

Name : Éric Laliberté
University : Université Laval, doctorat en théologie
Email: eric.laliberte.3@ulaval.ca



The Way: a “post-religious” pilgrimage?

1. Introduction

This talk wants to highlight a Catholic point of view of the Camino, a view that is not possible anymore. The religiosity of the Camino has changed and has a serious interest: the Catholic Church is not the Camino’s authority anymore.

Everybody knows that when we’re talking about the Camino of Santiago, we’re talking about a “backpacking pilgrimage”. Since the rise of the Camino in the early 80’s, we have been rediscovering an old form of pilgrimage practice from the Middle Ages; a form that has more to do with trekking than with religious devotion. In fact, the religious aspect of the pilgrimage to Compostela has derived from old Catholic devotions. There’s something different, but what?

Forty years ago, it would never have come to our minds that those pilgrims were walkers. People were doing pilgrimages by car or by bus; and the goal was to get to the shrine. The pilgrimage itself was “at” and “in” the shrine. Road was not part of it. It’s only in the last decades that road has been emerging with strength from the process. People are walking and it is part of the process. What happened and from where did it come?

We all know the stats kept by the Oficina del peregrino in Santiago never stopped to increase in the last years. From less than 500 backpackers-pilgrims per year in the early 80’s to almost

300,000 in 2016¹, we can say that “something” is going on the Camino. Is it only a popular destination? A mere fashion? After four decades of constant growth, we can expect more!

Recent researchers are showing more and more interest in pilgrim’s motivations [Antunes (2017), Munro (2017); Blackwell (2014); Lachance (2013); Zapponi (2011); Boutin (2008)]. And the experience is so strong that people are creating or reopening old pilgrimage paths all around the world: for example, the Trobreiz² in North-West France and the British Pilgrims Trust³ which encourages pilgrims to walk a flourishing number of paths, called “pilgrimages” in all of the United Kingdom. In the USA, the same phenomenon is happening. You know it better than me. In Canada, in the province of Quebec alone, we have now more than 20 paths⁴ that are inspired by the experience of the Camino. There is really something going on... but is it related to the religious experience? Researchers are divided on that question.

Not surprisingly, the religious tourism industry is very interested to know the real motivations of pilgrims. But we can’t find real investigations from the religious or spiritual side. A recent study in Marketing Research, from Portugal, was arguing that it’s not clear:

There are limited studies addressing motivations for pilgrimage (Blackwell, 2014). [...] For instance, Fernandes, Pimenta, Gonçalves, and Rachão (2012) and Lopez (2013) found that the most important reasons for walking the way were religious motives. However, more recent studies have evidenced that clarification, spiritual growth, sensations seeking

¹ Source : *Oficina de acogida al Peregrino*, Cathedral of Santiago, <https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics/> [Visited, August 31st, 2017]

² The Trobreiz pilgrimage has made is come back around 2000 with a group of volunteers: <http://www.trobreiz.com/> (Visited September 6th, 2017)

³ Inspired by the Camino, The British Pilgrimage Trust was formed in 2014: <http://britishpilgrimage.org/> (Visited September 6th, 2017)

⁴ O'Neill, Michel. 2017. *Entre Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré. La marche pèlerine québécoise depuis les années 1990*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

and seeking life directions were motivations more important than religious ones (Oviedo et al., 2014; Schnell & Pali, 2013)⁵.

So they conducted their own survey and are now able to confirm that pilgrims “are mostly motivated by spiritual aspects”⁶. But, again, what do “spiritual aspects” mean exactly? Does it mean that spiritual is not religious? Is religious the same as religion?

2. Spiritual or religious experience?

The 2016 stats of the *Oficina del peregrino* state that almost 92% of the pilgrims are walking for religious purposes or religious and cultural purposes. This means that only 8% of the pilgrims are walking the Camino completely outside any religious purposes. Their survey does not bring up anything about spirituality.

From here, if we want, we could take a short cut and say that after all the experience is religious. But, it would be too easy. Those religious purposes are not clear. The *Oficina del peregrino* is not saying anything about them. They do not specify what is considered being religious by the pilgrim or what kind of practice is considered religious. Some researchers prefer the word “spiritual” in reference to pilgrimage motivations; others prefer to use the fashionable expression “spiritual journey”.

There seems to be a problem with the use of the terms: “religious” or “spiritual”. Spirituality is part of religious experience, and the word religious doesn’t automatically refer to a specific religion. The content of what is religious, as Olivier Roy (2014) describes it, refers to all possibilities. It can be said: Franciscan spirituality, Ignatian spirituality, Buddhist spirituality, Hindu spirituality, Aboriginal spirituality, etc. All spiritualities are part of a religious tradition,

⁵ Angela Antunes, Suzanne Amaro and Carla Henriques. 2017. *Motivations for Pilgrimage: Why pilgrims travel El Camino de Santiago*. International Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Conference, Italy. [<http://arrow.dit.ie/irtp/2017/visitor/1/>] (Visited August 31st, 2017)

⁶ Idem

and sometimes, today, they are referring to more than one tradition. Michel de Certeau would describe it as a practice: “a way to talk about it”. So the question seems to be somewhere else. The problem is not really around the terms “religious” or “spirituality”. Maybe it has more to do with religion...

3. The Camino: a path in transition.

Originally, the Camino is a catholic pilgrimage. Since the beginning, in the 9th century, it has always been under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. The Camino is part of a specific “religion”. And this is where the shift appears with the revival of the Way. Since the 80’s, less are walking the Camino as Catholics. They are more and more progressively doing it outside of the Catholic tradition. When I was on the Camino for the third time in 2013, I walked with people who are traditionally Catholics, but I also walked with Jews, with Baptists, with Anglicans, Unitarians, etc. More recently some pilgrims told me they have even walked with Muslims. People are now coming from around the world, offering a broader perspective to the “religious” or “spiritual” experience of the pilgrimage.

One of the most exhaustive investigations about the Camino, made by the Italian ethnologist, Elena Zapponi (2006), shows that the Camino never have been controlled only by the Catholic Church :

From the beginning, El Camino has attracted heterogeneous crowds of people with different beliefs: from militant Christianity [...] to wandering souls in search of answers to cosmic mysteries. This convergence [...] makes the Way of Compostela a place crossed by plural tensions, which articulate and cohabit under the Christian-Catholic label of the pilgrimage⁷.

⁷ « Depuis l’origine, El Camino a attiré des foules hétérogènes de gens manifestant des croyances différentes : du christianisme militant [...] aux âmes errantes en quête de réponses aux mystères cosmiques. Cette convergence [...] fait du chemin de Compostelle un lieu traversé de tensions plurielles, qui s’articulent et cohabitent sous le label

Before her, Bartolomé Bennassar, a French historian and specialist of Spanish history, was observing that the Camino had “a predisposition to esoteric interpretations”⁸. In the last decade, the most popular pilgrim stories and novels show a great diversity of experiences on the Camino; experiences that are not specifically catholic: Coelho (1987), Brazil; MacLaine (2000), USA; Kerkeling (2008), Germany; Rufin (2013), France; Lewis-Krauss (2015), an American Jew; etc. There are so many of them! They are coming from all religious horizons. The Way is not the privilege of a specific religion any longer. But how did this transition happen?

4. The emergence of the backpacker-pilgrim

Today, as the Camino is evolving beyond the frame of the Catholic Church, how can we explain this phenomenon of the backpacker-pilgrim?

Zapponi’s (2011) research tells us that pilgrims on the road are absorbed by questions at a “crossroad point”⁹ of their life, a point affirmed by many researchers. Jocelyn Lachance (2013), socio-anthropologist from the University of Pau, in France, observes the same phenomenon, saying that backpacker-pilgrims are using the experience to find the purpose of their life¹⁰. In the province of Quebec, the anthropologist Suzanne Boutin (2008) argues that the pilgrimage is a kind of therapy which gives a place for a wide range of beliefs.

If we take a look to the stats of the last forty years, we’ll see a significant growth appearing around the 90’s. There’s something pushing up as Santiago grows in worldwide interest.

chrétien-catholique du pèlerinage. » Elena Zapponi. (2011). *Marcher vers Compostelle : ethnographie d'une pratique pèlerine*. Paris, l'Harmattan. p. 21.

⁸ Denise Péricard-Méa. 2006. *Dictionnaire de saint Jacques et Compostelle*. Paris, Éditions Jean-Paul Gisserot. p.61.

⁹ Elena Zapponi. (2011). *Marcher vers Compostelle...* p. 26

¹⁰ Entretien avec Jocelyn Lachance, socio-anthropologue de l’Université de Pau : Émilie Brouze. *Le backpacker cherche moins à changer le monde qu’à transformer le sien*. [<http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/rue89/nos-vies-intimes/20170731.OBS2774/le-backpacker-cherche-moins-a-changer-le-monde-qu-a-transformer-le-sien.html>] (Visited August 31st, 2017).

Specifically, the year 1993 marked the transition in the increasing number of pilgrims. What was happening at that time?

Three major events can explain this growth: 1) the World Youth Day of 1989 when the passage of Pope John Paul II put the spotlight on the Camino. For this gathering, 100,000 persons joined him, including 5,000 backpackers-pilgrims. 2) In 1993, the Camino Frances and the Camino Del Norte, Spanish paths of the Way, were recognized as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO¹¹. The same year, 97,000 backpackers-pilgrims arrived in Santiago. 3) In the background of these events, something else contributed to the rise of the Camino: an esoteric literacy current sustained by a Middle Age fashion. These three combined elements ensured that Compostela was brought to new prominence. The first one puts Compostela on the international stage. The last two contributed in a very special way to the liberation of the pilgrimage from institutionalized religion.

In order to properly situate this period in time, we will frame the first expansive phase appearing in the statistics between two important works of the “esoteric” or “New Age” world. Those publications contribute to the wave of interest for the Camino. It started with Paolo Coelho’s book entitled: *The Pilgrim*- in 1987; and it will end with Shirley MacLaine biographical story: *The Camino: A Pilgrimage of Courage* - 2001 (Zapponi 2011, p.180). Paolo Coelho¹² is currently one of the most popular esoteric authors. His books total over 300 million sales. At the other end, the renowned actress Shirley MacLaine¹³ is a great figure of the “New Age” movement. From 1970 to 2013, she published 13 books identified as « New Age » literacy.

¹¹ Information found on UNESCO’s website : <http://whc.unesco.org/fr/list/669/> [Visited September 8th, 2017]

¹² Paolo Coelho’s official website : <https://www.paulo-coelho.fr/> [Visited September 8th, 2017]

¹³ Shirley MacLaine’s official website : <http://www.shirleymaclaine.com> [Visited September 8th, 2017]

Esoteric, Middle Ages and alchemy have a lot in common, and this period of time, the 90's, is particularly marked by this fashion. Everything converges in this direction: stories of magic, secret societies and interest for medieval times make headlines. In this pivotal period of the millennium, medieval weddings and medieval reconstructions are fashionable. Films and novels celebrate the epic novels. On the international stage, the eight novels of the Avalon Cycle appeared between 1986 and 2005; the Harry Potter phenomenon has broken records since 1997; the series *The Lord of the Rings* began in 2001. Dan Brown's novels are worthy witnesses: *Angels and Demons*, 2000; *The Da Vinci Code*, 2003. These novels have also given rise to cinematographic productions that had great box office successes. Finally, we should not forget the most famous of the novels of Coelho "The Alchemist" which appeared in 1988 and which, from 1988 to 2014 sold more than 150 million copies. The collective imagination of these years is overwhelmed with images of magic and medieval references. The rediscovery of Compostela took place in the mist of this time frame.

In this context, the name Compostela is increasingly circulating. With its entrance on the UNESCO World Heritage site, Compostela highlights its past and its mysteries. The legends of the road do revive; the stories of Templars are honored, as are the fantastic creatures of the Middle Ages (In Saugues – France, for example, the Beast of Gevaudan is in evidence). Throughout its length, Compostela is a relic of medieval times. It's full of legends, symbols and alchemical secrets...

5. Metamorphosis of a pilgrimage

Such an influence couldn't leave the way of Compostela without a trace. It will shake up the religious heritage of the Camino and shift its perspective. Through it, the notion of pilgrimage will undergo a metamorphosis.

Before the 1980s, the paths leading to the Cathedral of Santiago were under the Catholic Church control. It was embedded in the Catholic tradition and it was taken as granted. It would not have occurred to anyone to contradict such an assertion. However, historians who are specialists of the Camino mention that since the 16th century, Compostela has always been used as a stage for narratives with esoteric content. Bartolomé Bennassar, a Spanish historian, even says that the paths of Compostela were predisposed to this supernatural: "Galicia, in fact, remains attentive to magic, to all the processes of witchcraft. (Bennassar, 1970, p.234). In the same order, Denise Pericard-Méa, medievalist, recalls the following:

[...] an analogy is established between Saint James and the name of one of the legendary founders of the *Compagnons du Devoir*, *Maître Jacques* (in english James). It is on the basis of these similarities between two practices and two names that the enthusiasts for mysteries and initiatic secrets have been elaborated. They lead to three erroneous statements: the Pilgrimage to St-James cathedral was related to the *Compagnons du Tour de France*; they went to the tomb of St. James, who is none other than *Maître Jacques*, on a pilgrimage of an esoteric character. [...] The path of "Knowledge" tirelessly sought by alchemists, companions and freemasons could only coincide with that one leading to this mysterious Galicia, re-established in 1882 by the edition of the last Book of the Codex Calixtinus, which became the Pilgrim's Guide. (Pericard-Méa, 2006, p.45 and p.61)

This edition of the Codex will give the kick-off. From there, the esoteric works in reference to the Camino multiplied. The most famous of them began with the writings of Fulcanelli (great name of the Alchemy of the 1930s). Then there are those of Raoul Vergez (late 1950s). Pericard-Méa sees in the works of Fulcanelli and Vergez a very special contribution to the slow removal of a catholic hold. She will write about Vergez:

His book, *The Pendulum at Solomon*, published in 1957, with a true talent of writer, often brings multiple legends amalgamated to real facts. Thus the path of Saint James became companion and initiatory for a whole readership whose Catholicism had become unfit to fill the growing appetite for "mysteries". (Pericard-Méa, 2006, p.176)

In 1971, Louis Charpentier's book comes to increase with: *Les Jacques et le mystère de Compostelle* (The James and the mystery of Compostela). This book refers to this great master of alchemy: *Maître Jacques*, who fuels the controversy with St-James. Then, there was Henri Vincenot, *Les étoiles de Compostelle* (The stars of Compostela, 1982). Denise Pericard-Méa writes about him:

As Charpentier he presents the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as an awkward attempt by the Church to christianize a trip reserved for the initiated. Vincenot cultivates esotericism and winks to these initiates: at Compostelle is buried Maître Jacques, the Celtic constructor of the temple of Solomon. What was only a novel continues to seduce and often passes for true history, so much what is written seems truthful to the confident reader. (Pericard-Méa, 2006, p.178)

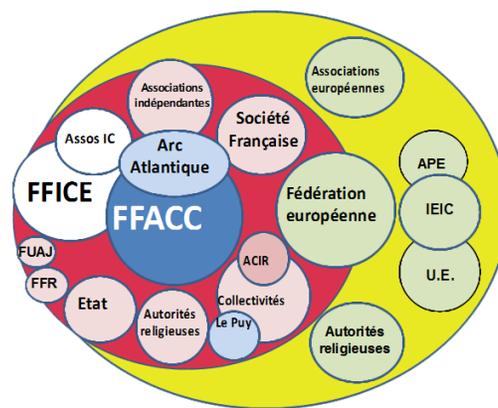
This brief review of the esoteric literature of the 20th century brings to our attention the move of the Camino outside Catholicism. It is in this same thought of esoteric beliefs, not always well founded, that Paulo Coelho comes with his book: *The Pilgrim*. It is interesting to note that on the Camino Frances, particularly at St-Jean-Pied-de-Port, Coelho is contested and many citizens refuse him the name of "pilgrim" arguing: "He didn't walk, he did it by cab!"

Following this novel, others will follow until today and continue to maintain the esoteric legends of the Way. Here are some titles published during our target period: Jean-Pierre Morin et Jaime Cobreros, *Le chemin initiatique de Saint-Jacques* (1990). Michel Armengaud, *Le pèlerinage à Compostelle : Une quête spirituelle* (2002). Matilde Asensi, *Iacobus* (2003). More recently: Henri Loevenbruck, *L'apothicaire* (2011). And if it's not to maintain these legends on Compostela, it is to look for them that some pilgrims will launch on the Camino: Denis Leblanc, *Journal of a modern pilgrim (Journal d'un pèlerin modern, 1996)*.

With this fashion in the background and all the touristic work done to form the Way of Compostela as a UNESCO world heritage site, it is not the Catholic face that is highlighted, but

the one of a medieval religious way, with a mysterious and esoteric history. Thus, the pilgrimage takes the flavor of an initiation quest. There appear pilgrimage stories that will highlight the "magic of the path" or the "miracles of the paths", "the existential quest". All these narratives have very few specific Catholic references. These narratives may contain credible references, denoting a certain faith, but rarely in a specific way to Catholicism. There is an obvious religiosity or spirituality issue, but belonging is not always clear.

With all these elements, and the increased interest in hiking, Compostela made its entry on the international scene. Indeed, the French Federation of the Associations of the Roads to Santiago de Compostela¹⁴, who also brought together the Associations Jacquaires, took the lead to preserve the Compostela Paths. Through their own



mission, we can feel the humanist approach of the association: “The French Federation of the Roads to Santiago de Compostela (FFACC) is a secular association of general interest, neutral, independent and non-profit, federating some forty other associations related to the Way, sharing the same universal values outside of any political, religious or other consideration.” There’s no Catholic affiliation and, as we can see on their partnership organigram¹⁵, religious authorities are not specified and they are members like other organisations. This is definitively imposing a new point of view to the Catholic Church.

Finally, to mark this entry into the new millennium, the GR65 - which marks the road to Compostella in France – was recognized as UNESCO's heritage site in 1998, five years after the Spanish roads were recognized. With this recognition, *l'année Jacquaire* 1999 saw the second

¹⁴ FFACC goals : <http://www.compostelle-france.fr/types.php?p=m1i2> [Visited September 8th, 2017]

¹⁵ Organigram : <http://www.compostelle-france.fr/ffacc-univers.html> [Visited September 8th, 2017]

significant surge of statistics which propelled Compostela into the 21st century with 152,000 pilgrims.

From then on, crowds of pilgrims began to walk the path and we can already feel that the Way is no longer the same. With this cultural religiosity without confessional reference and this attraction for the magic, the fantastic and the miraculous, accommodations and pilgrim services flourish from everywhere; as a result, Compostela stands further and further away from the Catholic institution. From then on, the Camino takes a new turn. It is not the devout approach that predominates on the roads, but a religiosity that seems to emanate from the path itself (Miaux, 2008, Zapponi, 2011).

At the beginning of the 2000s, inside this movement of spiritual renewal, everyone started on the Compostelle Roads and each country has its star: Quebec has Marcel Leboeuf (2001, 2003, 2005), France has Patrick Poivre d 'Arvor (2003), Germany has Hans-Peter Kerkeling (2001). There are also movies that contribute to nourish the cultural regain, but by this time the image of the pilgrimage has changed. It is no longer the path of the Catholic Church, no more than it is the path of Paolo Coelho's novel or Shirley MacLaine's narrative. The image projected is one of a profound realism: *St-Jacques La Mecque* (Coline Serreau, 2005) or *The Way* (Emilio Estevez, 2010) are good examples. During the same period, several documentaries also emerged. People testify of their experience and of their life in a psychological and realistic way. The fantastic no longer has its place, but one can feel the deepness of the experience. Among these documentaries, *Walking the Camino: Six ways to Santiago*, by Lydia B. Smith (2013) and the last one, in Quebec, from the documentarist Richard Gravel: *4.1 km per hour on the Compostela roads* (2016), a documentary which also reflects well the gap with religion.

Since 2005, that esoteric wave began to run out and slowly shades. Although it is still vaguely present, it is no longer the culture that predominates as in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The most recent pilgrim stories (2010 and up) have no esoteric flavor, or very few, and fewer yet are those who lend it specific catholic intentions.

Retrospectively, it can be said that this effervescent transition made possible a renewal of the pilgrim experience. In the last four decades, the road has recovered its international reputation and distanced itself from the Catholic tradition without excluding it. Meaning, despite this distance, that the spiritual dimension is always present on the path. It is even sought: "The path of Compostela appears as a powerful social analyzer of the demand for enchantment of the world and imaginary strategies of otherness" (Zapponi, 2011, p.25). It should be noted, however, that the Zapponi survey took place around the year 2000 and already reflects another era. For her, the experience in Compostela is divided into two groups: practicing Catholics and others (Zapponi 2011, p.204). Today, the distinction between those groups is not so clear, and it would be interesting to have researchers exploring the interreligious aspects of the Camino.

Today, although the Catholic Church is always present on the way, many other beliefs can be found (Zapponi, 2011), spiritual practices and religions. The presence of esoteric currents made possible the transmutation of the pilgrimage. This, in turn, allowed the sense of authority as Michel de Certeau understands it: "The Authority authorizes [...]. It makes possible what was not possible"¹⁶. It enabled us to open the pilgrim experience to a wider religious world, to live the pilgrimage by placing it in another context. This unclosing contributes to the transformation of the beliefs of many pilgrims, since it is believable by a very large majority of pilgrims.

¹⁶ Michel de Certeau (1987). *La faiblesse de croire*. Paris, Seuil. p.119

Thus, the pilgrimage freed itself from the institutionalized religion. But it does not exclude it! Au contraire! Pilgrimage now grows in a complete autonomy in the vast world of the religious, developing itself as a particular spiritual exercise. Through this pilgrim movement, the religious is transformed, broken up. Is it becoming "post-religious"?

6. Why post-religious?

Why Post-Religious? I propose this expression to tease and to elicit reactions. I do not think that it is the right word. It is more a symptom of our time. We put "post" everywhere, as if everything was going too fast and was already outdated. For me, the use of the prefix post says more about our inability to name otherwise this butterfly which is not a post-caterpillar. I simply do not have a word to say the religious experience as it appears today through the experience of the Camino. But I do have one good question: what kind of religiosity is it? Like the caterpillar that becomes a butterfly: it is the same organism but in a new face, with new possibilities. People who are coming back from pilgrimage are blossoming. They found something on the Camino they're not finding in our occidental society or in our churches, specifically in Quebec; something that released them.

The Camino has evolved. Allegiance to an institution or a particular tradition is no longer a rule. No need to work on the conversion of the other. The religiosity of the Camino pursues its way by itself. Everybody is free to believe what they want to believe and this through mutual respect. Like Olivier Roy describes it, religiosity is the power to choose; a power who builds new religiosities, new practices, new ways of doing, and new ways of reflecting on social, political, cosmological and environmental levels.

Referring to Danièle Hervieu-Léger, the religious experience of the Camino is working because of its pedagogy of the universal starting from individuation. We are more and more inclined to

recognize all these individuals who reveal a little more of this universal religiosity (de Certeau, 1987, p.257). On the Camino, pilgrims are finding a spiritual food without any pressure of a normative faith.

The pilgrim population has left the framework of religion to enter a wider religious space. Pilgrimages to Compostela have become the space of all possibilities, a place of encounters, exchanges and dialogues. This opening of the religiosity seems to give its authority to experience. It authorizes what goes beyond the simple phenomenon of fashion: pilgrimages are "authority" in matters of religious freedom: what authority authorizes, it permits. (De Certeau) This is what the pilgrimage paths do. They open a space where religion appears as a dead-end for many. Pilgrims are seeking the experience of a spiritual autonomy (Hervieu-Léger, 2003).

7. Conclusion

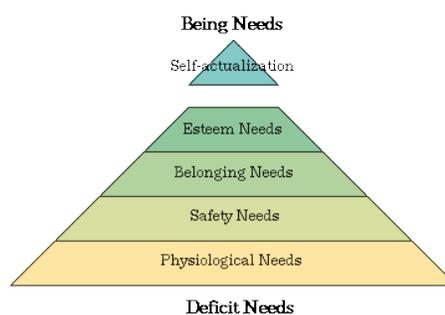
In conclusion, we have made the point that pilgrimage is no longer exclusively tied to religion. It has freed itself from religion without excluding it. From there, we must remember that we are still talking about pilgrimage, and if there was no mention of this "something" that goes beyond hiking, we would have stopped talking about pilgrimage and we would have started promoting long hikes. The religious or spiritual experience of pilgrimage is a fact.

Pilgrimage questions our ways of doing, of living; and this is all about the religious experience. From a Catholic point of view, it makes a big difference; particularly in Quebec where many pilgrims try to avoid the religious aspects of pilgrimage. They're probably fighting with their own Catholic history. But we can't avoid these religious aspects, it would empty the exercise from its flavor – there's always "something" happening on the Way.

Starting from this "something", pilgrimage will benefit those who observe it as a practice that has a goal. Practices are ways of doing, being and living, that reveal a language of experience. By approaching the pilgrimage from this point of view, we will learn more about this "something" that inhabits the pilgrimage experience and that is undertaken by a process.

The pilgrimage process is not only something happening between the pilgrim and the Camino. It involves three poles: the pilgrim, the way and the shrine. Eluding the shrine is a mistake many are doing. Pilgrimage has always an orientation. Even when we're going for a little walk, we give us a destination: the park, the coffee shop, whatever... It is the same for pilgrimage. The pilgrims are going somewhere. There's no pilgrimage without a goal and the pilgrim has to work on it to build significant paths.

Actually, we are working on a project called: *Boots'n Bike – Pilgrim all the way!* and our approach of pilgrimage is relevant of that ternary concept: while you are walking, you are building the shrine of your life. From there, we are reflecting and developing the idea of pilgrimage as a spiritual "walkshop". To go further, under the lenses of Maslow's pyramid, the pilgrim is finding a place outside the occidental culture based on the entertainment of our deficit needs. On the Camino he can experiment differently those needs and learn to manage them. Zapponi call it the tabula rasa experience. From there, along the way, he can start opening the space of an inner shrine: the shrine of his self-actualization, which involves new religious aspects that will have to be defined.



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