain the right of admission into the mysterious and ancient religious order Regnus Agnus Mundi (RAM), or Kingdom of the Lamb, also referred to as the “order of the Tradition” in the novel.

Paulo’s pilgrimage is a series of meditation and learning exercises with philosophical and mystical themes completed at different locations along the route. The exercises are designed by his guide to bring him closer to a more complete sense of self and to help him “fight the good fight.” Paulo explains that “even if I were not able to find my sword, the pilgrimage along the Road to Santiago was going to help me find myself” (17). After many tests and trials Paulo does recover his sword in the medieval village of O’Cebreiro, one of the first villages the pilgrim reaches when he/she enters Galicia and by some believed to hold the Holy Grail. With his precious sword at his side Paulo considers his pilgrimage complete and boards a bus the remaining kilometers to Santiago where he visits the tomb of Saint James and the next day flies back to Brazil. His immediate trip home shows the link to the global paradigm in that he appears only interested in the Camiño for what it has to offer him when he gets back home.

The global paradigm is highlighted throughout the novel, from the first paragraph explaining a RAM ritual; “And now, before the sacred countenance of RAM, you must touch

with your hands the Word of Life and acquire such power as you need to become a witness to that Word throughout the world” (1). RAM is a “representation of the great fraternity of esoteric orders from all over the world” (5). Considering the fact that RAM is a global society, connecting likeminded truth-seekers from around the globe, it is possible to see the creation of a civilizational imagination in the novel. By presenting Paulo’s quest, Coelho invites the reader to journey along, and to also become part of the civilizational imagination created in the novel. During his subjective quest, Paulo becomes connected to others in the order of RAM as he searches for his sword along the Road to Santiago.

The novel moves between the present and the past and examines the desire to unlock ancient mysteries and spiritual lessons that are not prevalent in modern society. Paulo explains that upon beginning the pilgrimage he experienced “the sensation that I was returning to something primitive, something that had been forgotten by most other human beings, something that I was unable to identify. But it was a strange and powerful feeling...” (21). Here we see the insistence on the past, the primitive, and the emotive feelings it provokes within the pilgrim. And this melding of ancient and modern is illustrated at many other points within the narration. For example, we see it in the clothing of the protagonist during his initiation ceremony into the pilgrimage: He wore “bermuda shorts and I love New York shirt covered by medieval garb of the pilgrims to Compostela” (18). The representation of these two oppositional modes, the medieval and the modern, as well as the local and the global, enrich the sense of the creation of the civilizational imagination. Coelho provides the reader with their own opportunity for a personal quest, one that shows the protagonist connected through space and time to others, negating the importance of such ideological and restrictive constructs as nationalism and state imposed identity.

The protagonist Paulo ascribes to the civilizational imagination during his trek, while at the same time focusing on his own personal, subjective journey. His search connects him to the fraternity of the Tradition, RAM, an order represented by those interested in the secrets of antiquity from all over the world. Indeed, the novel itself has already created an arguably unifying and robust civilizational imagination as millions peruse its pages for spiritual guidance and New Age inspiration.

The Pilgrimage reflects a unique ideology then that sacredness is achieved through transnationality, revival of the distant past, liminality, and universal spirituality. And moreover, it is within the reach of all, regardless of nationality through experiences such as completing the Strange Road to Santiago. Along the route, nationality is of no importance as Brazilian Paulo connects with Italian guide Petrus to learn his subjective lessons as has also been experienced by countless other pilgrims from around the world through millennia. It may be argued, therefore, that the ideological perspective presented by Coelho in *The Pilgrimage* is one of transnationality and of a commingling of the present and the past to achieve self-realization. The international popularity of Coelho and his New Age philosophy clearly demonstrate the draw and interest that the Camiño and such an ideological perspective have in the context of contemporary globalization.

Conclusions: Self-exploration and Alternative Identity Creation in Globalization

This chapter has sought to understand the draw of the Camiño and its effects on subjective identity creation in a still-globalizing present. Irisarri, in her historical novel, offers a vivid description of an 800-mile medieval caravan to “Compostela of Galicia” and the female protagonist finds connections with Galicia, letting her see how she is not just one nationality, but

rather part of a larger, civilizational imagination. Rutherford's semi-biographical novel retells a voyage based upon identity and the creation of, as he terms it himself, an "adopted" Galician citizen in contrast to his English nationality. And thirdly, Coelho describes a new age search for self-knowledge and faith along the "Strange Road to Santiago," finding a way of creating identity that is not in line with organized religion or nationalism. These three works do offer elements that are complementary, even though at first glance one sees much dissimilarity. They represent global narratives that describe identity creation in Galicia and along the Camiño de Santiago in ways that the rest of the world can understand, even if in different ways. They each have protagonists whose personal, subjective goal is to find their identities by completing the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Further, all three also focus on self-discovery, identity recreation and self-realization through the process of travel and movement through time and space. And in addition, they also paint a broad picture of the global reach and significance of the Camiño.

The two novels in which the protagonists spend considerable time in Galicia are *La estrella peregrina* and *As frechas de ouro*. In the former, the Countess makes many parallels between her native Brittany and Galicia. She doesn't become Galician, but she does become a pilgrim and recreates her identity. Her daughter, Lioneta, experiences a transformation of self with the freedom and *communitas* that the pilgrimage offers. Her sense of self which was tied to her home of Brittany is severed and she becomes a pilgrim, a member of the 'civilizational imagination. In the case of Rutherford's novel, the protagonist completes an exercise in Galicianism by his own choice. Nonetheless, regardless of how Galician the protagonist feels, he cannot change his nationality given at birth, nor the fact that he must return to his English life. In contrast, Coelho's novel is the least invested in Galician cultural heritage and language. And

yet, he weaves a potent New Age argument toward the power of the Camiño and the capacity to change one's spirituality and to realize a fuller sense of self in today's rapid, still-globalizing, and neoliberal world. The international popularity of his novel is indicative of the cross-cultural, transnational search – the search on a grand scale – for meaning and *communitas*, or civilizational imagination, in today's world.

Certainly, as Nancy Frey suggests in *Pilgrim Stories*, many embark upon the Camiño for egotistical reasons such as to write a book or to position themselves for claims of special spiritual or personal, subjective insights. This may result in identities which differ from those officially sanctioned by the state, in opposition to the overarching organizing system of the nation. In the case of Coelho and Rutherford I sense Frey's claim to be true, Coelho planned to write a New Age spiritual novel, Rutherford also planned to write a sort of novel, but to also gain subjective insight into identity. The novels in the current chapter offer a more enduring version of identity and nationality in opposition to the official representations of Galician identity which change with the times and the political party in power. Nonetheless, there is a rapidly increasing array of Camiño literature being written and read today and these narratives all create alternative ideologies to those of nationalism. The narratives discussed in the current chapter clearly demonstrate that there are alternative forms of identity which contrast starkly with nationality. Indeed, as Samman maintains and these narratives show, "nationalism has neither overwhelmed, nor surpassed, the possibility of other forms of identity... a civilizational or religious identity can eclipse or transcend a national one" (11). Yet, all the same, as the next chapter will show, there are official narratives of the state that also try to become the dominant discourse and ideology.

Chapter 4

Official Narratives of Urban Space and Celebration: Saint James's Day Celebrations and the

Cidade da Cultura de Galicia

Compostela no está hecha, está viva, y aunque quisieran embalsamarla como cadáver con verjas y funcionarios públicos que cobrasen la entrada a sus calles, no se podría evitar que el aire, y la flora espontánea, y la lluvia, la fuesen modificando cada día, sin que podamos prever cuál será su color dentro de treinta años, cuáles muros se habrán desmoronado y cuáles permanecerán erguidos y victoriosos.

Compostela is not completed, it is alive, and although there are some that would like to mummify it like a body with iron doors and public officials who charge entry to its streets, they will not be able to prevent that air, spontaneous flora, and the rain, have been changing it each day, so that we will not be able predict the color of it in thirty years, nor which walls will have collapsed and which will remain upright and victorious.

—Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, *Compostela y su ángel*

The Importance of Spaces and Celebrations

In the previous two chapters, I considered literary narrations and representations of Galicia. In this current chapter, I will examine the research questions set out in the introduction that focus on the role of political or institutional narratives in disseminating, sustaining or appropriating Galician cultural heritage related to Santiago's spaces and celebrations. So while I previously have discussed popular representations and narratives written from within as well as from without Galicia, and namely through literature, here I now turn to narratives of Santiago and state-funded spaces of culture and celebrations that have a more economic imperative.

Santiago is an excellent locale for bolstering tourism and travel for a few reasons: it has a well-preserved medieval center; it offers an educational and media nucleus; the Camino has a special notability and mystique, and the area also has a great reputation for its fine gastronomy. Santiago de Compostela is an axis for culture and politics and therefore some of the most significant functions of Santiago de Compostela are the political and the socioeconomic. The

city is the Galician Autonomous Community's capital and houses the Government of Galicia. When Galicia regained its status as an autonomous region within Spain as a result of *O Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia* (1981), Santiago de Compostela was chosen as the seat of political power. The Palacio de Rajoy, the presidential seat, is located in one of the finest and best preserved centuries-old squares in Galicia and all of Spain for that matter, a Praza do Obradoiro. Directly opposite the Palacio and across the Praza is the majestic cathedral, the main attraction of Santiago de Compostela, and arguably Galicia as a whole. In Praza do Obradoiro there exists a powerful juxtaposition of religion and politics. The Praza is a place where elements merge and influence each other. On one side of the square there is the cathedral and directly opposite is the home of the presidential seat, to the North sits the oldest parador in all of Spain, Hostal dos Reis Católicos, and the tourist center juts out to the South.

Those in power in the government, overlook daily, from their balconies in the Palacio de Rajoy, their most precious commodity, the cathedral with its deep mythical history and contemporary significance. The cathedral and the remains of Saint James have always held a privileged place in the cultural arena for Galicia and Santiago. The cultural, political and economic processes surrounding the 'older' locales of urban Santiago – the Cathedral, the *Praza*, and the Casco Vello are articulated in a new and modern way, yet utilizing the same narrations of power, culture and history. These old spaces of culture are now expressed in modern terms for an international audience, making them some of the core features of cultural production, representation and narration, as well as the economic engine of the Xunta de Galicia, Galicia, and even Spain. At a time of austerity and economic downturn in Spain, the revenue that could be created through these spaces and the celebrations they house are an important part of why they are being commodified for a global audience.

The pilgrims and travelers who reach Santiago to pay homage to Saint James are exploited by those who cater to their needs and whims; innkeepers, shoe salesman, bakers, barmen, keepers of tourist shops and the like. Clearly, there is money to be made in the selling of culture to tourists as well as to native Galicians. Galicia has seen a substantial rise in tourism in post-Franco times. The highly commodified and well-marketed celebrations are one example as to why the uptake in interest and tourism has occurred.

Santiago is at its core a medieval city and according to theorist Stuart Hall "...older cities have kept some kind of special position in the global hierarchy, not of size, but of function" (3). In part due to its special function as an 'older' city, the medieval center of the city was deemed an UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985. The endurance of its medieval atmosphere and architecture is unlike many other urban concentrations since the physical layout of the historic center of Santiago has not been completely swallowed up by the onslaughts of change and urban sprawl; rather, the Casco Vello has kept its physical structure and thereby offers a symbolic marker of identity and place of ideological struggle for its citizens, government, and for Galicia as a whole. The crypt of Santiago represents the unifying space of this 'older city' and all other urban spaces expand outwardly from it. Multiple political, historic, and economic influences have through millennia created the grand monumental complex of the cathedral as well as the powerful narrations that accompany it. These constitute the starting point for all other social and cultural spaces and narrations of the city.

The city of Santiago displays yet another powerful function as a special kind of urban center in relation to Spain and the rest of Europe. As a place of advanced professional activities of all kinds and home to important universities, Santiago represents a stronghold of education and knowledge. It is a hosts the arts, culture and entertainment and also a center of consumption

of mass-produced souvenir goods. Santiago de Compostela is also a European City of Culture (2000) and this prestigious designation coupled with many others such as the aforementioned UNESCO designation as a World Heritage Site has elevated the city into the global cultural spotlight.²³

The process of Normalization and the “public policy vacuum” noted earlier which are taking place in language and culture have caused all types of political and cultural institutions to sprout up in Santiago in recent decades; institutions such as the Xunta de Galicia, Xacobeo Galicia, the Consello da Cultura Galega as well as centers of culture such as the Centro Galego de Arte Contemporáneo and the Museo do Pobo Galego. This surge of interest in Santiago de Compostela has grown to such a degree that critic Gómez-Montero claims that the city has currently reached a point of its former peripheral centrality, similar to that which it experienced under the Archbishop Xelmírez (“Santiago”). For, as Torrente Ballester explains about the years of Xelmírez’s rule (1100 – 1139): “Por aquellos años, a pesar de tanta turbulencia, Compostela era la ciudad más importante de la Península en su parte Cristiana y una de las más destacadas de Occidente. Entonces, *el meridiano cultural de Europa pasaba por Santiago* [During those years, despite much turmoil, Compostela was the most important city of the portion of the Peninsula that called itself Christian and one of the most prominent in the West. So, *the cultural meridian of Europe passed through Santiago*]” (92).

Through the centuries, Santiago de Compostela has been the site for the sharing of cultures and ideas with the influx of visitors on the pilgrimage. Today the number of foreign

²³ An extensive list of awards given to Santiago de Compostela includes; Premio e Bandeira de Europa (Council of Europe), Premio Firenze, Premio Real Fundación de Toledo, Premio Gubbio, Premio Europa Nostra, Medalla da Asamblea Parlamentaria (Council of Europe), Premio Manuel de la Dehesa, Premio Europeo de Urbanismo (European Commission, Premio Torre Guinigi, Premio Hábitat (UN).

visitors has increased and global attention has been drawn to its unique cultural offerings. This increased attention has led to many new celebrations and projects, for example, the new articulation of the Saint James' Day celebration and the polemical project of the Cidade da Cultura, the City of Culture, designed to be a space to showcase Galician culture to the world. I will explore these two different kinds of narrative representations below as examples of the cultural trends that are being promoted to citizens and tourists alike. I thus take my exploration into the representation of cultural spaces and celebrations, and although identity creation and ideology are ever-changing fields of meaning, I will consider the political and social influences at work.

A particularly poignant institutional cultural endeavor that demonstrates the workings of this activity of quilting meaning and desire around Santiago de Compostela is the massive celebration of Holy Year, or Xacobeo celebrations, the last of which was celebrated in 2010 (the next will not be celebrated until 2021). A Holy Year is a year when the 25th of July, the festival of Saint James, falls on a Sunday. This happens in a regular series resulting in 14 Holy Years every century. Holy Year was first established in 1126 by Pope Calixto II, the same Pope responsible for moving the relics of Santiago from Iria Flavia to Santiago, and for the compilation of the *Códice Calixtinus*.

The concept of culture and its meaning has been radically revised in recent decades. The presence of the mass media has increased alongside funding for cultural projects such as the City of Culture of Galicia, celebrations, and public spaces of museums. Holy Year is an example of this influx of resources to institutions like the Consello de Cultura or the Secretaría Xeral para o Turismo to plan and execute the Holy Year events. The 2010 Holy Year presented many special challenges: the logistics concerning a visit from the Pope and a huge increase in tourism,

especially pilgrims; the organization of the light and sound show at the cathedral; a week-long fair in Alameda Park; and hundreds of concerts and spectacles throughout the city. The result of all of this was the ‘spectacularization’ of culture in Santiago and a closely knit and still-developing relationship between art, cultural heritage, and tourism.

This chapter then, embraces less classical versions of narratives such as those of a popular and contemporary nature. I will first focus on narratives that clearly demonstrate the process of spatial organization and heritage commodification in Casco Vello and the architectural project of the Cidade da Cultura of Galicia, and secondly, the social theory surrounding urban celebrations such as Saint James’ Day and Holy Year. The examination of these narratives will demonstrate the workings of power amid the predominant discourses of identity and ideology within Santiago. I will highlight the impact of globalization on spaces, narratives, and cultural institutions and the repercussions of these processes on the representation of Galician identity in Santiago de Compostela. This chapter thus offers a glimpse into the workings of neoliberalism and the commodification of Galician culture as well as its effects on the ideological formation and promotion of culture in Santiago and Galicia.

Importantly, the narratives I have chosen are ‘marketed narratives,’ narratives created for the consumer in order to sustain Galicia, but which at the same time place it in potential danger of cultural dilution. The narratives are also ‘read’ in a different way than those presented in earlier chapters: they require a first-hand experience (a visit to a museum or the experience of a Galician cultural spectacle) to gain access to them, rather than simply reading them on a page or other visual media. Considering these differences, as I will show, it is ever more necessary to analyze the workings of power in these spaces. Jameson offers important insights into narrative creation among other processes affecting the distribution of culture as I will discuss next.

Spatialization, Historization, and Narratives

Marxist political theorist and literary critic Fredric Jameson believes that the current system of multinational capitalism is located in the realm of postmodernism. He balances his theories on the understanding of a temporal/spatial divide. He argues that globalization has ‘spatialized’ culture. It is a process by which the overarching economic system of capitalization has attributed certain historical and cultural elements that are mimicked and repeated perpetually. These repeated elements are then ascribed to definite geographical locales and spaces. In opposition to the previous system of thought in which temporality – the belief that time and history were the organizing principles of society – was important, now socio-cultural space or spaces hold sway. One example of this ‘spatialization’ of culture in Santiago is the localization, or spatialization of events such as Saint James’ Day and the construction of the Cidade da Cultura.

One of Jameson’s popular catchphrases that he uses to explain the process of spatialization is “Always historicize!”. Jameson is highly critical of our current historical context. He sees it as though we have lost our connection to history in our current state of postmodernity. “According to Jameson, postmodernity has transformed the historical past into a series of emptied-out stylizations that can then be commodified and consumed. The result is the threatened victory of capitalist thinking over all other forms of thought” (Felluga). In other words, there is a voracious marketing of the historical past which can be identified in Galicia through the promotion of spaces and celebrations, that takes as its subject the past as commodity. One way in which this is achieved is that historical narratives (myths) are retold and recycled ad infinitum into other narratives. Jameson analyzes how these historical narratives (in his words, ‘texts’) are constructed in the following quote:

[It] turns on the dynamics of the act of interpretation and presupposes, as its organizational fiction, that we never really confront a text immediately, in all its freshness as a thing-in-itself. Rather, texts come before us as the always-already-read; we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations, or—if the text is brand new—through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by those inherited interpretive traditions. (*The Political Unconscious* 9)

Thus we see a narrative representation of the past not as we might if no one else had created a narrative about it, but rather through the representations of others that hold cultural sway and precede our experience. This is relevant to my analysis because the narratives in Galicia about Santiago de Compostela are in essence a recycling of traditions, history, and myth, yet importantly, they are retold with a business imperative and for economic ends. Jameson finds narratives very central and even claims; “the all-informing process of narrative is the central function or instance of the human mind” (13).

In terms of this work, examples of this spatialization and historicizing, or repetition of culture and historical elements around exact spaces of culture, are illustrated in the treatment of urban spaces such as the Praza do Obradoiro, the Cidade da Cultura, or the Casco Vello by the culture industry. The contemporary images and narratives of Galicia utilize former versions of culture and history and in doing so they offer a particular interpretation of Galician identity and ideology.

For example, the entire history of Galicia is claimed to reside within the City of Culture, and the myth of Saint James and the Camiño are attached to the cathedral towers and façade through light and sound spectacles. Using Jameson’s theory of spatialization and historicization one may ascertain how those who are managing the tourist industry promote their version of

Galician culture by taking elements of history and past representations of culture and applying them to or superimposing them upon urban spaces and historical celebrations predominantly for cultural ‘dramatization’ and quick economic gain.

The Narration of an Ideology

An ideology is a set of ideas belonging to a coherent group about the structure of society, the existing mechanisms of economic distribution, and conflicts in society. In *The Sublime Subject of Ideology*, Žižek distinguishes three moments in the narrative of an ideology. According to his theory, initially there is a doctrine, or the ideas and theories of an ideology. The second stage of ideology takes on a material form that continually generates belief in that ideology. In the third stage, the ideology becomes accepted as is the case with Saint James. In the case of the myth of Saint James, one prime example of the material form, or doctrine, of the myth is the compilation of the *Códice Calixtino*. The medieval text was the outcome of a major project initiated by Archbishop of Santiago Diego Xelmírez and Pope Calixto II. For the Roman Catholic Church it was important to disseminate this foundational liturgical text and they did so by facilitating the copying of the *Códice*: “...o *Códice* se ofrece aberto a lectores e copistas e que na mesma catedral de Santiago é máis que probable o interese por que tales copias se levasen a cabo [...the *Códice* was freely available to readers and copyists in the very Cathedral of Santiago which makes it more than likely that the reason that such copies were completed was an interest in doing so”] (López Díaz 31).

The appearance of the *Códice* inspired the great era of pilgrimage to the city of Santiago de Compostela. It comprises five separate books, each of which begins with an introduction from Pope Calixto II vouching for the veracity of the occurrences and information related in each

chapter. In its entirety, the *Códice Calixtino* is a materialization of the myth of Saint James and illustrates the tangible moment of the narrative of ideology.

The third step in the creation of an ideology is that it assumes a spontaneous existence, becoming instinctive in the popular imagination or thinking, rather than something one realizes is happening. An example of the spontaneous existence of an ideology could be an explicit set of arguments, an institution, or a ritual. Another could be the completion of the ritual of the pilgrimage route, demonstrating how the public has internalized the religious narrative of the ideology of Saint James. The culture of Saint James, sometimes referred to as the Xacobeian culture, represents a unifier for people within Galicia, and a reason to visit for those from without.

Diego Xelmírez contributed greatly to the early propagation of the narrative of ideology of Santiago, particularly with his support of the wide distribution of the *Códice* throughout medieval Christendom. He created a successful cult constructed "...in texts, spectacles, liturgies, processions, all staged within dramatic architecture and articulated in impressive images" (Abou-El-Haj 165). Today there has been a revival of such cult creation with a narrative of ideology and a global interest in the city. Two important 'materializations' of the myth of Santiago on a grand scale are 1) the medieval nucleus of the city, and 2) the Saint James' Celebrations.

Next, I examine the Casco Vello, the material residue from the ideological narrative of the middle ages. It is a unique narrative that one can individually experience and it draws the tourist in. At the same time it is a materialization that can be recycled and repurposed in contemporary times for the benefit of those seeking to increase tourism and consumerism in Santiago and Galicia.

The Casco Vello and Cidade da Cultura - a Reflection

The characteristic that has most benefited the slow, steady development of Santiago as well as its unique ability to relate with the world (including Spain and Galicia itself) is its continual location as a ‘peripheral centrality’ – a place that geographically and socially has been oppressed and rejected, but which is growing in importance within globalization. This uniquely important status is clear and stands in contrast to many of the other cities in Spain in terms of the City’s religious and political significance. Nevertheless, Santiago has always stood as a marginal city, keeping its culture and history relatively unknown. The success of Santiago in the cultural sphere can be understood as in part related to its peripheral centrality, or as Colmeiro has argued: “Galician identity involves a particular way of perceiving reality and of interacting with the world, inflected by its history and geopolitical situation on the margins of the nation-state” (“Imagining”). I will now consider two complementary yet immensely different portions of the city; Casco Vello and the A Cidade da Cultura.

The central portion of Santiago is the Casco Vello, the medieval center unique in its deep history and ability to stand as a marker of Galician identity a representation of cohesion through the passing of time, and therefore my analysis will begin there. Yet, on the other end of the spectrum, the Galician government has embarked upon the contemporary project of *A Cidade da Cultura de Galicia*. This very large but mostly empty group of buildings is perched high above the city on Monte Gaiás. It was envisaged by Manuel Fraga Ibarne, former Xunta president, as an architectural achievement and cultural entertainment center, a place where information gathering and dissemination could help preserve the culture of Galicia and present this part of Spain to the world as modern and developed for international business and tourism. In a sense

the City of Culture is an extreme example of an attempt at cultural programming, or the narration of a cultural ideology.

I will begin with an exploration of the presentation of urban spaces in Santiago and an understanding of the many layers of history from which, in particular, the Casco Vello, is composed. For if, as Jameson argues, the current spatialized consciousness is anchored to the concept “Always historicize!,” then it is important to understand the historical roots. The area today occupied by Santiago has been inhabited since medieval times. The original nucleus of the city, known as the *locus sanctus*,²⁴ was suitable for the organization and founding of the pre-urban community of Santiago de Compostela, the medieval city, and what is referred to today as the Casco Vello. Its ensemble of ancient monuments surrounding the tomb of Saint James exude history, myth and echoes of the past. The center’s influence radiates out through the *rúas*, or ‘spoke-like’ streets that extend outward from the cathedral as a central hub. The dome of the cathedral which covers the tomb of Saint James constitutes the symbolic center and spiritual heart of the city.

During the Medieval Age the city of Santiago prospered as clerics, craftsman and businessmen came to live and work in the area. Compostela’s greatest proponent was Diego Xelmírez, who at the beginning of the twelfth century helped to forge an identity for the maturing city. Overall, Xelmírez helped grow the city to an increasingly prosperous urban hub and symbolizes the economic and political power of the Catholic Church. The myth of Santiago and the pilgrimage to St. James associated with it, continue to help develop the city, and to bring wealth, culture and prestige. Xelmírez propagated the myth of Saint James through new

²⁴ The central area was more or less bounded by the current Rúas de Aciberchería, Cervantes, Fonte Sequelo, Xelmírez, and the cathedral. It was around this area that some of the walls of the medieval city were built.

constructions of the cathedral such as the Portico and by providing better services for pilgrims who were an important part of the economy.

However, when a late medieval crisis threw the region of Galicia and the city of Santiago de Compostela into a prolonged decline, the structure of Casco Vello became fossilized. The Sécúlos Escuros are one of the main reasons why the central urban portion of the city has stood relatively unchanged through the centuries, almost as if time stood still. The Renaissance and Baroque periods both brought slow, steady renovations to the dense Medieval character of the city, but major, regulated urban changes did not occur until the 18th and 19th centuries and resulted in largely interior renovations and transformations of the urban public space. At approximately the same time there began a grappling at a definition of the nation of Galicia, as well as the function of the city and culture of Santiago. The construction of the ideology and *galeguidade* as it relates to Santiago was underway.

From its origins, Santiago has been a city based on economics and propagated through the promotion of the tomb and ideology of Saint James. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz explains that in the XI century,

Compostela fue un centro urbano puro. Compostela había sido desde el día primero de su vida un templo y un Mercado. Un templo, diríamos mejor, que había dado origen a un mercado. A un mercado y a una hospedería. A una gran hospedería para los peregrinos y a un mercado para los hospedados y sus huéspedes. Compostela medró, por tanto, de espaldas al campo, y fue, pues, la única ciudad del reino leonés puramente mercantil y clerical. (49-50)

[Compostela was a purely an urban center. Compostela had been, from the first moment of its life a temple and market. A temple, we could more clearly say, that

had given rise to a market. To a market and a guest house to accommodate travelers. A grand guest house for pilgrims and a market for the hosts and guests. Compostela prospered, with its back to the country, and was the only city of the region of Leon which was purely mercantile and clerical.]

Therefore, Santiago has always been run by those more interested in riches than in the search for Glory, the prosperity having been based upon a temple “that had given rise to a market.” The same is true today. And here, I introduce and explain the idea of ideology in order to see the effects of its creation and diffusion through the city of Santiago. I apply Žižek’s theories on ideology to the Casco Vello and later to the Cidade da Cultura.

Žižek argues that in the first stage, the creation of an ideology takes the form of a supposedly truthful proposition or set of arguments, which in reality conceal a certain hidden agenda or interest. For example, the church’s official story about the discovery of the remains of Saint James is the main doctrine of Santiago de Compostela that is taken for truth. In a second step, a successful ideology takes on the material form that generates a belief in that ideology. In Santiago de Compostela an example would be the compilation of the *Códice Calixtinus* or the building of the Romanesque cathedral along with innumerable other cultural productions that generated belief in that ideology. Third, ideology assumes an almost spontaneous existence, becoming instinctive rather than realized either as an explicit set of arguments or as an institution. The supreme example of such spontaneity is, for Žižek, the notion of commodity fetishism. Commodity fetishism is a product of capitalism as it takes advantage of what is already there. In the case of Santiago de Compostela, it is exemplified by the internalization of the myth of Saint James, either by making the pilgrimage to visit the shrine, or the compulsion to buy a scallop-shaped magnet at one of the hundreds of souvenir shops that have overrun Casco Vello. It is

possible to see the cannibalization, in the fierce making and remaking of Galician culture and identity and its marketing and commodification, not only in the overrunning of Casco Vello with souvenir shops, but also in less tangible ways, such as the copy or simulation of Casco Vello in the Galician City of Culture.

History is profitable and is consumed along with identity and other cultural commodities such as images, ideas, and productions, all appropriated by capitalism. Since the creation of a national identity depends upon its basis in a particular culture and language, these unique characteristics are also ripe for commodification. The unique characteristics and nostalgia for the pure, on one hand, push the population toward a unifying, national identity. Yet paradoxically, this push also leads them down the inevitable path of commodification and globalization as well as subjecting the culture to the marginalizing effects of their uniqueness once again.

Indicative of the successful narration of the ideology of Santiago, the contemporary city is a “quilting point,” or as Žižek explains (basing his theory on Lacan), *le point de capiton*. Žižek claims that “the *point de capiton* is rather the word which, *as a word*, on the level of the signifier itself, unifies a given field, constitutes its identity; it is, so to speak, the word to which ‘things’ themselves refer to recognize themselves in their unity” (95-96). He illustrates his theory using mass-media symbols of America such as Marlboro and Coca-Cola. These words are characterized as ‘knots of meaning’ or ‘upholstery buttons.’ They are powerful cultural signifiers in which the ideological vision of America crystallizes. In the same way that Coke is a *point de capiton* of American culture, so too is Santiago a unifying signifier of Galicia. The city of Santiago embodies one of the most dominant ideological visions of Galicia and is experienced as a mass-media symbol with meaning and desire attached to it. The signifier of Santiago de

Compostela creates a quilting structure that is desirable and through which history and ideology is experienced.

The Cidade could be likened to Franco's Valle de los Caídos – The Valley of the Fallen outside of Madrid, a Catholic basilica and a monumental memorial where many Nationalist soldiers and Franco himself rest (as well as a small number of Republicans). Many see the Valle de los Caídos as a way for Franco to have gloated over his win against the Republicans, just as Fraga's Cidade da Cultura is a way to show off his personal win as the Xunta president and his bid for a place in history. Ronald Hilton explains Franco's intentions as 'megalomaniac' and he quotes Franco as having said

The dimension of the Crusade, the heroic sacrifices involved in the victory and the far-reaching significance which is epic has had for the future of Spain cannot be commemorated by the simple monuments by which the outstanding events of our history and the glorious deeds of Spain's sons are normally remembered in towns and villages. The stones that are to be erected must have the grandeur of the monuments of old, which defy time and forgetting... ("Spain: The Valle")

Franco's preoccupation with being remembered after death can be correlated as well to how Fraga thought about it as well. Monuments were a central part of the Franco and Fraga political plan. Certainly Fraga, like Franco, was interested in leaving an indelible mark and being remembered for posterity. Franco's Valle de los Caídos was a war memorial and Fraga's an apportionment to Galicia and its culture in his own 'megalomaniac' way. In Fraga's own words he described himself and his feelings about immortality in this way:

Me gusta el mar y la montaña y también el desierto; persigo los horizontes amplios. Me gustaría morir con alguna obra importante y duradera detrás, aunque

no ignoro que a la postre todo es caduco, fugaz y pequeño. Por eso tengo ansias de eternidad y de un retorno general de los hombres y de las cosas. (*España entre dos*)

[I like the sea and the mountains and also the desert; I pursue wide horizons. I would like to die having completed some important and lasting work, although I do not fail to concede that everything expires and is fleeting and small. Because of this I crave eternity and the general return of men and things.]

His “important and lasting work” is doubtless the Cidade da Cultura, fraught with polemics and questions as to its function.

The Cidade da Cultura was envisioned as an architectural, cultural and entertainment center, a place for information gathering and diffusion, aiming to conserve the cultural heritage of Galicia and to present Galicia to the world as a modern and developed society for businesses and tourists. Construction began in 2001 and in March 2013, after many years of spending, redefinition, and intense polemics, construction was halted. The decision to end construction was due to the deepening recession, a struggling banking system, a property recession, and the large sum still needed to finish the last two buildings planned for construction (International Art Center and the Music and Science Center). The cultural complex now includes a Centro de Emprendemento Creativo [Center for Creative Enterprising of Galicia], Museo Centro Gaiás [The Gaiás Center Museum], Biblioteca e Arquivo de Galicia [The Library and Archive of Galicia], and Centro de Innovación Cultural [Center of Cultural Innovation].²⁵

The Fundación Cidade da Cultura de Galicia [Foundation of the City of Culture of Galicia] was founded in 1999 and with the help of the Xunta de Galicia created a plan for the

²⁵ www.cidadedacultura.org

initial project. Many people were and continue to be skeptical of the massive complex. The Asamblea Popular de la Comarca de Compostela – the Popular Assembly of the Region of Compostela is clearly against the project. In 2001 they brought over twenty young people to the mount and surrounding areas to look at the effects of the construction of the Cidade. The group considers the project as the construction of a “megalómano” – megalomania, or a psychopathological condition characterized by delusional fantasies of power, relevance, or omnipotence (“La Asamblea Popular subió al Gaias”). Much like Franco’s inflated sense of self in having built the Valle de los Caídos, so is the project of Fraga seen by some of the population of Santiago, as a narcissistic way to write one’s name into History. Over time there certainly has been heated debate and polemics, but nevertheless, currently the official website of the City of Culture defines the project as follows:

situada en Santiago de Compostela e concibida como un polo cultural de grande envergadura, dedicado ao coñecemento e a creatividade contemporánea, a Cidade da Cultura de Galicia perfilouse desde as súas orixes como un instrumento que, conxugando pasado e futuro, permitise a Galicia abordar de maneira integral un ámbito estratéxico para o seu desenvolvemento: o da cultura.
(cidadedacultura.org)

[Situated in Santiago de Compostela and conceived as a large-scale cultural hub, devoted to the knowledge and creativity of today, the City of Culture of Galicia has been designed ever since its inception as an instrument to combine past and present, enabling an integrated approach towards the strategic basis for the development of Galicia: that of culture.]

Peter Eisenman (1932 -), popular American star-architect who represents innovation and postmodernism in his work, was the architect chosen to design the Cidade da Cultura. Eisenman is known to work with politically right-wing clients and indeed, he was contracted for the work by the late Francoist minister, Manuel Fraga. Fraga's Cidade da Cultura was project to produce a modern, united Galicia.

The original computer-generated design of the project superimposed a map of the old city's streets onto the surface of Monte Gaiás. The curved roofs were partly inspired by the scallop shell traditionally carried by pilgrims to the shrine of Saint James. Another element that was inspired by Santiago's Casco Vello are the Torres Hejduk. They stand alone on the South side of the complex, reflecting the towers of the cathedral. Clearly, when choosing Eisenman's project for construction, the Xunta understood, as Jameson had, the importance of historicist theory in the context of cultural production. The reflection of Santiago can be seen in the Hedjuk Towers. The towers being a simulation, an absence of the real of the original urban complex.

Eisenman, in his monumental project of the Cidade da Cultura, historicized and borrowed old versions of narration, or subtexts, of history and culture onto present day texts. His project won the competition for the creation of the project, some may argue due to his focus on the historization and spacialization of Casco Vello. The imposition of its myths and cultural bastions onto the new copy of the city to be placed above the old, reflecting it in a neoliberal, capitalist way as a producer of culture and economic growth from atop Gaiás.

Manuel Fraga Iribarne, president of the Xunta de Galicia from 1990-2005, initiated the project of the Cidade da Cultura to construct a gathering space for culture and Galician identity. Fraga began his political career in 1945 during Francisco Franco's dictatorship. Between 1962 and 1969 he served as Minister for Information and Tourism under the Francoist regime, and

eventually he played a major role in the development of Spanish tourist industry. Fraga was also one of the writers of the democratic constitution (1978). He became part of the Spanish political Right during the transition and founded the Alianza Popular in 1977, today known as the Partido Popular [PP]. He presided over the Xunta de Galicia for 15 years from 1990 through 2005. To his supporters, he was a Galician hero who modernized and developed tourism for the region, but his focus on promoting the distinctiveness of Galicia (a relic of the slogan which he created as minister of Franco, “Spain is different”) ultimately upheld old myths and exacerbated the marginal condition of Galicia. To his opponents he continues to represent an authoritarian relic of the Franco era who failed to lift Galicia and its people out of poverty and unemployment. His political projects such as the City of Culture are generally not well-liked within Galicia because they are seen as created by a relic of Franco’s prior regime and because of the great quantity of money that has been spent for questionable return. It is easy to see how Fraga’s colossal investment of funds comes under strong fire and criticism.

Fraga likens *galeguidade* to a great oak tree as he explains that: “A galeguidade é algo así como ese gran carballo, baixo o que todos teñen cabida ou do que todos somos nacencias. Pobo e homes, xeracións de onte e mañá, institucións e asociacións, conformadoras de estruturas e impulsoras de vitalidade, configuran o seu vigor e manteñen a súa solidez. [Galeguidade is something like the great oak, underneath which all have a place or from which we all are born. People and men, generations of yesterday and tomorrow, institutions and associations, formulators of structures and driving forces of vitality, configure its vigor and maintain its solidity]” (qtd in Blanco Campaña 57). A result of Fraga’s own way of describing *galeguidade* could be the City of Culture symbolizing the oak perched above Santiago, a place for all Galicians of the past, present and future.

A global vision for the positioning of Galicia was rooted in Fraga's philosophy when he explained his ideology in 1991 saying "queremos una Galicia grande, abierta, exigente, con peso español, europeo e incluso mundial; muy gallega, muy española, muy universal [we want a big, open, demanding Galicia, with Spanish, European and worldwide weight; very Galician, very Spanish, very universal]" (*De Galicia* 64). The use of the first person plural (we) form of the verb to want illustrates Fraga's claim that there was a general consensus among Galicians rallying around the same ideals for Galicia in the future. Nonetheless, it is questionable that there ever was such a universalizing definition of *galeguidade*.

Also notable is Fraga's desire to bring Galicia to the world -- that it should be "Galician, Spanish and universal." Fraga was quite reductive in his attempt to unify Galician identity under one umbrella of meaning. However, he did emphasize on an important theme that has been developed since his governance, that of the need to become more globally minded and an integral part of the Spanish and European culture and economy. As I have shown, Galicia has tended to be very open to the world and accepting of its global position today.

There are many who question the function of the Cidade da Cultura and deem the spending for it outrageous and the hype surrounding it grossly inflated. Some have referred to the project as a vain mausoleum to Fraga and a hugely expensive white elephant (Tremlett). The Guardian's Giles Tremlett reported upon the opening of the City of Culture in 2011 in this way: "Spain's latest architectural extravagance was finally opened to the public today amid complaints that the massive new City of Culture in Santiago de Compostela is a huge and expensive white elephant. [...] Others see the complex of six buildings in Galicia as a monument to the vanity of the region's former rightwing premier, Manuel Fraga, and an anachronism at a time of austerity" ("Spain's extravagant City of Culture").

In 2005, Víctor Freixanes expressed a sense of confusion and exasperation having watched as the massive project was slowly completed, but without a definite purpose or function.

Pasaron os anos, levantáronse as torres de Peter Eisenman, movéronse toneladas de terra no monte Gaiás, licenciáronse os cartos (bastantes máis dos inicialmente orzamentados), mudou o goberno que inspirou a obra e seguimos sen unha resposta clara á pregunta: ¿qué destino ou utilidade real se pretende para a Cidade da Cultura? Daquela púxeno tamén por escrito. A referencia ao Guggenheim de Bilbao era inevitable. Repaso os titulares dos xornais galegos daqueles anos: Montaña Máxica, Factoría da cultura e do espectáculo, Buque insignia, Símbolo do Novo Milenio... Ninguén concretaba máis de nada. (“Vento nas velas”).

[Years went by, the towers of Peter Eisenman were erected, they moved tons of earth on Mount Gaias, they licensed money (much more than the initial budget), the government changed hands from those who had begun the project and we continue to work without a clear answer to the question: what is the destination or real use intended for the Cidade da Cultura? Then others also put this question in writing. The reference to the Bilbao Guggenheim was inevitable. A review of the newspaper headings during those years: Magic Mountain, Factory of Culture and Entertainment, Flagship Symbol of the New Milenium... No one specified anything more than that.]

The connection of the City of Culture to Frank Gehry’s Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao cannot be ignored. Spain certainly has had an obsession with grand architectural projects and the Guggenheim stands out as a huge success, with every other region in Spain wanting its own

version. Now Galicia is left with the cost on an ill-conceived project with little to no economic return.

Writer Manuel Rivas maintains that the City of Culture is: “O baleiro, que é a Nada, facéndose co Todo. O gran espectáculo do goce sadomasoquista: todo un país a debater o como se enche algo que naceu para albergar... o baleiro [The vacuum, which is Nothing, taking control of Everything. The extravaganza of sadomasochistic enjoyment: an entire country to discuss how you fill something that was born to house... the void”] (2010). As Rivas points out, the Cidade da Cultura is almost devoid of content, a ‘vacuum’ but built on the premise of being a collection point of all things Galician. It is also lacking in public participation —there is no critical mass of visitors and interest. It is, as Rivas maintains, the void or vacuum of Galician culture dressed up in the form of an all-encompassing space for the collection of all.

The official *fraguista* version of Galician culture was one based on heritage collection and a focus on history. Fraga’s Cidade da Cultura which bloomed into a large conglomerate of institutional support shows the functioning of a state-sanctioned version of culture, history, and economics. Some of the underwriters of the project include the Xunta de Galicia, Xacobeo Galicia, the Galician Agency of Cultural Industries, Galician Centre of Contemporary Art, Galician Centre of Visual Arts, Galician Council for Culture, Galician Audiovisual Consortium, and the Museum of the Galician People.²⁶

For all its arguable emptiness and disuse, a Žižekian knot of meaning has been created around the term ‘City of Culture’ and the term itself has come to hold meaning and create desire. It is no coincidence that Santiago de Compostela was formerly known as a European Cidade da Cultura -- the same name as this massive project of Fraga’s. Therefore, we can see a

²⁶ Fundación Cidade da Cultura de Galicia. www.cidadedacultura.org. Webpage. 1 June 2009.

supplemental *point de capiton* to urban Santiago is The City of Culture of Galicia. The quilting structure or knot of meaning that Žižek describes is relevant when one considers that the planned composition of the complex upon completion includes a library, an archive, a museum, a center for music and theatre, an international arts center, and an administration building. Indeed, already around the complex of cultural buildings there is a support network of related sectors, national agencies, cultural and creative industries, electronic and print media, and business and leisure tourism. Considering the Cidade da Cultura's massive scope and intent to unite all that is Galician, and yet, the City of Culture is in as sense a mostly blank page, yet one that holds an almost oxymoric meaning by serving, even so, as an all-encompassing reference point.

The project was conceived during the Fraga era as a space for amassing Galician culture, preserving heritage and memory, as well as the internationalization or opening up of Galician culture to the world by way of cultural tourism. It has yet to prove its utility. The project is only partially realized, being somewhat interrupted by a lack of funds and the overarching economic crisis. It intends to place all that is Galician under one symbolic umbrella of meaning one set of grand architectural rooftops.

Clearly the signifiers "Santiago de Compostela" as well as "Cidade da Cultura" have come to represent mass-media disseminated symbols of meaning with elements of desire attached to them. The inhabitants of Galicia create their own identities by identifying themselves with this signifier. Therefore, the "knot of meaning" within the urban spaces of the city has shown how Žižek's concept of quilting takes place.

The Saint James' Day Celebration and the Commodification of Culture

The study of cultural events and festivals can reveal their utility as a way of enhancing the image of a city, attracting tourists, and stimulating urban revival. A number of important theorists have studied the impact of event tourism and festivals, including Stuart Hall (1992) and Néstor García Canclini (1995).

In addition to the spatial narrations explored above, other types of narrations deserving of attention are the mega-urban celebrations of Saint James' Day and Holy Year. These celebrations display the workings of ideology embedded in another type of cultural narration, the contemporary urban celebration. National festivities often serve as markers of identity for citizens of that country and in this case they form an important part of Santiago's unique urban culture. As prominent pieces of cultural heritage, they therefore provide an important focus for the analysis of Galician popular culture.

The celebrations comprise a combination of official demonstrations and popular festivities. They give the Xunta a reason to practice the commodification of culture and the public a chance to take pleasure and indulge in the accompanying festivities. The effects of the globalized economic structure on the celebrations in Santiago is also important to consider because they have major repercussions on the way the celebrations are produced. Recently there has been a tendency toward the commodification of local popular culture on a global scale. In the case of Galicia and since the post-Franco revival of the Pilgrimage, Galician culture, in whatever form it is shown, is reaching more and more corners of the globe due to the increased popularization resulting from increased communications and globalization. The effects of this increased attention can be seen as a benefit to the nation of Galicia but there are also some serious concerns. How will those in positions of power to create the many celebratory

representations of Galicia to the world manage this very significant responsibility? Will they provide a representation that most serves economic gain or one that helps sustain a form of Galician cultural heritage and tradition beneficial to Galicia for posterity and the future?

In his seminal work *Hybrid Cultures* (1995), Néstor García Canclini questions whether Latin America can compete in a global marketplace without losing its identity to a force he calls “hybridization.” His ideas on hybridity and the effects of globalization on the economics of cultural patrimony are valuable when applied to Galicia. García Canclini uses the following definition for hybridization: “I understand for hybridization sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices” (xxv). Hybridization comes from transnational mobility and economical and cultural exchanges, but also through individual and collective creativity in the arts and technology and it fuses different practices and structures in order to create new structures and practices. It might manifest itself, for example, in the mixing of high and low, internal and external, or old and new culture to create new forms and practices. Though this cultural plurality and mixing is not thought desirable by everyone. In Galicia’s case, much has changed in terms of the ways in which culture is created and promoted since the implementation of democracy after Franco, since the onset of the process of hybridization, and expressly for the intents of my research, in terms of the narration of celebrations.

In an attempt to demonstrate the changes taking place in the cultural sphere of the contemporary urban celebration, Canclini delineates five characteristics: 1) integration of the festivities into the everyday life of the population; 2) strong privatized character and specialization of celebration elements; 3) the location within enclosed and intimate spaces; 4)

laicization [or the removal of the religious element in a move toward secularization], and finally 5) the presence of the logic of interchange and consumerism (“Fiestas populares” 43).

Contemporary Saint James’ Day and Holy Year celebrations can be seen to contain these same elements: the sometimes week-long urban-wide street performances and concerts undoubtedly become integrated into the everyday life of the population. Indeed, private consulting firms work with the Xunta to prepare in this way for the Saint James’ Day Eve presentation. This has at least in part resulting in a weakening of the traditional spiritual base of the celebrations, which was once founded upon the adoration of Saint James and yet which now includes a fortnight of mostly secular festivities. The cultural powerhouse of Santiago and its celebrations holds economic opportunities for shop and restaurant owners, hotels, transport companies, the city and the region in general, reinforcing the fact that one of the main factors behind the promotion of such events is that of income revenue generation.

In reference to the participation in the celebrations it is possible to look back into medieval times to see how lay people thought. Torrente Ballester has explained that everything was related to prayer: “el hombre medieval sabía orar y sabía convertir en oración los actos de su vida: los grandes y los menudos [the medieval man knew how to pray and how to turn the actions of his life into prayer: large and small”] (67). Logically then, the medieval individual would have been deep in prayer during the Saint James’ Day celebration, experiencing a deep connection to the original core of the celebration -- the religious. Today, the proliferation of material associated goods and commodities has vastly affected the focus of the celebration in Santiago toward that of a diversion and a spectacle to observe rather than a participatory event in which community members could engage, be whether in prayer or in other ways. At the same

time, the religious focus of the celebrations has all but expired and the definition of popular culture in Santiago, as well as in Galicia as a whole, is being redefined on lesser religious terms.

In the time surrounding the 25th of July, the city opens itself up to a massive influx of visitors from near and far all clamoring for a spot inside Santiago's Casco Vello and the even more coveted location of the Praza do Obradoiro on the night of the largest celebration in Santiago. Saint James' Day results in celebrations that Colmeiro likens to a medieval theme park (224). Indeed, one of the most attractive productions to occur on Saint James Day happens on the evening of 24th July in the Plaza do Obradoiro. Saint James' Day and Holy Year require an immense influx of resources from institutions such as the Consello de Cultura or the Secretaría Xeral para o Turismo in order to plan and execute such colossal events. In light of the intense promotion of culture that occurs during the Saint James' Day Festival and in particular during Holy Years, it is clear that there is a focus on the creation of commodities and heritage commodification at work in Santiago.

The Fuegos del Apóstol – Fireworks of Saint James the Apostle – comprise a multimedia display including pyrotechnics that illuminates the façade of the cathedral dramatically and unforgettably at midnight in what is essentially, a sort of virtual reality show. Approximately 6,000 residents, tourists, and pilgrims can fit into the Praza to see the grand multimedia show which in 2012 was centered on the Jacobean tradition, the history of the city, and the Way of Saint James. The advanced technology allowed for optical illusions such as the first sequence of a simulated sunset, making it seem as if the cathedral's towers were twisting 360 degrees, the

“burning” of the Gothic façade, the complete disappearance of the cathedral during the climax of the show, and pyrotechnics throughout.²⁷

To illustrate the detail and immense planning that must go into the official narration of Saint James Day I will describe some details below. Many wait the entire day in the Praza do Obradoiro for an assured seat during the multimedia/pyrotechnics show the evening of the 24th. The show is a spectacularly staged 4D multimedia show using cutting-edge technology to create a show combining light, sound, music, fireworks and special effects to achieve a mapped, yet somewhat warped 4D effect. As described by Cuiña, the production requires 40 staff persons, twelve projectors, 300,000 lumens, 6000 watts of light and 4500 shots of fireworks (“La noche”). As a result, the baroque façade becomes a giant screen.

Within the context of the visual spectacle, the linking of mythology in common is used to create cohesion and identification with the Galician nation. It is an appropriation of the past. For example, the show begins with a shot of an ancient, verdant *fraga* or woods with megaliths and Celtic music, perpetuating the national historical myth of Celtism. In 2012 an actor narrated the production for the audience. It was the first time this kind of interpretation had been provided since the beginning of the multimedia tradition in 1993 (Año Xacobeo). The man who discovered the remains of Saint James, Paio (also called Pelay), narrated the history of the pilgrimage and a voyage through all three sacred cities of Rome, Santiago and Jerusalem. The focus of the 2012 show was on the Camiño, a universal narrative chosen by the Xunta who wielded the ideological tools of culture in Santiago. It is a globally recognizable narrative with immense pull and interest and an ability to unite many different kinds of people under its cultural umbrella. The spectators saw such marvels as the Vatican superimposed on the surface of the

²⁷ The GDP team uses “mapping” (called 4D), a state-of-the-art system of projecting the images onto the surface of the cathedral using various connected “screens.”

cathedral, but unlike previous versions of the production, they were offered a very narrow way to interpret it, through the voice of Paio. The appropriation of the narrative voice shows even further the effects of commodification of heritage. It shows that the public has arguably less control of how they individually experience the production, but rather, are more compelled to interpret the lights and sound in the way that the narrator creates for them.

The audiovisual aspect of the production was undertaken by General de Producciones y Diseño [GPD], a Sevilla-based company specializing in projecting the latest virtual reality technology onto the surface of monuments. The company is also the largest firm in Europe and specializes in museum planning and construction, expositions, cultural events, and multimedia shows (Iglesias). GPD was commissioned to present the July 24th production for the last two years. The 2011 Saint James' Day multimedia show was one of the most applauded of all time and GPD won the Premio Eventoplus al Mejor Evento de 2011. Since this was the 800th anniversary of the cathedral, the show was projected for a few weeks each night either side of Saint James' Day, resulting in more publicity, and especially internationally.

The production owes its success to Francisco Javier Sánchez, the director of events at GPD. When explaining the involvement of GPD in the 2012 celebration he stated that “es un placer volver a pensar de nuevo cómo montar una historia que está en el corazón de todo el mundo, de todos los gallegos y de todos los compostelanos [it is a pleasure to again consider how to assemble and present a story (history) that is close to the heart of everybody, of all Galicians, and of all Compostelans”] (D. Martínez). It is interesting to note that Sánchez first mentions “todo el mundo,” a figure of speech meaning literally “the whole world,” or “everybody” when citing how he plans to execute his narration. Sánchez's quote could suggest the global reach of the show and the view of those working behind the scenes to promote their

version of history. Sánchez's focus is first external, upholding Canclini's claim that the modern urban celebration is now more focused on producing spectacles for tourists and outsiders than it is with preserving traditions.

On the day of the Día de Santiago, or Saint James's Day, the streets of Santiago de Compostela are lined with people watching processions of different carnival groups, papier-mâché *cabezudos* – or large headed human marionettes, and a multitude of Galician pipers. Also, in Parque da Alameda, a large leisure space flanking Casco Vello, there is a massive carnival set up with mechanical rides and vendors in a clamorous atmosphere complete with loudspeakers blasting music. The month of July in Santiago represents an agenda created by the Concello de Santiago and the Xunta to boost culture, leisure, tourism, and the economy.

The commodification of Saint James's Day is clear and it reaches from the urban interior of Santiago itself, into Galicia, all of Spain, and beyond as the large number of tourists demonstrates. Nowadays the celebration is conceptualized as a spectacle for others. Actors are used and separated from the spectators. It is planned by the organizations in power such as the Consello. The contingent of spectators who were once at the receiving end of the celebration are now relegated to a seat among the tourists and foreigners, watching a show that was created for the latter. As García Canclini maintains, “quedó lejos el tiempo de las fiestas comunales, llegaron los empresarios que la convierten en fiesta para los otros [the time of the communal celebration was over and the entrepreneurs arrived and transformed them (the celebrations) into celebrations for others]” (“Fiestas Populares” 49).

The Saint James' Day celebrations are a way for the cultural industry of Santiago and Galicia to reaffirm part of their identity that comes from the past and the historical cohesion Santiago represents as well, but history is ultimately relegated to a small part of the process of

commodification in Santiago. The way in which the celebrations have changed shows the tendency of commercialization to secularize traditional elements and yet to rescue some of them (such as the image of Santiago) if it serves a lucrative end. The same tendency changes traditional celebrations into very different celebrations, yet they will have a small foothold, or develop a sort of familiarity for the Galician population. It is commercial dealers selling trinkets, rides on mechanical contraptions, urban rock group concerts, drinks from international giants like Coke, low quality souvenir clothing, and imitation artisan products that now take the place of the traditional elements of celebrations such as Saint James' Day. The traditional elements such as mass, music or dances are only one part of the whole, and often serve as a mere compliment to the overbearing commercial elements of the celebration today which comprise extensive commodification. The creation of the Saint James' Day celebrations are an attempt to connect a distant past with an incongruous present.

The role of the economy in the promotion of the culture industry through celebrations can be measured by the presence of monetary exchange in Santiago during the fiestas. Only a certain number of tourist shops are allowed in Casco Vello, but on the main *rúas* and paths traversing the Casco Vello there are vast numbers located among restaurants and hotels, showing the extensive presence of commercialization. For example, the traditional iconography of the Saint is being screen-printed onto t-shirts and painted onto snow globes that have crept their way into social and cultural relations as simulacra.

Santiago de Compostela is a prime location for such processes to take place for it is a center of economic opportunities, a capital for shopping, commercial promotion, and the diffusion of products and commodities of all kinds. The city won "reconocimiento profesional y social para el comercio" (professional and social recognition for commerce) at the IV Gala do

Comercio in 2009. During the Saint James' Day celebration, the presence of capital, commercial promotion, diffusion of products, and the taking advantage of tradition for capitalist gain is widespread. These economic ventures make of Saint James' Day the celebration with the most economic activity of the town, at least until Holy Year arrives and the economy prepares for an even greater influx of tourists during a full year.

Therefore, the political and capital gains to Galicia of celebrations such as the Day of Saint James and Holy Year cannot be underestimated. Certainly there are good reasons to promote economic gain, for example, survival in the globalized age. On the other hand, it raises serious questions such as who wields the power when it comes to decision-making on important cultural issues? Is the way that the official depictions of Galician culture are presented helpful to Galicians' own understanding of their history and identity? How will those with less power and different views make their voice heard? The celebrations represent a political space of influence and ideological struggle for the hegemony and a marker of identity for residents.

The neoliberal influence is clear in the way the celebrations are staged, reinventing history and tradition in order to 'sell' Galicia's culture to the global masses. The public space of the Casco Vello houses these cultural processes and is an excellent space for the implementation of heritage commodification, creation of ideology and identity, and the restructuring of the postmodern urban celebration. The project of disseminating a profitable version of Galician Culture and identity of urban Santiago has been explored, from the plan of Fraga for the Cidade de Cultura to the intricate web of organizations and institutions supporting it. Through the lenses of neoliberalism and heritage commodification as well as Canelini's theory on the spectacularization of culture, I have considered the contemporary function and implications of the Saint James's Day holiday and Holy Year. However, a remaining question to be asked is

whether the narratives and versions of ideology and identity influenced by globalization, neoliberalism and commodification of Santiago de Compostela have an effect on the workings of power and ideology in the Galician population?

There are many clues as to the effectiveness of the cultural narratives at work. In *Hybrid Cultures* Canclini states that “the least effective cultural policies are those that cling to the archaic and ignore the emergent, since they are not able to articulate the recovery of historical density with the recent meanings that generate innovative practices of production and consumption” (139). Certainly, as Canclini notes, one cannot ignore change. Culture does change and develop, even as core elements such as the myth of Saint James or the spatial makeup of the central section of urban Santiago remain.

The urban cultural planning and policies of Santiago have taken Saint James’s Day and brought it into the globalized sphere of technology (pyrotechnics and 4D light shows) and cutting edge cultural commodification. Commodification such as the reinvention of the Casco Vello for the Saint James’ Day festivities specifically to showcase the traditional, medieval Santiago, but constructed for the selling of goods which serve the economic goals of the Xunta. Also, the Cidade da Cultura as a site of collection of all cultural relics of the past is another example of taking core cultural elements, in this case, many kinds of Galician material culture, and bringing them together to depict and project a certain identity of Galicia. Though its main function, for Fraga, was that of preserving tradition and history, the splendor and opulence of the Cidade are evident and unquestioned. The experience of traditional Santiago is now much harder to find atop Monte Gaiás in the Cidade da Cultura than it is in Santiago proper, but the Cidade is marketed as a true representation. For example, the Torres Heijuk are a reflection, a simulacrum of the core cultural element of the towers of the cathedral, but their existence will never be a

complete representation of what the physical, historical, and cultural significance of the cathedral towers once stood for. They are simply reduced, in effect, to simulacrum for what Galician culture once was. Santiago is now a “desert of the real” as proposed by Baudrillard. In essence, all reality and meaning contained and produced within Santiago has been replaced with symbols, signs and simulations of reality such as the Torres Heijuk.

Chapter 5

Audiovisual and Media Narratives: Bringing the Local to the Global in Antón Reixa,

Xavier Villaverde and Emilio Estévez

...la ciudad sigue viviendo y deformándose,
con una evolución que sólo concluye con su ruina
— Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, *Compostela y su ángel*

...the city continues to live and be deformed,
with an evolution that will only stop when it is destroyed

Contemporary Galician Audiovisual ‘Innovations’

Since the Statue of Autonomy was approved in 1981, the Galician audiovisual sector has experienced substantial growth and now stands as one of the support structures of Galician culture and the ongoing project of linguistic normalization. The audiovisual sector began to gain strength in 1985 when Television of Galicia (TVG) was established as a public television station fully funded by the Galician government. The Lei do audiovisual was approved in 1999 which made the audiovisual sector a strategic means of supporting the stabilization of the Galician language and culture. In addition, the Galician Film commission was founded in the same year. And importantly, the Xunta de Galicia and other organizations such as the Consello da Cultura and the Real Academia Galega have played a key role in promoting the audiovisual by offering subsidies for the visual arts.

As a result there has been innovation in film, short movies, mini-series, and full-scale cinematic productions as well as animation, television and multimedia productions coming from Galicia. Because of the measures taken by the government and the rise in the audiovisual sector, there has been an increase in a more professional audiovisual output by Galicians themselves and by others utilizing the infrastructure available for making films and audiovisual productions of many kinds. The Galician government continues to use the audiovisual sector as a means of

normalizing Galician language and culture. This means placing an emphasis on the retrieval, revival, and promotion of Galician language to ensure its future. Generally, the Galician audiovisual sector has been successful in recent decades.

This chapter will map out some of the new spaces of technology and the audiovisual. I will focus on the different ways in which the productions make use of heritage and reinvent tradition. I will also explain the technological, virtual, and cinematic advancements in Galicia and Santiago, as well as how rural Galicia and urban Santiago are utilized in the creation of national identity in the glocalised cinematic sphere.

Moreover, there is importance in film as an element of cultural studies. In their own ways, these films show the results of Santiago being named European City of Culture, the effects of the process of normalization of the language and culture, and the coming out of Galician culture to a global market. More specifically, I will analyze a short video produced by Antón Reixa entitled “Pórtico da Gloria” (2000), and two films, *Trece Campanadas* (2009) and *The Way* (2010). My criteria for choosing particular works for consideration was that they be created from within as well as from without to see how Santiago de Compostela and the Camiño are represented through the audiovisual both locally and globally. I have included, therefore, native Galician producers Antón Reixa and Xavier Villaverde, as well as a North American actor/director with deep Galician roots, Emilio Estévez for his film about the Camiño, *The Way*. Central questions include how the cinematic industry functions in the creation of a contemporary national identity and the connections between the local and the global.

Inventing Galicia through the Audiovisual

Technology offers great opportunities for showcasing Galicia to the world, and the

Internet has become a vital tool in the dispersion of Galician culture to a global audience. Today, anyone with an Internet connection can connect to the TVG website for the latest news and programming from Galicia. It is also possible to access many audiovisual productions online at AudioVisual Galego (found at culturagalega.org), and there are innumerable tourist websites promoting Santiago and Galicia. Santiago's official tourist page is santiagoturismo.com. The website offers current event information, descriptions of places to visit, restaurant reviews, maps, real-time webcams, a section of videos and videoclips on SantiagoTurismo TV which includes 60 video clips and full-length documentaries about Santiago de Compostela. The offerings on SantiagoTurismo TV, however, provide visions of Galicia most geared toward the foreign tourist and short movies about cultural peculiarities of Santiago and Galicia such the *queimada* and *As dúas Mariás*.²⁸ SantiagoTurismo TV also offers promotional, or as some might say, propagandistic videoclips, such as the six artistic videocreations (*Seis miradas de Compostela*) filmed in 2000 to celebrate the naming of Santiago as a European City of Culture.

Leading theorist in the field of urban culture and society, Manuel Castells, has developed an approach to understanding the spaces of the city that may be helpful in decoding the public spaces of Santiago de Compostela. In his book *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban Regional Process* (1989), Castells makes the distinction between the 'space of flows' and the 'space of places' in urban settings. The space of flows are elements like the media and information systems, or the non-material spaces, whereas the space

²⁸ The first broadcast of TVG was Chano Piñero's *Mamasunción*, a powerful political and economic commentary on the conditions of Galician emigration. TVG continues to offer a full 168 hour per week broadcast in Galician. In the past it has included popular shows highlighting Galician culture broadcast to the Galician public such as "Sitio Distinto" (1990), and "Mareas Vivas" (1998), both created by Antón Reixa.

of places is always situated within a specific locality, or geographical space. Castells claims that cities are transformed in this interface between these two types of spaces (554). Therefore, in a city keen on fabricating a culture, there is a necessity to produce and oversee both types of spaces. Castells uses a term called ‘symbolic nodality’ to explain his idea about the construction of meaning in cities (555). It is possible to classify the public spaces of Parque da Alameda [Alameda Park], Praza do Obradoiro [Obradoiro Square], as well as many places along the Camiño as locations where symbolic nodality is developed in Galicia and the city of Santiago de Compostela. From this we might ask, what operations are performed with the raw material of the symbolic nodalities or spaces of places within the less predictable space of flows? The current chapter seeks to analyze the workings of the spaces of flows on identity creation and the effects on Galician culture in globalization.

Galicia’s presence in the global realm is reflected in its quite extensive presence on the Internet. The Internet is far-reaching with no geographic borders and thus facilitates the dissemination of Galician culture. Two official guides on the Internet are turgalicia.com and santiagoturismo.com. Showcased on these Internet sites are some of Galicia’s most treasured spaces: the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, the city of Compostela, the pilgrimage of The Camino de Santiago, and even Fisterra. There are even web cams in Obradoiro and Quintana squares.

Galicia’s virtual presence compliments its budding audiovisual sector. The audiovisual field in general in Galicia has experienced a dramatic increase in the last few decades owed in part to the emergence of peripheral cultures in Spain, the reaffirmation of Galician identity and nationality, the process of normalization of Galician culture and language, and the connections between the local and the global.

A contemporary influential writer who is relevant here is Antón Reixa, a Galician artist, writer, and producer. Until recently he was President of the Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (SGAE) in Madrid. He has written poetry, songs, narratives, theatre, and newspaper columns. He has also directed and presented shows on television and radio. Among his most celebrated audiovisual works are the television series “Mareas Vivas” (1998) and his direction of the film *O lapis do carpinteiro* (1998). Prior to this, he was also a writer and singer for the group Os Resentidos (1982-94) and directed videos for musicians such as Joaquín Sabina and Siniestro Total.

Reixa’s roots lie in the *movida viguesa*, the strong cultural movement centered on music, fashion and the arts, beginning in the early 1980s in Vigo. At that time Vigo rivaled Madrid in terms of importance of urban youth’s cultural production. The avant-garde music scene was soon absorbed into the larger Spanish market and Reixa’s band, Os Resentidos (The Resented), were a result and reaction to that appropriation. Os Resentidos had their first national hit, “Fai un sol de carallo,” in 1986 and soon after had another breakthrough with a song entitled “Galicia Sitio Distinto” (1989). The phrase in this last song title is the repetition of a larger cultural discourse surrounding Galician cultural identity that I explore below.

Reixa has taken the existing cultural discourse, usurped it and changed it. Reixa deconstructs the prominent discourse about Galician identity through melding traditional elements and discourse with avant-garde elements and musical techniques. Reixa uses the discourse of the marginalization of Galicia to his advantage. He is subverting the subaltern identity given to Galicia by Spain and the rest of Europe, but in doing so he offers his own unique version of Galician identity. Not only does Reixa portray Galician identity, he also parodies the discourse. In “Galicia Sitio Distinto” he echoes a phrase used by the Franco

administration to entice tourists to visit Spain in the 1960s: “Spain is different.” From this title the imitative, parodic element of the work is clear. By altering the meaning and changing the language to Galician, Reixa is repeating the discourse, but with his own supplement this time. He reworks the theme of Galician folk music with hip-hop, blending traditional Galician bagpipes, or *gaitas*, with the electric guitar. He is making fun of the traditional tourist slogan with the ironic title of the song, and his parody, in a musical sense, of the blending of multiple musical styles brings his work to the forefront of a suggested contemporary cultural identity of Galicia. The song has garnered much popular attention among the new generation of Galicians and even prompted Reixa to create a television series about the Galician condition entitled “Sitio Distinto” (1990).

The launch of Reixa’s musical career as songwriter and performer allowed him to play a large role in Galicia’s booming audiovisual industry. One particular production that exposes the construction of ideology in Santiago de Compostela is his short seven minute video entitled “Pórtico da Gloria (2000),” created when the city was named European City of Culture in 2000. In “Pórtico da Gloria,” Reixa uses the space of the Portico with superimposed image and sound to offer a unique version of Galician culture. It is the last video of the collection entitled *Seis miradas de Santiago de Compostela*, composed of short audio visual works that each tell a story about Santiago de Compostela and Galicia. The six videos were produced by Canal+ and Compostela’s City Council and the directors included in the collection are Isabel Coixet, Xabier Bermúdez, Manuel Palacio, Ricardo Boo, Manuel Iglesias and Antón Reixa, all well-known throughout Galicia and Spain. When the videos premiered they were aired on Galician television and currently can be viewed at santiagoturismo.com.

The host who introduces the collection of videos is Manuel Rivas, an important literary figure in Galicia and well-known in the rest of Spain as well. In the introduction, Rivas sits directly in front of the camera, wearing a simple black suit with a white tee shirt and speaks with emotion, using many literary devices such as metaphors to entice the viewer into the atmosphere of the city and the video clips that follow.

He begins by locating the viewer in “el lugar del sueño” -- the place of dreams -- his metaphor for the city of Santiago de Compostela.

Lo más fascinante es que es el lugar del sueño. En Santiago todo responde a un maravilloso complot entre naturaleza, seres humanos y sobre mundo. Es un lugar sagrado pero también un hogar íntimo donde cantar, beber, amar. Parece que la montaña estaba allí para ese catedral, como estaba el cielo a la manera de una eterna y vertiginosa pantalla; el fin del mundo conocido, la antesala del más allá, la piedra que se hace viva, la música, la lluvia, la estrella, el poema. Ahora, estos pequeños filmes... se incorporan a esa película entrañable y cósmica que llamamos Santiago de Compostela – el sueño, la invención, continua. (*Seis miradas de Compostela*)

[The most fascinating thing is that it is the place of dreams. In Santiago, everything responds to a plot including nature, human beings, and that which is not of this world. It is a sacred place but also intimate home for singing, drinking, loving. It seems as if the mountain were there for that cathedral, just as the sky was there as an eternal and vertiginous screen; the end of the known world, the verge of the great beyond, the rock that comes to life, music, rain, star, poem. Now, these

small films... incorporate themselves into that great charming and cosmic movie
that we call Santiago de Compostela – the dream, the invention, continues.]

In the above introduction Rivas claims that the city responds to nature, humans and the “sobre mundo,” or otherworldly elements. He explains that Santiago is a sacred, intimate place for singing, drinking, and loving. Poetically, Rivas claims that the mount upon which the cathedral was built was made especially for the cathedral with the backdrop of an eternal and dizzying sky. He likens the sky to a screen upon which the cathedral has been placed. However, the metaphor of the screen is more than it first appears because Rivas is preparing the viewer for the upcoming videos which use the sky as backdrop to the most important scenes. Moreover, the viewer is doubly bound in the screen metaphor, having the screen of the sky upon which to view the cathedral and the city, as well as the screen of the television or computer screen. Rivas refers to the city as the end of the known world, the brink of the beyond, living rock, music, rain, stars, and poetry. He also refers to Santiago as a cosmic movie, a space that connects the unique elements of Galician culture such as the “living rock” with the present and the past, the living and the deceased. Rivas leaves the viewer with the open-ended statement that the dream, the invention, continues.

Rivas is specifically locating the viewer in this introduction to *Seis miradas de Compostela* in the center of the dream and invention of Santiago de Compostela. The way in which he delivers his introduction with an air of ease, both poetically and intellectually, prepares the viewer to accept the upcoming short films in a certain way. Rivas wants the viewer to have eyes that see the poetry in the images; to have ears that hear Galician music with attentive openness, as well as a mind's eye that ponders the main connections that Santiago has with nature -- the rock, the rain and the stars. His insight into the narrative construction of Santiago, as a

dramatic creation filled with actors, stage, scripts and even viewers is aligned with the forthcoming clips.

Reixa's "Pórtico da Gloria" which features -- among many other female musicians, -- Cristina Pato, is an narrative invention that offers a new way to contemplate Galicia. It is a hybrid blend of music and visuals against the backdrop of the celebrated portico of the cathedral. As a cultural text, it is a hybrid and complex piece which offers important insight into the creation of Galician culture. Reixa situates the viewer within the language, architecture, music, images and myths of Santiago. Through unique visual compositions as well as the melding of nature, popular music and Romanesque art, the video attempts to create a sense of hybrid identity and culture. The centrepiece of the production is the Portico, a masterpiece of Romanesque art with over 200 statuettes carved from Galician granite. Many of the statuettes depict medieval musicians in the midst of an ancient symphony. In the center of the portico is a statue of Saint James. The Portico occupies a special place in the popular imagination as a symbol of *galeguidade* that is highly revered within the cult of St. James. This symbolism means that the Portico comes with a whole complement of mythical attachments of Saint James and Galician identity as described earlier.

The video begins with a bell toll, an aerial shot of the cathedral, and a written interrogative, "¿Estáran Viv@s? ¿Serán de Piedra?" ["Are they Alive? Are they Made of Stone?"] which are references to the poem "Na catedral" by Rosalía de Castro (1837 – 1885) and to the statuettes from which the poem draws its title. Reixa is uses Galician cultural icons such as Castro's poem and the portico and appropriates and reworks their established discourses for new narrative effect. His references to on Castro's poem, and the thus the "Mother of Galicia," reflects his fixation with identity and in this case, a female one. By engaging two of the most

emblematic symbols of Galicia's culture, the Portico and the work of Rosalía de Castro within the first few seconds of the video, Reixa situates the viewer within the prominent discourses and ideologies of Galician culture, albeit with a more distinctly contemporary perspective.

¡védeos!, parece qu'os labios moven,
que falan quedo
os uns cos outros,
e aló n'altura
do ceu a música vai dar comenzo,
pois os gloriosos concertadores
tempran risoños os instrumentos.
¿Estarán vivos? ¿serán de pedra?
aqués sembrantes tan verdadeiros,
aquelas túnicas maravillosas,
aqueles ollos de vida cheos?
Vós que os fixeches de Dios c'axuda,
de inmortal nome Mestre Mateo,
xa que aí quedaches homildemente
arrodillando, falaime deso;
mais con eses vosos cabelos rizados
santo dos croques, calás... i eu rezo. (*Follas novas*)
[Look at them! It seems that their lips move,
that they speak softly
one with another,

and up there in the heights
of the heavens the music is going to begin,
because the glorious musicians
make their instruments resound
Are they alive? Are they made of stone?
those semblances look so real
those magnificent tunics,
those eyes full of life?
You who made it with the help of God,
Mestre Mateo of immortal name,
you who stayed humbly there
crouched, speak to me of that;
and moreover with your curly hair
Santo dos croques, you stay silent... and I pray.]

While considering Reixa's references to Castro's poem, it is important to remember Castro's elevation to mythic proportions in Galician culture, her status as a poet laureate of Galicia, and her place as the founder of contemporary Galician literature. She was one of the first poets to write in Galician. Her brave rebellious act in doing so brought her contempt from the Spanish hegemony at first yet subsequent national adoration and reverence. When the protagonist of the poem contemplated the Portico she was so impressed at the handiwork that she marvelled by asking herself if the representations of the musicians were made of stone or were truly alive. These figures carved into the Portico are male musicians, but Reixa reverses the dominant male discourse as represented in the Portico by focusing on women in his video.

Firstly, Reixa showcases the feminine side of Galician popular music today. His focus on women musicians exclusively and their superimposition onto the statuettes of the Portico, counterposes the traditional musicians of the Portico who are all male. Significant here too, is that there is a tradition of a tormented femininity in Galicia, a femininity that has been stifled and underappreciated especially in terms of the literary canon, the most famous case of which is Rosalía de Castro. In response to the underestimation of women writers to uphold the Galician nation, Reixa replaces the male centered art of the Portico with a narration about the functioning of the Portico by women only who significantly have been marginalized in Galician culture. The replacement of the male with the female in Reixa's video is an attempt to rewrite and reorient traditional identity politics toward those who have been historically underrepresented.

Music itself, and particularly music performed by women, also plays a central role in the "Pórtico da Gloria" including well-known contemporary Galician folk musicians such as Susana Seivane, Gaudi Galego, folk group Leilía, and Cristina Pato. Some may argue that the music is an echo of the Galician culture, mimicking what is already present and represented in Galician culture. However musicologist Simon Frith explains that "the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience, an aesthetic experience – that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and collective identity" (109). Frith adds that "music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective" (110). Reixa understands the subjective/collective dichotomy and aims to touch each viewer individually, or subjectively, but also to make them see their part of the larger whole, and their own particular place in the collectiveness of the Portico.

Another technique employed by Reixa is utilizing the importance of nature in Galicia, an element traditionally linked with femininity, and which, much like the feminine in Galician culture, has been overtaken and utilized to promote a male-centered ideology. Reixa attempts to, while recuperating the feminine, also highlight the importance of nature and natural landscapes for Galicia and reorient the viewer to value these currently under-valued elements of Galician culture. For example, the beautiful *rías* of the Galician coastline referred to earlier have been overtaken by fishing and commercial production of seafood. And much of landscape around the *rías* has been reworked to include the infrastructure for industrial fishing, canning factories, ship building and other development. Mines and future mining projects also threaten the interior landscape of Galicia, such as the proposed andalusite mine near Picovello which, if granted authority, would take over an area near the Fragas do Eume, one of the most beautiful, stately and prized oak forests in Galicia. Reixa's work makes a statement against the fact that the landscape, the oceans, the livestock, have all been codified and infused with meaning by the cultural hegemony. His purpose is to show the beauty and worth of the landscape and seascape by pairing it with cultural elements such as music written and performed solely by women. Reixa builds on the relationship between culture and nature in "Pórtico da Gloria." He superimposes scenes from nature onto the backdrop of the Pórtico such as verdant grass, the symbolic Galician cow, underwater ocean scenes reminiscent of the *rías* and the sunset like those at Finisterre. These images in motion take the place of the central figures and sculptures of the Portico (traditional icons of Galicianness) and help the viewer to see the persuasiveness of his argument against the contemporary commodification and destruction of Galicia's landscape.

Reixa uses a focus of all that is considered feminine in music, and nature to create a sense of deep community between the Portico and the world. At a few different moments in his video,

Reixa introduces the viewer to an heterogeneous group of female pilgrims and tourists admiring the Portico. There are women with traditional Indian, Andean, Chinese, and punk styles of dress with dreadlocks and a nose ring. Then next, we see an image in which the background is blue sky with some clouds and there is a cut out of the Portico in the centre of the view. It is a representation of many different cultures coming together at the cathedral. Each woman has a camera and takes pictures of the Portico and each female traveller-tourist then becomes part of the Portico by having her image superimposed onto it. The women are very happy to be there and continue with their tourist quest of taking photos, of the cathedral and of each other. The recurring theme of a Galician-based, yet globally outreaching and unifying function of the Portico is prominent.

Certainly, the video “Pórtico da Gloria” video creates a collective identity through the Portico and this sense of community and also through female music. The first group of musicians is a group of old women who have come as tourists to the cathedral. Each woman has a medieval instrument, reflecting those depicted on the doors of the cathedral. Suddenly the women are superimposed onto the stone carvings of the ancient musicians on the portico. They are happy and glad to be there and the women play their instruments joyfully for each other. Reixa has successfully highlighted a new way to think about Galician culture, no longer based upon religion and solemnity, but rather with female community, happiness and delight. The women of Lelía are inviting the viewer to think differently about the monument of the Portico within Galician culture as they begin the video with a clear sense of community through the feminine. A bit later in the video, the images of the ocean and seaweed are completely superimposed upon the women of Lelía, a group of 6 women singers and *pandereteiras*, that is tambourine players, who are also well known and innovative in the reclaiming of Galician

traditional female choral singing, yet with contemporary undertones. It is as if the women of Lelía are swimming in an ocean amid the ‘ebb and flow’ of music and with the Portico behind them.

The next segment of Reixa’s short video exemplifies further how the Portico comes to life with the aforementioned nature scenes. There are scenes of nature-like green grass, sheep and cows against the backdrop of the Portico. And Gaudi Galego is introduced as the protagonist at this point, who a few years ago sang with one of the most famous folk groups in all of Galicia, Berrogüetto, but who now works on solo projects. She is set--rather like the other women musicians--against the backdrop of the Portico, but with some significant differences. She is singing in Galician, Rosalía’s “Na cathedral” set to music. Furthermore, she takes her place in the center of the Portico, right where Santiago is usually depicted. The viewer sees her as well as images of water, the ocean and the sunset. This move by Reixa is significant in that the video is not only recreating a sense of what the musicians carved into the Portico signify (with their replacement of the women of Lelía). Now Saint James himself, patron saint and protector of Spain, has been replaced by a female folk singer who represents a very new ideology based on Galician culture.

Next in the video “Pórtico da gloria,” musician Susana Seivane is introduced. She is a *gaiteira*, a female bagpiper, who is well-known in Galicia and who comes from a family of famous bagpipers. In recent decades Galicia there has been a strong movement of women bagpipers such as Seivane who have been very innovative with their use of the bagpipes, thus profoundly changing a traditional field. The *gaita* or the bagpipe is a traditional instrument of Galicia, linked to the myths of celtism in Galicia. Seivane is not the only female bagpiper to appear in the video in an attempt to put a new spin on the dominant ideology of the Portico and

Galician culture, the final segment of Reixa's video is a return to the musical beginning of the clip in which we hear bagpipes, but the traditional feel has all but disappeared. Cristina Pato has green hair and is dressed as a punk rocker. She dances about as she plays the bagpipes. There are images of faces which turn to Celtic drawings and symbols before the viewer's eyes. Cristina Pato also takes her place in the Portico superimposing the figure of Saint James. The visual implications are dramatic. The focus of the viewer is again of a female, but this time one with green hair and punk dress re-enacting the traditional bagpipe in a contemporary manner. The prior religious symbolism is replaced by a new and innovative way of thinking about Galician culture, one based on collectivism and an imagined community created through the feminine.

The presentation of all of these hybrid and non-traditional images reveals an attempt by Reixa, with the help of Pato to reinvent and reconstruct a new form of Galician identity and ideology. Pato portrays a new sort of cultural imagination, one that blends the local Galician gaita with global music. Manuel Rivas explains the mythical significance of the gaita in Galicia when he explains that:

la gaita puede servir de música de fondo para reparar en las dos grandes *invenciones* culturales de Galicia contemporánea: el *celtismo* y el *atlantismo*, que acaban emparentándose en un mismo tronco mitológico y que impregna el imaginario colectivo... (*Galicia: bonsaí atlántico* 143)

[the bagpipe can serve as background music to contemplate the two great cultural *inventions* of contemporary Galicia: *celtism* and *atlanticism*, that are born of the same mythologic trunk and which impregnate the collective imagination.]

Yes, as Rivas has stated, the gaita is an instrument deeply rooted into the collective imagination of Galicia. Pato has taken the gaita ‘on the road’ to North America and the world, melding it with other world music.

As a classically trained yet multifaceted performer, Pato has recently enjoyed much fame and success, performing globally, living in New York since 2004 studying and working with musicians from around the globe, even making music with Yo-Yo Ma. In December of 2012 Pato released a new disc entitled “Migrations” that mixes jazz with traditional Galician music. Some cultural theorists have argued that the mixing of traditional music with other global forms of music is cultural ‘genocide’ (Buck and Cuthbert), but this has not proven to be necessarily the case. For example, Cristina Pato has had much success as a result of melding traditional Galician music with other styles from around the world. She explains the hybridity of her new album in an interview with Carlos Monje in the following manner: “*Migrations* va de todas esas cosas que encuentran su lugar en otra parte. Va de raíces. De cómo cuando migras te llevas tus raíces contigo, esas raíces enraízan de nuevo en otra tierra y de esa nueva raíz nace algo nuevo o distinto, pero conectado con tu origen [*Migrations* is about those things that find their space in a different place. It is about roots. About how when you migrate you carry your roots with you, those roots take root again in another land and from that new root something new and different is born, but connected with your origin.”] Clearly Pato sees validation, progress and growth in her mixing of traditional styles -- her roots -- with contemporary ones. She is proud of her origin, but also willing to let it morph into new and exciting forms with the addition of a new, more global perspective.

Pato is accurately described as a global artist by journalist Carlos Monje in his article “Cristina Pato: Me considero una superviviente.” She was trained in both classical piano and the

bagpipes and revolutionized the world of Galician folk music when in 1999 she released the first ever solo album by a woman playing the Galician bagpipe. She has released four solo gaita albums and has since collaborated on many more recordings as a guest artist. Among many other collaborative projects she is a member of the Silk Road Ensemble which unites musical styles from across the globe.²⁹ In addition, she has collaborated with world music, jazz, classical and experimental artists, including the Chicago Symphony, The Chieftains, Arturo O'Farril, World Symphony Orchestra, and Paquito D'Rivera. Pato is also the founder of Galician Connection, a world music forum celebrated annually at the Cidade da Cultura de Galicia. One of her most significant collaborations occurs with Yo-Yo Ma and the Silk Road Ensemble, a group of globally elite musicians. She relates the following to Carlos Monje regarding her global voyages with such a varied group of musicians in the Silk Road Ensemble:

A mayores, la parte más pública del Silk Road, los conciertos, nos llevan a giras por todo el mundo, China, Corea, Japón, Emiratos, Omán, EE UU, y esa perspectiva es una lección constante de diplomacia y humildad. Girar con músicos persas, chinos, judíos, palestinos, indios y ver como cada aduana reacciona a cada uno de nosotros es toda una odisea. (“Cristina Pato”)

[A larger, more public part of the Silk Road, the concerts, take us all over the world, China, Korea, Japan, UAE, Oman, USA, and that perspective is a constant lesson in diplomacy and humility. Touring with Persian musicians, Chinese, Jews, Palestinians, Indians and seeing how each customs office reacts to each one of us is quite an ordeal.]

²⁹ The Silk Road is a series of trade routes that were central to cultural interactions through Asia and into Europe. Its name comes from the Chinese silk trade that began long ago (circa 200 BC). Much like the Camino de Santiago, the Silk Road was a cultural conduit, helping disperse culture, technologies, and religions.

Pato's description of the distinctive reactions that the group receives at different customs offices across the globe is an interesting insight. Pato tours with an eclectic, global and hybrid group of musicians while remaining true to her roots. Reixa's inclusion of Pato as a main character of the contemporary Portico, above and beyond Saint James himself, is important in that he views her contributions to Galician culture as something meaningful. Certainly Reixa, in 2000, had his finger on the pulse of Galician heritage, since during the decade that has followed, Pato's fame rose steeply, as did the fame of the other performers in the video. Therefore, Reixa had an awareness of the breadth and depth of Galician culture at the turn of the century.

Pato's work on Reixa's project, later her participation with the Silk Road Ensemble and now her work with Galician Connection are complementary and show the power of Galician music and tradition to permeate, thrive, and develop in the midst of globalization. Pato is now in an expansive stage of her career, bringing the *gaita* to the global masses with mastery of a unique style and creating a truly hybrid and complex blend of world music. It is through artists such as Reixa from inside Galicia and Pato, in emigration, for example, that, in developing hybrid forms, Galician culture can endure and evolve.

Reixa's insistence on the modern feminine is no coincidence but rather an indication that he understands the until-recently disallowed "feminine side of Galician culture" and wants to recuperate it and portray it as a foundation of contemporary cultural currents. Susana Seivane, Gaudi Galego, Leilía, and Cristina Pato all represent original and contemporary forms of musical expression in Galicia that are connected to Galician roots such as the *gaita*. The conclusion of the video and the powerful performance by Cristina Pato leave a lasting impression on the viewer. Specifically, the point at which Pato is superimposed onto the Portico where Saint James himself is said to reside; here a new perspective emerges. Reixa's replacement of the

central figure of the Portico with Pato and her energetic and passionate bagpipe playing shows a new direction of contemporary Galician music and a revisionist strategy from Reixa. Some may argue that equating Pato with Galicia is the same patriarchal maneuver as equating Rosalía as the “Mother of Galicia” which is reductionist and unhelpful. I would argue that yes, this is true, and that Reixa’s juxtapositioning is different since he attempts, in a more all-encompassing way, to show a larger lens of viewing, including the natural landscapes and traditional music for a contemporary feel through emerging global artists such as Pato.

The argument can be made that artists such as Reixa and Pato are helping Galicia, promoting it to the outside world, but at the same time their works call into question the ideological underpinnings and purpose of these projects. Certainly Reixa and Pato are both profiting financially from their utilization of Galician culture. Do these globally-positioned artists take into account their long-term effects on Galician culture? Will their musical innovations support the sustainability of Galician culture and identity into the future or are these artists simply concerned with their own fame and well-being, regardless of the outcomes for Galicia? The answers to these questions remain to be seen, yet they leave a rich field for ideological consideration into the future.

Representations of Galicia in Cinema

In the cinematic field in Spain, Galicia’s role is peripheral to the Spanish cinematic and audiovisual industry, and to the larger European film industry which itself finds is in competition with the global industry of the United States. Also, because of the debate about national identity and cultural normalization, the existence of Galician film is at times questioned. Some experts

prefer to use the term “made in Galicia” while others such as Colmeiro use “Galician cinema” to refer to productions “rooted in Galicia,” regardless of language (“Imagining”).

In a global context Galicia’s cinematic presence is minor, and yet very exciting advances are being made and at a rapid pace. Galicia’s emerging audiovisual industry has over 150 production companies capable of producing competitive products in the world market. The promise of the new technology of 3D animation is also coming to the forefront, ushered in by the successful film *O bosque animado* (Ángel de la Cruz, 2001). Since the release of *O bosque animado*, the animation industry in Galicia has become the leader of animation cinema in Spain. Moreover, Galicia is also an excellent location within which to film with its beautiful, natural landscapes and unique urban concentrations, and indeed, many non-Galician productions have been filmed in Galicia.³⁰ In fact, Galicia and Santiago de Compostela have extensive institutional support for foreign films to be produced there. Organizations such as the Santiago Film Commission facilitate foreign film production with much information about the city, logistical assistance, and logistical procedures. A foreign film company will very often become associated with a local one, or a co-production arrangement is established, blurring the boundaries between the local and the global.

Resurgence of Historical Trauma in *Trece campanadas*

In order to understand the cultural processes taking place in the realm of Galician elements, my discussion will now focus on two contemporary feature films whose stories originate in Galicia: a thriller written, directed and produced in Galicia and later an

³⁰ Galicia has built a burgeoning film sector and hosted recent hits such as Pedro Almodóvar’s *La mala educación* [*Bad Education*] (2004) and *La piel que habito* [*The Skin I Live In*] (2011), Alejandro Amenabar’s *Mar adentro* [*The Sea Inside*] (2004) and José Luis Cuerda’s *Los girasoles ciegos* [*The Blind Sunflowers*] (2008).

Americanized version of the cultural conduit of the Camiño, written in the United States and produced as a 'road movie' along the Camiño de Santiago. *Trece campanadas* [*Thirteen Chimes*] (2003) by directed and produced by Xavier Villaverde is rooted in the myths and spaces of urban Santiago de Compostela, a horror film showcasing Santiago's ghostly atmosphere. The film is suggestive of Hollywood and in fact, in some ways it is a creative nod to Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). Indeed, the 'Hollywoodization' of the film led to its wider appeal and its acceptance by a more global audience. This may be one reason that in 2003, the film won both best film and best actor in the Mestre Mateo awards – a yearly award granted to the best Galician audiovisual productions.

Trece campanadas was first published as a novel, *Trece badaladas* (described in Chapter Two) by Suso de Toro. The movie *Trece campanadas* manifests a mixture of styles from its germination. The story was first conceived as a television series with thirteen episodes. Later Toro and Xabier Villaverde attempted to convert the original story into a cinematic script. Film adaptations typically interpolate scenes or invent characters and all versions carry a supplemental identity. Even the title suggests a complex relationship between languages as Suso de Toro's novel in Galician was entitled *Trece badaladas* while Villaverde changed the language of the film to Castilian and entitled it *Trece campanadas*. The fact that the language in the film was Castilian shows that Villaverde was interested in reaching a wider audience.

Also, during the production of the film *Trece campanadas* the narration was hybridized through the collaboration between Suso de Toro and Xabier Villaverde. The film is hybridized because it is a cross or fusion of two versions of a story, two medium of novel and film and two languages of Galician and Castilian. Though Suso de Toro did was not involved in the final stages of writing the screenplay, the same substrata of the argument and myths of Santiago were

used, constructing and deconstructing the narrative for a cinematic audience. The success of both the novel and the film support the force and deep pull of the traditional narrative of spectral Santiago rewritten for contemporary times. Perhaps, the reason they were both a success in Castilian as well as in Galician, is that the ghosts of the past cannot be silenced and they emerge aggressively from the past to contaminate the present.

The film forms part of the urban gothic category of horror films as a film about the darkness of human nature set against the backdrop of a medieval Casco Vello and the myths of urban Santiago. The city becomes a zone of liminality, danger, and adventure. As such, *Trece campanadas* is part of a vibrant horror film genre produced in Galicia which is steeped in myth and terrifying stories like *O home do saco* [the boogeyman], *O home lobo* [werewolf], and *A meiga chuchona* [the life-sucking witch]. Horror films about all three stories have recently been released; *O home do saco* (2008) directed by Emma Lustres and Borja Pena; *Romasanta, a caza da besta* (2003), filmed in English and directed by Paco Plaza; and *A meiga chuchona* (2007), an animation film directed by Pablo Millán. The general public generally finds legends such as these of great interest. For example *Romasanta, a caza da besta* enjoyed great acclaim and popularity, even in the United States. In the film, internationally popular actors such as Julian Sands and Elsa Pataky bringing to life the horrific legend of the Galician *sacaúntos* – or werewolf. And *Trece campanadas* offers not only the myth of another popular legend, the vampire, but also the myths of an entire urban complex within which to develop its narrative resurgence of the past. Similar to the treatment of history and its traumatic return in Galicia as well as greater Spain, this film highlights, through the spaces of the city, the violence of the past and the incapacity to escape it. Indeed, *Trece campanadas* weaves itself into the category of Galician horror based on mythical narrations, yet in comparison to the other films mentioned,

Trece campanadas concerns the ghostly specters of the specific locale of Santiago de Compostela and the legends surrounding the cathedral and the central core of the city.

Jacobo is a young sculptor who returns to Santiago de Compostela after an eighteen year absence. He was traumatized as a boy when he witnessed his mother kill his father during a violent altercation while the bells of the cathedral chimed thirteen times. Believing that both of his parents were dead, Jacobo left Santiago behind. As he travelled from Buenos Aires to Santiago he received an urgent call from his childhood friend María. At this time, María tells Jacobo that his mother is not dead and that he wants Jacobo to visit her in the psychiatric hospital where she has been residing since he left. Upon reuniting with his mother, she warns Jacobo to leave Santiago immediately because she knows he is in grave danger. Jacobo's madness is reflected in the bells tolling in his head and he quickly spirals out of control as he attempts to battle the ghost of his father who desires to take over his body. Mateo, Jacobo's sculptor father, wants to finish the sinister work he began in the cathedral. In comparison, then, with the novel, the film is more concerned with recent history and the father/ son relationship whereas the novel transpired within millennia of history.

The treatment of history in the film can be seen as speaking of the violent recent repressions of Galicia by the Franco regime. There is a strong presence of the past, a past that mainly stays hidden. Much like Franco, Mateo, Jacobo's father, is interested in writing himself into history through monuments. Mateo had left a sculpture unfinished before dying and desires to complete it, through his son's hands, and see it placed within the cathedral for future generations to admire. Similarly, Franco tried to write his name onto the monuments of Spain as earlier explained in the dissertation. His attempts at prosperity included the Valle de los Caídos, statues of himself erected all over Spain (which have all since been removed), street

names and many more. In certain aspects, though, Mateo's attempt may be even longer-lasting than that of Franco in light of the fact that he sets up his plan to include the lieux de mémoire of the interior of the cathedral of Santiago, a space of memory that has endured many centuries and continues to do so today.

Certainly, the endurance of the cathedral and its place in Galician and Spanish history has to do with its existence as a *lieux de mémoire*, a place where Pierre Nora explains "memory crystallizes and secrets itself... a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn – but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists" (7). In Santiago, not only the cathedral, but many other sites of memory are fodder for Villaverde's artistic vision of *Trece campanadas*. There is a focus on the visual markers of urban Santiago in the film, and the heightened sense of horror and terror is added to *Trece campanadas*, the film. Much as Toro's novel examines the ghosts of national history, the film also speaks to the traumas and horrors of the past, yet perhaps a more recent past as the lieux de mémoire of urban Santiago take center stage. The film takes the viewer through the streets of Santiago and to many of the most famous sections of the city including the Mercado de Abastos (the public market), the Berenguela clock tower, the cathedral, the Contemporary Arts museum and the famous spiral staircase of the Museum of the Galician people. These spaces are presented as places where, as Nora describes, "a sense of historical continuity persists."

The Reimagining of Galicia and the Camiño in *The Way*

When protagonist Tom Avery explains his reasons for completing the pilgrimage in the film *The Way* (2010) he cites "family business." This is certainly true, for Tom carries with him

the ashes of his son Daniel, who died while attempting to complete the Camiño. Tom leaves the cremated remains of his son along the Camiño as a way to grieve his passing and to honor his son's desire to finish the journey. Tom sees the ghost of Daniel at certain points in his odyssey, on the horizon or in a crowd. But then, just as suddenly, he disappears. As Tom's Camiño passport fills up with stamps of different cities and pilgrim hostels, he leaves a little piece of his burden behind in the form of handfuls of cremated ashes along the way. Upon closer consideration, however, the term "family business" has wider implications. The film was written for the screen, produced and directed by Emilio Estévez and is dedicated to Emilio's paternal grandfather, Francisco Estévez. The protagonist Tom Avery is played by Ramón Antonio Gerardo Estévez, mostly otherwise known as Martin Sheen (1940 -), son of Francisco Martínez Estévez (1898 – 1974) who was born in Pontevedra, Galicia. Martin Sheen's Grandfather Francisco immigrated to the United States, married a girl of Irish descent and had five children. Upon beginning his acting career, Ramón Estévez changed his stage name to Sheen but never changed his surname officially. His son Emilio (1962 -) decided to keep the name Estévez and began the search for roots of his family, which brought him to Galicia and in turn, to the Camiño. Michael D. Reid of the *Times Colonist* newspaper in British Colombia named the film one of the top ten of 2011. In his review he argues that the film is "an engagingly contemplative, unhurried and life-affirming portrait... [and] a soul-searching journey worth taking" ("The year of too many").

Emilio Estevez's interest in the Camiño is shared by many other North Americans and the release of his film, *The Way*, is sure to bring ever-increasing numbers from the United States and Canada to Galicia. Certainly, in the recent decades there has been increased interest in the Camiño by travellers from the United States and Canada. In her blog for *Global Galicia* (La

Voz de Galicia) entitled “Buen camino?” writer Esther Díz attributes *The Way* negatively for the dramatic increase in North American tourists completing the Camiño. She finds it difficult to value the consequences of the movie as she explains that

hasta hace poco, jóvenes norteamericanos recién licenciados incapaces de encontrar empleo se retaban a sí mismos a escalar el Machu Picchu, se alistaban a los Peace Corps, cogían una temporada sabática para viajar y conocer otras culturas, lo que fuese con tal de proyectar una imagen de dinamismo... y de repente, gracias a una película zas! descubren que pueden hacer todo eso y mucho más en el Camino de Santiago... (“Buen Camino?”)

[until recently, North American unemployed college graduates challenged themselves to climb Machu Picchu, joined the Peace Corps, took some time off to travel, learn about other cultures, whatever it took to project an image of dynamism... and all of a sudden thanks to a movie wham! they discover that they can do all that and much more on the Camiño de Santiago...]

Adventures such as climbing Machu Picchu, joining the Peace Corps, a sabbatical for travel, all are similar in the North American consciousness to completing the Camiño, but the Camiño offers other elements valuable to the North American sensibility such as time to be introspective, the sheer challenge of the journey, increased status upon completion, the connection to nature and to people from all over the world, as well as the opportunity to help other travellers along the way. All of these elements are attractive to many North Americans and they create a powerful set of motivations that seem to draw them to the Camiño at an ever-increasing rate.

The increase of North American tourism worries Díz as she considers the effects of a governmental focus on the economic outcomes of tourism as opposed to the protection of the

cultural value of the Camiño. *The Way*, as Díz explains, is an example of the recent fixation of North Americans with the Camiño along with other products such as Shirley MacLaine's novel *The Camino: A Journey of the Spirit* (2000) and Lydia B. Smith's documentary *Walking the Camino: Six Ways to Santiago* (2013). Additional evidence to this effect are the numerous walking tours set up to cater to North Americans such as *Spanish Steps* and *Follow the Camino*, not to mention the ever-increasing number of North American university programs which bring students to hike the road.³¹ There are also numerous North American-based organizations and associations that pilgrims and other travellers can join to find out more information on the journey or share their own experiences such as *American Pilgrims on the Camino*. Clearly, the recent upswing in Camiño travel by North Americans has created numerous business ventures, the effects of which are yet to be fully understood. Such ventures bring into question their future effects upon the Camiño and whether the governmental authorities are doing enough to protect the Camiño. The ongoing increase in tourism begs the question as to what effects the increased foot traffic and commercialization following the release of *The Way* will have on the Camiño and the communities that support it and are supported by it.

The Way is loosely based on American author Jack Hitt's *Off the Road: A Modern-Day Walk Down the Pilgrim's Route into Spain* (1994). Hitt is a contributor to the *New York Times Magazine*, *GQ* and the public radio broadcast of *This American Life*. Hitt explains his own reasoning as to why there exists a strong North American fascination with the Camiño in the following way:

The road had an Old World sense of discipline that I liked. A pilgrimage is a form of travel alien to the American temperament. We colonists like to think of

³¹ For more information on walking holidays and tours in Spain see spanishsteps.com and to "answer your Camino call" one may visit followthecamino.com.

ourselves as explorers, path blazers, frontiersmen always on the lam and living off the cuff... When Americans are on the road, we don't really want to know just where we are going. We're lighting out for the territories. But a pilgrimage doesn't put up with that kind of breezy liberty. It is a marked route with a known destination. (6)

As Hitt suggests, North Americans are perhaps enamored with the Camiño because it represents values and worldviews much unlike their own, such as the feeling of 'lighting out for the territories.' Yet, at the same time it sends North Americans toward universal themes such as spirituality and the creation of community. The juxtaposition of a journey with a destination, an underpinning of spirituality, a thirst for health and sport and an inward personal focus are all characteristics that the generalized North American traveller can find along the road.

The deep sense of piety, that of Roman Catholicism and other faiths, is certainly appealing to the travelling protagonists. Tom is a "lapsed Catholic" and the Camiño helps him experience a rediscovery of faith and spirituality. In fact, the film includes a scene which shows the glorification of the rosary, certainly a curious and unexpected occurrence in a mainstream film. Both Sheen and Estévez are invested in Catholicism. Sheen, in his private life is outspoken against abortion and has taken part in many religious projects such as *The Fourth Wise Man* (1985), a TV movie which stars Sheen portraying the fourth wise man searching for Jesus. Though there is a focus on Roman Catholicism, the film nevertheless appeals to audiences who subscribe to alternate spiritual paths as well. Hollywood has long been considered a godless place by some, but films like *The Way* are helping "Tinseltown rediscover religion" (King).

The film intersperses the cultural elements of the Camiño with a soundtrack that would

be familiar to and make the average North American or British viewer feel at ease. There is a local and global interplay, but the focus is mostly on the global (North American) perspective. For example, the majority of the soundtrack was composed by Los Angeles born Tyler Bates. Bates is known for his powerful atmospheric music in films such as *300* (2006), and *Conan the Barbarian* (2011). The soundtrack also includes popular European and North American music interspersed with that of Bates'. American popular music is present in the songs of James Taylor's "Country Road" and indie rock band The Shins' "New Slang." British band Coldplay is also featured with their song "Lost!" and English singer-songwriter Nick Drake's "Pink Moon." The main pilgrimage montage is against the backdrop of Canadian Alanis Morissette's "Thank U." The soundtrack reflects a global perspective with an English-speaking focus. Local elements such as Galician folk band Berroqueto are included in the soundtrack and make the film feel more culturally moored in Galicia, but references to locality are scarce aside from the obvious scenery.

The interplay of the local and the global is clear in the worldview that is presented, favoring the global worldview. Tom is a workaholic and an avid golfer who doesn't understand his son's free-spiritedness. In contrast, Daniel represents a worldview that is not in line with that of his father. He prefers travel and experience to academia or a stable job. Along the journey, however, Tom begins to see the world through Daniel's lens and become more open to travel, enjoyment, and living life. The global can be seen in the last shot of Tom in Morocco. He still wears the scallop shell and carries Daniel's backpack and walking stick. His experience has helped Tom see the value in the global. The local experience along the Camiño has brought him to the global, just as the film has brought the Camiño to the global.

Sheen explains that *The Way* has a spiritual component but not necessarily a religious

one. “Unfortunately, so much of religion, religiosity and dogma separates us,” he says. “But it is our humanity that brings us together. If we become aware of our humanity, that’s spirituality” (quoted in Chris Knight). Yes, Sheen is an avid, practicing Catholic, but he recognizes the value in finding ‘humanity’ through spirituality. Humanity could be seen as a global meaning, an attempt at bridging the gap between cultures and peoples. It is an ability for people to come together and help each other. In contrast to the characteristic American experience of living as a more isolated individual and only caring about one’s self, the film invites the acceptance of a new ideology, the realization that there exists a greater sense of community, spirituality and humanity outside of the narrow circle that a typical American may often draws around themselves and their immediate surroundings.

Estévez further explains the characters of the film and their undeniable humanity. “They’re all beautiful disasters, like all of us. I mean, I’m a wonderful disaster. So are you. We’re all a mess. We’re in this culture that says take this pill and you will be happy, go on this diet and you’ll be thinner, have your teeth whitened and people will love you more – I think the movie celebrates all of our warts and says it’s OK to be exactly who you are and to be comfortable in your own skin” (quoted in Chris Knight).

According to interviews with Estévez, *The Way* was the first cinematic drama to receive permission to film inside the cathedral of Santiago. The crew was granted access to the Portico of Glory for just one hour to get all hoped-for footage. They were allowed to film one Mass in which the botafumeiro was swung one time. Estévez was even allowed to swing the botafumeiro. Estévez asked the crew, both believers and non-believers alike to pray about being granted access to the cathedral and just 48 hours before reaching Santiago they were granted permission. Sheen explains that “Emilio ordered cast and crew weeks beforehand to begin

fasting and prayer, sacrifice and alms. It was another miracle” (quoted in Chris Knight). Overall, the crew received much help from the Spanish and Galician governments and the police while filming, showing interest from the administration in promoting the film which was to offer a mainly North American perspective. While in Santiago, Sheen filmed a short commercial advertising the city and the Camiño to English speakers. It seems that the Xunta was more than happy to comply with Sheen and Estévez’s requests and to offer help, possibly anticipating the business value following the release of the film and the potential for a new global following for the Camiño.

Since the film is a more cultural and ‘moral’ experience than a typical Hollywood blockbuster, the promotion for it was significantly different than for that of a traditional Hollywood film. Sheen and Estévez took a 50 day cross-country bus tour, stopping in 27 states to talk about their experience of making the film. The tour even included a question and answer session moderated by former U.S. President Bill Clinton. They screened the film for over 40,000 people, and during the bus tour Estévez explained that “the people who are seeing the movie seem to love it” (quoted in Carr). John Sloss of ARC entertainment claims that the film appeals to a variety of people, such as “the faith audiences, the specialty audiences, people who like to travel and the outdoors, Martin’s audience and then a lot of people who are going to hear it’s just a good movie” (quoted in Carr). The effort put forth to promote the film indicates a sincerity of approach and at the same time a deep desire by the father/son duo to promote their version of Spanish and Galician culture.

The Hollywood reception to this film, however, was disappointing with Melena Ryzik of the *New York Times* claiming that “you may not have heard much about [it]” and “[it] is unlikely to pick up much Oscar steam” (“An Actor and A Film”). Yes, the film garnered somewhat

favorable reviews as Weitzman argued that “...it’s hard to ignore that everything about this film radiates sincerity – which should appeal not just to fellow travelers, but anybody burnt out by an industry that often seems built on hardened calculation” (“Dad Keeps Trekin”). Also, the film garnered great reviews from the public as well as from the academic world. Scholars across the United States clamored for a campus visit from Sheen and Estévez, further fueling the desire of North Americans to visit the Camiño.

Nonetheless, and as many critics such as Díz have noted, the felt effect for Galicia has been an increase of North Americans on the Camiño in search of something ‘different,’ something that represents a sense of spirituality that the North American sensibility may often be thought to lack. In conclusion, *The Way* is an invitation to North Americans to travel the Camiño, to live a renewed sense of self and to create a more open, globalized worldview focused on community. A relative success in many ways, the film also brings into question its own impact on the Camiño.

Conclusions: Global Visions of Galicia

Digital advances such as the Internet, video and film have had an impact on the way Galician language and culture is represented and narrated. As discussed above, the audiovisual has appropriated many of the elemental myths and spaces of Santiago de Compostela and the Camiño in order to recycle them and in a sense give them new life. Reixa has shown the importance of creating a transnational sense of community based on Galician strongholds such as the *gaita* and the Portico. Through important *lieux de mémoire* of the Casco Velho, Villaverde shows the viewer the horror and violence of a past that has not been dealt with directly, if at all. And Estévez shows the global draw of the spiritual space of the Camiño. The first two

productions show the important spaces of identity and ideology of Santiago de Compostela. The film, *The Way*, and the only externally produced audiovisual narrative discussed, demonstrates the importance of the spaces of the Camiño, but makes one ponder the potential dangers of increased exposure for the Camiño at the same time. Certainly, all three films, as easily accessible viewing around the globe, have bolstered tourism and travel to Santiago and Galicia and increased the global spotlight in ways that the literary and celebratory event representations cannot. The effects of this are twofold. On one hand, the increase in tourism has been heartily welcomed as the recent economic downturn in Europe has been a factor. Galicia now holds a more important place in terms of economic responsibility in Spain and Europe. On the other, the increased exposure of Galicia in such ways may threaten the Galician language and culture such as the loss of a local identity to the forces of globalization or the dilution of Galician culture as it is packaged for consumption within globalization.

Conclusion

This dissertation has shed light on certain cultural forms that have received very little or no academic attention until recently. My Cultural Studies lens goes beyond the literary texts of the accepted canon to consider the workings of power and complex global influences on other cultural narratives such as novels, short stories, songs, myths, celebrations, urban space, the internet, video and cinema which all have intriguing things to tell us about the utilization and value of Galician cultural heritage. I have explored multiple representations and narrations of Santiago and the Camiño de Santiago and identified many different forms of narrations. My study has addressed the way contemporary identities and ideologies are produced in the dynamic and precarious socio-cultural reality of Galicia. I argue that Santiago de Compostela's current situation is changing because it is poised between the duality of being central to the nation of Galicia, yet also peripheral to Spain, Europe, and also global interests.

Also, as of late, the increased global interest in Galicia has brought local elements of Galician culture to an ever-more international audience. And the commodification of Galician culture paired with an increase in tourists, particularly along the Camiño de Santiago, arguably threatens the consolidation and preservation of Galician culture, as Gómez-Montero claims that Santiago has currently reached a point of its former peripheral centrality, similar to that which it experienced under the Archbishop Xelmírez ("Santiago"). Galicia is, at the same time, struggling to fully ascertain what it means to be a 'nacionalidad histórica,' or a historical nationality, as so named in the Spanish Constitution of 1978. It is also developing a better understanding of how to function as an autonomous nation within the greater power of the Spanish state, as well as in its peripheral relation to the European Union. These complex processes and changing relationships make this current work and similar studies of utmost importance to the future of Galician cultural heritage. Galician culture and identity are presently

in the frontlines of ideological conflict amid the pursuit of economic gain from increased tourism.

This kind of research is especially important in lights of the current economic crisis in Europe and across the globe. Galicia finds itself at a crossroads, having come out of the shadows of the past toward a more respected and economically viable region of Spain. At the same time, however, the region of Galicia it is uncertain as to how Galicia and its capital, Santiago will develop amid the fast pacing changes of globalization and the pursuit of economic sustainability.

The expression of Galician culture appears to be becoming more difficult with the economic crisis in the Eurozone and the potential for an increasing economic responsibility of Galicia to earn more for the peninsula and itself through commodification of its culture. Galicia's location within Spain is shifting toward greater visibility, but Galicia must find a way to manage a balance between the benefits of tourism and increased notoriety on the one hand and the potential for a negatively impacted cultural heritage on the other.

I would suggest that what is currently happening in Galicia is an overrunning of traditional culture through hybridization of identity as a result of increasing globalization. Yet there are two sides to the globalization coin: one is the protection of cultural heritage and the other the weakening of national culture by way of hybridization, resulting in part capital gain for the region and the larger Spanish state through the commodification of culture. The implications for Galicians are profound due to the double bind of reliance on economic support of the EU and Spanish subsidies as well as the revenue from cultural tourism within the recent economic downturn, but at the same time losing control, in a sense, on Galician culture and language. The logical consequences of globalization are potentially favorable. However the consequences are

also potentially devastating in terms of the changing, recycling and shifting forms of cultural elements as often sold to new global audiences.

Though to some extent unavoidable, commercial ventures such as the *Cidade da Cultura* and the arguably distorting commodification of celebrations such as Saint James' Day could do more harm than good. Certainly, the City of Culture has yet to prove its usefulness, being all but an empty space that is virtually unused by the citizen at large. Symbolically the *Cidade da Cultura* may be a marker of Galician identity, but logistically and in function, the 'City on the hill' has yet to connect itself with the urban scene it stands above.

Concepts such as the invention of tradition and *lieux de mémoire* can be helpful when considering the official motivations and enactment of culture, for example, through the Saint James' Day holiday. The celebration has blossomed from an experience based on individual participation to one of the 'spectacularization' of culture, which distills the true tradition and heritage in lieu of one geared more toward the entertainment of tourists and outsiders. I would argue that the official attempts at narration of Galicia and creating identity through the City of Culture and Saint James' Day holiday are more harmful to Galician culture than helpful because they focus on income generation and global visibility rather than protection of Galician literature and language.

Some of the other narrations that I have explored, however, could help more. Those who write about Galicia, be they outsiders or native Galicians, are a vital source of culture dissemination throughout the globe. They may also offer a greater sense of permanence than the officially written narrations discussed above. Literature and film can have a more enduring quality. A cultural identity offered through a written text is arguably, less likely to succumb to the flux of globalization. For example, an author, such as Coelho, may have chosen to utilize a

Galician narrative for his own purpose, but his text is arguably also supportive of the long-held traditions of Galician culture. His work gives Galicia exposure globally in a way different from in the past and opens up a dialogue between Galicians and those from the outside who wish to more fully understand the Galician condition. The ongoing burden, arguably lies in the hands of Galicians writing about Galicia in the 21st Century such as Suso de Toro, Marica Campo, Antón Reixa, and Xavier Villaverde among others whose work I have not been featured here.

Galicia is one among many peripheral cultures dealing with a significant cultural revival and the appropriation of its culture and language for economic sustainability. It would be interesting to see if the impacts of globalization, international tourism and cultural commodification impact each culture in the same way, or if such forces lead to different cultural outcomes. Comparison studies could also help illuminate whether certain cultures have different ways of responding, and to what degree they accept or reject the advances of globalization. This research could potentially suggest strategies for indigenous cultures wishing to prevent the disappearance and dissolution of their cultural heritage as a result of globalization.

This consideration of narratives of Galicia may offer some insights to other peripheral cultures since Galicia has to some degree, tended to hold tight to its heritage, while at the same time benefitting from a growing commercialization of its culture. The implementation of the normalization plan, the shifting of the political and economic location of Galicia within Spain, and the increased exposure of the Camiño and the Casco Vello in Santiago do all at least hold the potential for cultural sustainability in Galicia, even as the nature of that cultural heritage continues to develop and be fully understood.

APPENDIX

“Longa noite de pedra,” by Celso Emilio Fereiro

O teito é de pedra.
De pedra son os muros
i as tebras.
De pedra o chan
i as reixas.
As portas,
as cadeas,
o aire,
as fenestras,
as olladas,
son de pedra.
Os corazós dos homes
que ao lonxe espreitan,
feitos están
tamén
de pedra.
I eu, morrendo nesta longa noite
de pedra.

[The roof is stone.
The walls are stone
and the night.
The ground is stone
and the railings.
The doors,
the chains,
the air,
the windows,
the looks,
are stone.
The hearts of the men looking outwards
are
also
made of stone.
I too, dying
in this long night
of stone.]

Translation by Jack Hill

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