

WALKING THE CAMINO

Jennifer L. Lord

A Live Question

The 2010 movie *The Way* is popular with many American Pilgrims walking the Camino. Joost, one of the main characters, arrives at an iconic high point as he's making his way to Santiago. Joost huffed his way up the ridge and can look back to the valley he's crossed since Pamplona and, turning 180 degrees to the west, toward his destination. The place is famous on this pilgrimage route: there is a sculpture, iron silhouettes of pilgrims making their way, with the inscription *Donde se cruza el camino del viento con el de las estrellas* ("Where the path of the wind crosses that of the stars"). Joost reaches that point and just begins to look around when bicyclists arrive, ringing their bike bells to signal their passing. He's stunned: "What ... ? You can do this on a bike?"¹

How one does the Camino de Santiago de Compostela is a live question today. Associations, like the London-based Confraternity of St. James dedicated to the support of this pilgrimage route, look at the numbers of pilgrims presenting themselves at the Cathedral de Santiago for the *Compostela*, the church's traditional certificate granted for pilgrimage. In 1992, the Pilgrims' Reception Office at the Cathedral, where one authenticates one's pilgrimage for religious or spiritual reasons, recorded 9,764 pilgrims' arrivals. The following year, a Holy Year (a year when St. James's Day falls on a Sunday), there were 99,439: a tenfold increase in pilgrims. Holy Year 1999: 154,613 arrivals. Holy Year 2004: 179,944. Holy Year 2010: 272,135. In the non-Holy Year 2015: 262,459 recorded pilgrims' arrivals. This last number garners attention: if Holy Years see a greater number of pilgrims, what does it mean for the Camino that there are now hundreds of thousands on pilgrimage in non-Holy Years?

Not all pilgrims present themselves at the Office. But many hope to gain the *Compostela*. In order to apply for *Compostela*, pilgrims carry a pilgrim's credential, the passport, and they have it stamped as evidence of their *bona fide* pilgrim status: one stamp a day until the last 100 km when two stamps a day are required. The medieval pilgrims carried the credential as a safeguard, to protect their passage. Now the stamps grant entrance to the hostels

Color versions of one or more of the figures in the article can be found online at www.tandfonline.com/ultg.

and are necessary for requesting the *Compostela* (see Figure 1). Walkers and pilgrims using wheelchairs, hand bikes, or horseback must complete at least the last 100 km to apply for the *Compostela*; cyclists, the last 200 km in one stretch. At the office, pilgrims receive the stamp of the Cathedral of Santiago, on their *Credencial del Peregrino*. Pilgrims receive a *Certificado* instead of a *Compostela* if they do not report religious or spiritual motivation for making Camino.

In addition, one may now buy a Certificate of Visit to authenticate a pilgrimage to the cathedral by air, road, or rail. We were warned about this as we approached Santiago: there would be pilgrim groups bused point to point so that they could walk a portion of the last 100 km. We were cautioned that the last days into Santiago, especially the last day, would be a crowd scene, as some tours offer a one-day walking option. The last 100 km on the Camino Francès was a very different pilgrimage scene than the rest of that route and certainly than our 740 km on the less-popular Via Podiensis route.

The conversation about how one does the Camino, then, is not solely an idealistic one. There are tensions between those promoting the traditional pilgrim journey and the advocates for mass tourism. The former Chair of the Confraternity, Laurie Dennet, writes:

Since in recent years those using the traditional ways of doing the pilgrimage have been so far outstripped in numbers by car, coach and air travelers as to now be in the minority, it is worth making a fairly basic, but important distinction. The “traditional ways” are those that involve making the journey by one’s own motive power, implying an investment of physical effort or sacrifice, an element of physical vulnerability, and a frame of mind that is open to encounter. For some people this last presupposes going alone, or



Figure 1 *Compostela*, Photo by Author of her Own Passport, June 21, 2016.

with very few companions; the traditional ways also preclude, unless essential for medical reasons, the use of backup vehicles.

Why is the distinction between this kind of travel and travel by motorized means, in large groups, [*sic*] (even large groups of walkers or cyclists), quite independent of the interior disposition of the traveler, an important one? Some people might hold that it is not, that ways of travel may be “different” in mode but not in quality... *I happen to think that whether a pilgrimage is made on foot or in a motor coach matters a great deal.*²

Dennet’s assertion resonates. While I am not interested in arguing that walking is the best or only or authentic way to do this pilgrimage, I do think there are properties of walking that are distinct from other modes of transport, especially car or bus. After orienting readers to the history and contemporary phenomenon of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, and describing a day in the life of a walking pilgrim, I will suggest several properties of walking that contribute to its distinctive quality for pilgrimage.³

Provenance

The best-known and most popular section of the Camino is the 770-km stretch from the French town Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, at the foot of the Pyrenees in the Basque country, to Santiago, in Galicia, Spain. This is the Camino Francès route, but it is only one of the ways to walk to Santiago since the various paths were made by medieval pilgrims who left their farms, villages, or cities and made their way to Santiago and then back home again. It is an important point: no pilgrim rightly says he or she has walked the entire Camino. There are too many paths, we moderns cannot know them all, and most of us do not arrive in Santiago to turn around and retrace our steps back to where we began.

This pilgrimage orients to the northwest region of the Iberian Peninsula, to the city named after Santo Iago (St. James), where his relics are kept. Legend states that the Apostle James, the elder, one of the sons of Zebedee, after evangelizing in Jerusalem and Iberia, was martyred in Jerusalem. His body was brought to Iberia but the place of interment forgotten. The invention-and-discovery account is that a hermit (Pelayo) discovered the tomb through a vision in the ninth century. The local bishop (Teodormir) authenticated the remains; the region’s king (Alfonso II) and his court set out from Oviedo and ordered a church built at the site. Locals began to make pilgrimage. Concurrently, St. James was invoked as patron and protector in that land, increasing the appeal of the pilgrimage. The eventual *reconquista* of certain regions meant a shift in ruling powers: the Benedictine order of Cluny was invited to establish religious houses across the north. Local initiative combined with Cluniac settlement meant that the Camino Francès became the preferred and protected way to Santiago. (The route is thick with Templar lore.) While travel to the Holy Land became difficult in the eleventh century, this pilgrimage flourished. The twelfth-century compilation of books, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex Calixtinus* (including a guidebook), further popularized this pilgrimage. The Roncesvalles monastery at the base of the Pyrenees reported feeding 100,000 pilgrims a year

by the twelfth century. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents mention Compostellan Holy Years. The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation took its toll on the practice of pilgrimage, as did the loss of the relics. The relics were hidden because of a rumor of potential theft, resulting in their being lost for 300 years, from 1589 to 1879! Two world wars and a civil war contributed to this pilgrimage's decline. But in the 1950s, renewal efforts in France (steward of the four major routes that join the famous route in Spain) rehabilitated interest in the pilgrimage and associations for the preservation and publicity of the Camino developed in France and Spain.

A Worldwide Hit

The story of this Camino's contemporary popularity truly begins with the Roman Catholic priest who repopularized the route in 1967. Don Elias Valiña Sampedro, a Galician priest, wrote his doctoral thesis on the importance of the pilgrimage and subsequently published guidebooks for pilgrims walking the Camino Francés. Notably, he personally way-marked the route from the Pyrenees to Santiago, using yellow paint he begged from the Galician highway authority to mark rocks, houses, and trees with the yellow arrows familiar to all pilgrims on this route. It was a revival within the Roman Catholic Church that spoke to the twentieth-century faithful and to those outside of the church.⁴

Today the Camino de Santiago is a worldwide hit. The Cathedral's Pilgrim's Reception Office tracks the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims arriving each year and the broad swath of nationalities represented. The pilgrimage path itself has been deemed a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Martin Sheen's movie *The Way*, books by Paulo Coelho and Shirley Maclaine, and arrivals by Oprah-status celebrities have popularized, especially, the best-known section of this ancient pilgrimage. It has worldwide importance for Christians and persons of other faiths. And for persons who declare no faith.

Walking

You can do the Camino on a bicycle. Or by car, or by combination of bike and car, by car and walking, with a rolling walker, in a wheelchair or hand bike, or by horse, or llama, or donkey, with a baby and a stroller, by walking while pulling a cart, or by cycling pulling a cart (with dog).

In medieval times, if one had the choice, one walked to Santiago and back home again. The walk was supposed to be costly. The physicality of the walk was central to the meaning of the pilgrimage. One only enlisted cart and animal because of need. Otherwise, medieval pilgrims walked amid dangers of brigands, accidents, sickness, bears, and wolves. Speaking to the modern pilgrimage, Dennet writes:

Perhaps it really comes down to whether one accepts what certain kinds of experience—the accommodation to silence, solitude, sharing, trials of one

sort or another—invite personal growth on the pilgrim's part, beyond that usually required by the circumstances of everyday life. The person who embraces the vulnerable condition of the walker or cyclist, accepting what comes, is challenged by these kinds of experience daily Motorized travelers, however sincere, are less challenged by circumstances, less likely to arrive at that acceptance of dependence and inter-dependence that is one of the Camino's gifts to the walker or cyclist in exchange for physical effort.⁵

For Dennet and others, this walking pilgrimage means that the normal circumstances of everyday life have been set aside: there is opportunity for a different quality of soul-seeking, and that most readily comes about because of physical exertion, vulnerability, and challenges due to the duration of it all. She names walkers and cyclists, but more recent media around pilgrims using mobile assists show their pilgrimage is exactly this as well.⁶ What follows focuses on the walking pilgrimage, especially in light of the growing popularity of motorized tours.

A Day in the Life

In 2013 I led a seminary travel seminar called *The Way of St. James*. Ten days into our pilgrimage from Le Puy en Velay to Conques, France, some group members discovered a booklet for sale showing each stage's elevation gain and loss. One of our members chastised our guide: "You kept saying the day would be *flat* walking! And it wasn't flat!" According to our guide's definition, if we started and ended at relatively the same elevation then it *was* a flat day. We laughed: this, after a week and half (and still more days to go) of climbing in and out of river valleys! Pilgrims check the route in guidebooks, map apps, and with those who have walked it before. Some guidebooks provide information about slope and surfaces for pilgrims using wheelchairs. The nature of the route is the key conversation for pilgrims readying to depart Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, especially for those for whom it is day one. The Napoleonic route climbs 4,000 feet over ten miles before descending 3,000 feet over five miles.

Other aspects of the daily pilgrim's experience are well documented in memoirs.⁷ Depending on where we have bunked, we either make our ablutions and pack up before breakfast, or have the luxury of breakfasting and returning to our bunk or room to pack for departure. We bandage what ails us. Some pilgrims pack their bag and pay to have it picked up and shuttled to their next anticipated stopover. Many carry all of their belongings the whole route. We pack up our sleepwear, sleep sack and bag, toiletries, food, maps, any electronics, raingear if not needed; the morning sound is the rustle of plastic bags as people prepare their packs for the day's walk. We check the route to get out of town. But the next step, inevitably, is walking. Walking rain or shine, happy or desolate, far or near, achy or light-footed. Walk. Walk. Walk. Some of us walk more slowly—aiming for 25 km a day, with 28 km or more as an occasional long day (15–18 miles); others need to keep a pace each day of 30–41 km (18–26 miles). Most pilgrims who walk the Camino Francès aim to complete it in

30–35 days. My spouse and I began further upstream in mid-France on the Le Puy route, so had walked (slowly!) for two months by the time we reached Santiago.

At some point there are adjustments—to our packs, to our water supply, to bandages. At some point, there is café con leche and breakfast if we have not had it at our lodging. At some point, there is lunch whether from a bodega, a bar, or from our packs. We stop at the chapels and churches that mark the route. At some point, there is an afternoon break or the end of the walking. The joke is that Americans are always late (later than 3:00 p.m.!) Europeans and others walk more efficiently, arriving between 11:00 and 3:00 p.m. Pilgrims set down their packs to reserve a spot at the *refugio/albergue*. The anxiety for a bed at the day's end manifests as competition on the route: some pilgrims leave by 4:00 a.m. so they can walk in the cool air and also arrive ahead of the masses in order to have a bed at the end of the day. We show our pilgrim's passport for entrance, leave our hiking poles and boots in the appointed area, and claim a bed. We unroll bedding and hope for a shower with hot water (don't run the water while soaping!). We rinse or wash clothes in the designated area. Perhaps we soak our feet; people trade foot rubs. Nap. Shop for supplies for the next day (will there be potable water and food available?) and perhaps for a communal dinner. Have a beer. Nap or cook or attend Pilgrims' Mass. Dinner. Camaraderie. Sleep. All of it: again. And: again.

This is a sketch of a pilgrim's day. But it is the day-after-day repetition that makes it beautifully complicated.

Stamped

One memorable afternoon on our two-month journey, our two-person walking pace came to match another pilgrim's pace. This happened frequently. Yet this time this pilgrim had only a small daypack and was talking on his mobile phone. Pride our ever companion, we noticed who carried full packs and who did not. And we surely wished for silence rather than over-hearing phone chatter. At a dingy highway town, we pulled over to a bus stop shelter to extract our raingear. Another walker stopped, too. We had seen him earlier that day: he looked blasted. Maybe he was one of those pilgrims trying to push 35 km a day, day after day. The man with the cell phone stood nearby under an awning, chatting away. The other fellow started searching his pockets. Then his rucksack. Pockets again. Now verbal: *Credencial!* He'd lost his pilgrim's credential. We turned toward him, tried our small bits of Spanish, how could we help? He had no idea where he'd last had it. Then: the man on the phone. He declared that his wife was his car backup, she would be there in a moment and they would drive him to retrace his walk until he found the credential. In she pulled and off they went.

I think of that encounter when I look at our photo of graffiti art from the town of Logroño. We don't know the artist's intention, but we know what we see: we see what we feel. We see our experience expressed. The man's torso is riveted with the *sellos*, the stamps (see Figure 2) of the places along the Way. His very bodily self is imprinted with the Way. He's not holding the pilgrim



Figure 2. “Sello Tattoo,” Photo by Luis Colás, 2014, Wall Painting by Carlos Corres and Carlos Lopez Garrido in Logrono, Spain, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/luiscolás/15432643983>.

credential. He himself is marked with the stamps. The pilgrimage is imprinted on self.

Perhaps the pilgrim who’d lost his passport panicked because he intended to apply for the *Compostela* in Santiago. Perhaps he was worried about admission to the night’s *albergue*.

Perhaps he instinctively knew he’d lost tangible documentation of how his Camino was remaking him. What does the walking do to us? I conclude with observations about the properties of walking that contribute to its distinctive quality for pilgrimage.

Inversions

We always studied our maps and read about the coming day’s terrain. We checked the weather and our food bags, and topped up water bottles. We bandaged our feet, took anti-inflammation medicine, chose our clothing layers. But then we stepped into the day, into the unknown. We did all the familiar things and then walked into discovery. Over time, we discovered that we had become more at home in the walking than at any of the stops along the way. In the walking, we discovered that our sensibilities of interiors and exteriors had been inverted. Philosopher Frédéric Gros observes: “When you go ‘outside’ it is always to pass from one ‘inside’ to another: from house to office, from your place to the nearest shops. You go out to do something, somewhere else. Outside is a transition: the thing that separates; almost an obstacle between here and there. But one that has no value of its own.”⁸

Walking the Camino inverts those sensibilities. Now the indoor places are what separate. This inversion doesn’t necessarily happen in a week’s time,

nor does inversion happen as easily with loop walking (returning to the starting point). It comes from walking the permutations of outdoors. There is a mountain range in the distance; one day, we cross it. There is an interminable straight, flat stretch of road—we can see the horizon—but we walk it. Cold rain and sloppy fields, we walk it. The *day after day after day* walking is what inverts because we find out that we want to walk no matter what. “Then that strange morning impression can arise, when you have left the walls of rest behind you, and find yourself with the wind on your face, right in the middle of the world: this is really my home all day long, this is where I am going to dwell by walking.”⁹ The walking becomes the way we live in the whole world.

Historian and Activist Rebecca Solnit reflects on “interiors built up against” the whole world: “Many people nowadays live in a series of interiors—home, car, gym, office, shops—disconnected from each other. On foot, everything stays connected, for while walking one occupies the spaces between those interiors in the same way one occupies those interiors. One lives in the whole world rather than in the interiors built up against it.”¹⁰ She observes that public spaces are being abandoned, “eclipsed by technologies and services that don’t require leaving home.”¹¹ Their absence is even intentionally built into designs: “What was once public space is designed to accommodate the privacy of automobiles, malls replace main streets; streets have no sidewalks; buildings are entered through their garages; city halls have no plazas; and everything has walls, bars, gates.”¹² She says: “It was this fragmentation of lives and landscapes that we were resisting long ago ... when the public disappears, so does the body ... as adequate for getting around.”¹³ For both Solnit and Gros, walking locates us in the whole world, in the exterior, in the public. Rather than move about and live according to parceled interiors, we exist in the whole world; walking makes this true again. On foot, everything stays connected.

Scale

This world on foot, at three miles per hour, is a big world. When we forget that scale we more easily think we are bigger than we are. Walking scales us down. Walking makes us know we cannot reach the Pyrenees the very day we see them on the horizon; that we are not bigger than the gathering clouds and the lightning on the open plains of the Meseta; that we are not immune from the shadeless high heat index circumstances. Being outdoors shrinks our centrality and largeness in the world: “You are nobody to the hills or the thick boughs heavy with greenery. You are no longer a role, or a status, not even an individual, but a body, a body that feels sharp stones on the path, the caress of long grass and the freshness of the wind.”¹⁴ Walking scales us down, teaching that we don’t hold as much control and sway as we usually imagine. Gros observes: “Thus, walking reminds us constantly of our finiteness: bodies heavy with unmannerly needs, nailed to the definitive ground. Walking doesn’t mean raising yourself, it doesn’t mean getting the better of gravity, or letting speed and height delude you of your mortal condition; it means reconciling yourself to it through that

exposure to the mass of the ground, the fragility of the body, the slow, remorseless sinking movement.”¹⁵

We can easily forget the scale of the whole world because we live most of our days according to human scale. We live in spaces built by human hands; we go about our work and our relationships in these defining spaces. There is a sense that we can manipulate all that surrounds us. Every place we look we see that humans build and raze—roads, skyscrapers, technologies. When we step outside, into *world*, we step outside of human scale. We can shrink from it; it is so much bigger than we are.

To walk without even the necessary is to abandon yourself to the elements. When you do that, nothing counts any more, plans, self-assurance, nothing. Nothing but a full and wholesale trust in the worlds’ generosity. Stones, sky, earth, trees, all become subsidiary to us, a gift, inexhaustibly supportive. By abandoning ourselves to it we gain a previously unknown confidence that satisfies the heart, because it makes us totally dependent on an Other, relieving us even of the duty of self-preservation. The element is that to which we entrust ourselves, and which is given to us in its entirety. But to experience its texture we have to take a risk—the risk of going beyond the necessary.¹⁶

It is not a surprising claim. Walking makes us small and dependent. Walking sifts and distills and prioritizes the stuff of life.

Bodily Engagement

The paradox is that this rescaling that makes us small simultaneously prioritizes the body: “Walking shares with making and working that crucial element of engagement of the body and the mind with the world, of knowing the world through the body and the body through the world.”¹⁷ Gros and Solnit prize the engaged body and express great concern for what they call the abstracted body: sedentary individuals working in cubicles bent over keys and screens, continuing the same on a commute, oblivious throughout to the angle of the sun, weather, anything of outdoors. “Those lives, disconnected from roads and routes, make them forget our condition, as if erosion by changing weather over time didn’t exist.”¹⁸

Abstraction is thwarted on this pilgrimage. We are most definitely persons inseparable from dust, rain, routes. Our days are entirely about where we are: we ebb and flow on the day’s *etapa*, sit together at Mass and at meals, pass along bandages, salves, snacks, and encouragement. At the end of the day our muscles and tendons protest, and we shuffle. Our physical efforts are always on display. We are a bedraggled and odiferous bunch.

At the same time, we are aware of other abstractions: potentials for this pilgrimage to be abstracted from its context. Perhaps it is possible for pilgrims to walk unaware of the collective Camino impact on the regions’ ecologies. Or of pilgrim privileges of money, time, gender, and race. Of pilgrimage as consumer activity. Pilgrims can forget our relation to the whole when we focus only on personal transformation.

Solnit is helpful on this point. She critiques postmodern theory when it renders the human body an abstraction. “The very term ‘the body’ so often

used by postmodernists seems to speak of a passive object ... ¹⁹ Again, this abstraction derives from our separation from mobility in world.

Having been liberated from manual labor and located in the sensory deprivation chambers of apartments and offices, this body has nothing left but the erotic as a residue of what it means to be embodied The (passive) body is nothing more than a parcel in transit, a chess piece dropped on another square; it does not move but is moved. In a sense, these are problems arising from the level of abstraction of contemporary theory. Much of the terminology of location and mobility—words like *nomad*, *decentered*, *marginalized*, *deterritorialized*, *border*, *migrant*, and *exile*—are not attached to specific places and people, they represent instead ideas of rootlessness and flux that seem as much the result of ungrounded theory as its putative subject.²⁰

She wishes for the “tangible world of bodies and motion.” Her work goes on to speak of pilgrimage but also of processions, marches, and protests. Solnit will not let walkers forget that their walking act is at the root of all walking, and the walker’s habitation of space and place is inseparable from public spaces. To only walk in the rural is to only be in a part of the whole world. Again, on foot everything stays connected: public, private, rural, urban, interiors, exteriors, selves, others. Walking will not let us be abstract: “Where does it start? Muscles tense. One leg a pillar, holding the body upright between earth and sky.”²¹

Ultreia! (Ever Onward!)

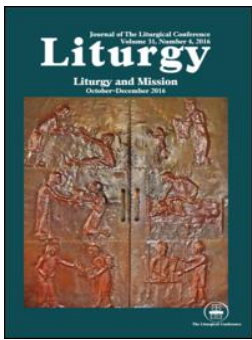
The Santiago pilgrimage has always differed from the other major Christian pilgrimages: a pilgrim goes to Jerusalem or Rome because of the holy sites in those cities. The pilgrimage to Santiago means arriving at the relics, but the pilgrimage has always been about the journey itself.

Whereas medieval pilgrims walked for penitence, for the efficacious prayers of a saint, and for pious devotion, today’s pilgrims travel for those and so many other reasons. Some walk as tourists of landscape, culture, history, architecture or art. Some walk on behalf of someone else or as grief work, some walk as time out from work or to begin retirement. Some walk in the interstices of job or relationship or other life changes. Some want an esoteric initiatory experience. Some want a walking holiday. Some walk without knowing why they walk. Some walk for community and some for solitude. There are many reasons and many ways to do this Camino, of course. But I’ll hope for the inversion of interiors and exteriors, for being scaled down in the world, for the challenge of physical vulnerability as a way to learn solidarity with those who only know their fragility in the world, to know on foot how everything is connected on and off the Camino.

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Notes

1. Emilio Estevez, *The Way*, Filmax Entertainment, film, 2010; ARC Entertainment, DVD, 2012.
2. Laurie Dennet, "The Spirit of the Pilgrim," The Confraternity of Saint James, originally published as "To Be a Pilgrim," *The Bulletin* 59 (May 1997), <http://www.csj.org.uk/the-present-day-pilgrimage/thoughts-and-essays/spirit-of-the-pilgrimage/>.
3. I will not make explicit connections to Christian liturgy in this work; I hope that readers see implicit connections between pilgrimage and the télos of liturgy—a sign of the transformation of all creation by the death and resurrection of Christ.
4. Portions of this essay first appeared in the magazine of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, *Windows* (Summer/Fall, 2016).
5. Dennet, "To Be a Pilgrim" (see n. 2).
6. See Justin Skeesuck and Patrick Gray, official trailer for "I'll Push You: Embracing God's Promise of Provision," YouTube video, 3:25, June-July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7gKD3q0-V0>.
7. See, for instance: Kevin A. Codd, *To The Field of Stars: A Pilgrim's Journey to Santiago de Compostela* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Hape Kerkeling, *I'm Off Then: Losing and Finding Myself on the Camino de Santiago*, trans. Shelley Frisch (New York: Free Press, 2009); Joyce Rupp, *Walk in a Relaxed Manner: Life Lessons from the Camino* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005); Arthur Paul Boers, *The Way Is Made By Walking: A Pilgrimage Along the Camino de Santiago* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007).
8. Frédéric Gros, *A Philosophy of Walking*, trans. John Howe (London: Verso Books, 2014), 31.
9. *Ibid.*, 33.
10. Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 9.
11. *Ibid.*, 11.
12. *Ibid.*, 11.
13. *Ibid.*, 11.
14. Gros, 84.
15. *Ibid.*, 186–87.
16. *Ibid.*, 192.
17. Solnit, 28.
18. Gros, 185.
19. Solnit, 28.
20. *Ibid.*, 28.
21. *Ibid.*, 3.



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