

Sacred Mountains:
Spirituality & Heritage Conservation
A Comparative Study of Croagh Patrick in Ireland
and Montsacro in Spain

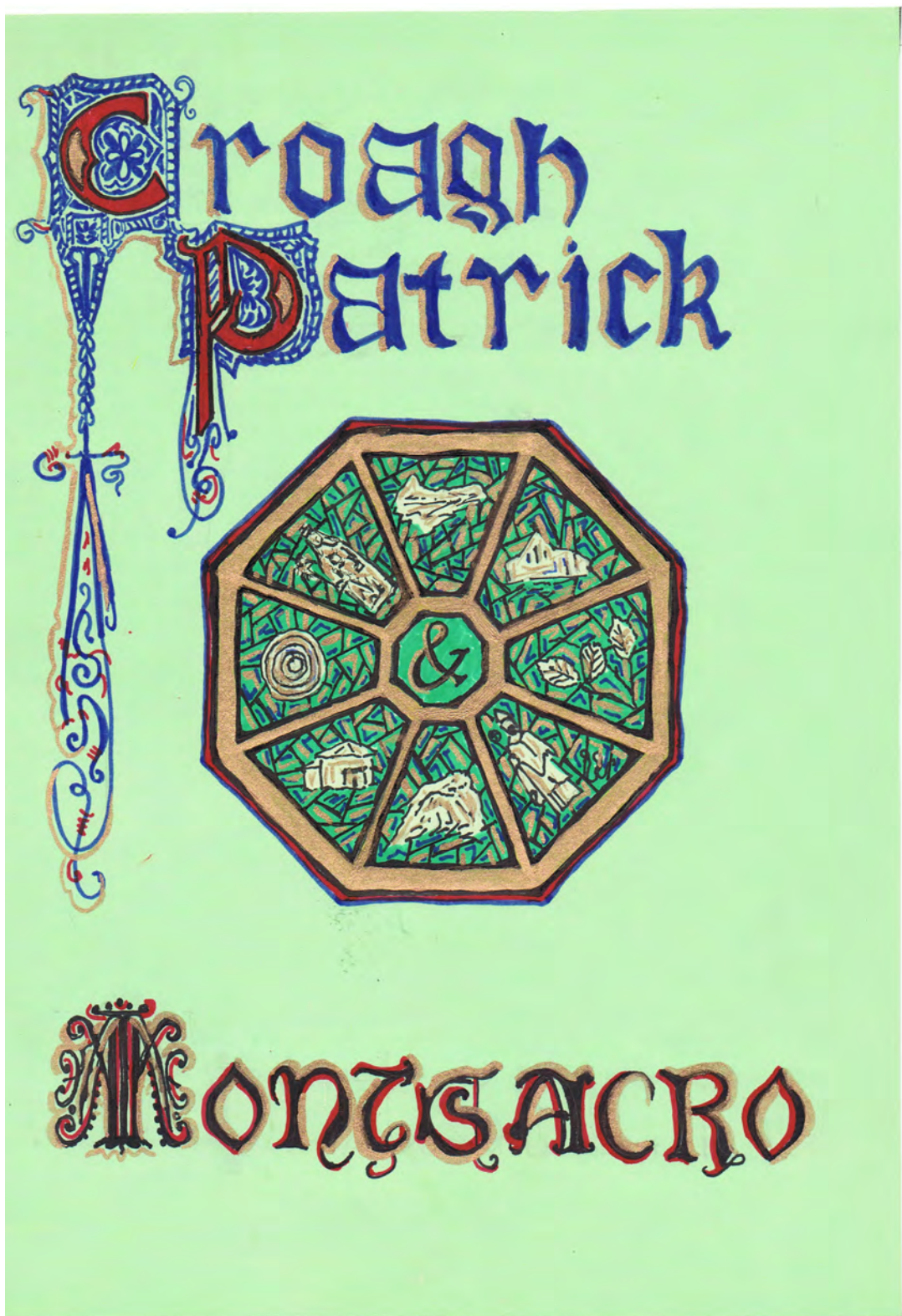
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THESIS

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Abstract

This thesis presents a comparative study of two sacred mountains, Croagh Patrick in Ireland and Montsacro in Spain in order to explore the synergies that take place between their cultural, spiritual and natural values so as to investigate in what ways these synergies and more specifically the spiritual and intangible values, affect the conservation of these sites.

The first chapter presents an introduction to sacred natural sites and their history in conservation. The second chapter introduces both sites, including description, location and history. It also explains the research methodology that will be used. The third chapter presents both sites' natural, cultural and spiritual values including conservation impacts and state. The fourth chapter begins introducing the socio-economic values in both sites and focuses afterwards in their protection and management. The fifth chapter presents the discussion and conclusions of the research analysis results. It also includes a S.W.O.T. analysis and a presentation of the synergies that take place in these sites and how they affect conservation.

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Glossary

Cultural Landscapes: Distinct geographical areas or properties uniquely (...) representing the combined work of nature and of man. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 83).

Custodians: a person who has responsibility for taking care of or protecting something (Oxford, 2011)

Customary laws: Traditional common rule or practice that has become an intrinsic part of the accepted and expected conduct in a community, profession, or trade and is treated as a legal requirement (Webfinance, Inc, 2011)

Governance: system of formal and informal regulations (norms, procedures and habits...). The action or manner of governing a state, organization, etc. (Oxford, 2011)

Folk religions: Used to indicate ethnic, local or regional religious customs under the umbrella of one or more organised religions (McNeely, et al 2010b, p. xxv).

Holistic: Concept characterized by the belief that the parts of something are intimately interconnected and explicable only by reference to the whole (Oxford, 2011)

Intangible Heritage: practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artifacts, cultural spaces), that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003)

Landscape: It is fruit of human's action on the environment over the years and on the present time (COE, 2000)

Living Religious Heritage: It is the tangible and intangible embodiment of the many and diverse faiths which has sustained human life through time. It is expressed in cultural material: the tangible structures, objects and works of art created to support forms of worship within particular faiths and in associated intangible rituals. (Stovel et al., 2003, p. 9).

Mainstream religions: Institutionalised religions practiced by large sectors of humankind, such as Buddhism, Christianity or Islam (McNeely, et al 2010b, p. xxv).

Organically preserved landscape: Landscapes where the people and the landscape are recognized as inseparable and preserve by way of traditional routine and ritualistic use. (Quesada-Embid, 2008, p. 15).

Penal Laws: series of laws imposed in an attempt to force Irish Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters to accept the reformed Christian Anglican faith (Fry & Somerset 1991, p. 170).

Protected Area: A clearly defined geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term

conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values (UNESCO, 2011)

Sacred natural sites: areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to peoples and communities (McLeod & Wild, 2008, p.xi; McNeely, et al., 2010 p.2).

Sacred Landscape A landscape, occasionally over or under water, which is especially revered by a people, culture or cultural group as a focus for spiritual belief and practice and likely religious observance. (McLeod, 2011). Sacred natural sites are frequently networked across a physical and a mental landscape, which are linked by creation (McNeely, et al., 2010b, p. xxvi)

Stakeholders: a person with an interest or concern in something (Oxford, 2011).

Traditionally peopled landscape: Landscapes where the humans and the nonhuman element are so interdependent and interconnected that the human presence cannot be easily distinguished from the natural presence (Quesada-Embid, 2008, p. 12).

Synergies: the interaction or cooperation of two or more organizations, substances, or other agents to produce a combined effect greater than the sum of their separate effects (Oxford, 2011).

Spirituality: in this study, refers not only to the different belief systems, indigenous, folk and mainstream religions but also to the experience of transcendence that many people in modern societies enjoy in nature and at these sites in particular without been ascribed to any specific religion (McNeely, et al 2010).

Eco-Spirituality: is a spiritual view of, and context for human relationships with the Universe and the Earth. It has the potential to transcend boundaries between

spiritual traditions and also between science and spirituality (McNeely, et al 2010b, p. xxv).

Acronyms

BIC: Bien de Interés Cultural (Real State of Cultural Interest)

cSAC: Special Areas of Conservation Candidate

CSVPA: Specialist Group on Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas

DAHG: Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltagh (Ireland)

FAPAS: Fondo para la protección de los animales salvajes (Wildlife Protection Fund).

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage

IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature

IPAA: Inventario del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de Asturias (Asturian Architectural Heritage Inventory).

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations

NHA: Natural Heritage Area

NPWS: Natural Parks and Wildlife Service (Ireland)

PAs: Protected Areas

PORNA: Plan de Ordenación de los Recursos Naturales de Asturias (Asturian Natural Resources Planning)

pNHA: Proposed Natural Heritage Area

RMP Record of Monuments and Places

RPS Record of Protected Structures

SAC: Special Areas of Conservation.

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WCPA: World Commission on Protected Areas

1. Introduction

1.1. Sacred Natural Sites

Since the dawn of mankind, well before temples or churches were built, people around the world have revered certain natural sites as sacred places of power and continue to do so. All belief systems around the world, including the mainstream religions, worship sacred natural areas and perceive nature as having a spiritual dimension. These sacred natural sites are defined as: *'areas of land or water having special spiritual significance to peoples and communities'* (McLeod & Wild, 2008, p.xi; McNeely, et al., 2010 p.2).

Sacredness can be applied to a range of natural sites and elements from single trees and certain species of animals to lakes, mountains, caves, springs, or even to entire landscapes or mountain ranges. Fig. 1.1.1. presents different elements of the sacred in nature, from single species to the wider concept of sacred nature. Aspects such as shape, physical attributes or properties can become reasons for sacredness. This is the case of Montsacro's sacred thistle, related originally to sun worship because of its resemblance in appearance to the symbol of the sun. Besides, the beauty of a dramatic landscape can also transmit a sense of awe, power and spirituality and become a source of well-being and a means for transcendence.

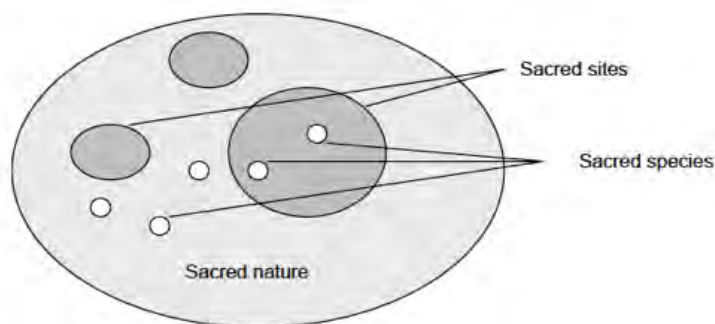


Fig. 1.1.1. Visual representation of the sacred in nature

Nature itself can be sacred by numinosity (being the dwelling place of gods, spirits or ancestors), such as the sacred mountains in Japan that are believed to be an actual embodiment of Shinto spirits or gods. This is a common phenomenon in indigenous and folk religions around the world, which create very strong links between local communities and their natural environment. Natural sites may also be consecrated through associations with spiritual leaders, gods, and ancestors or even through built religious structures such as monasteries, which is a very common phenomenon in mainstream religions. These sites can also be recognised at an individual, local, national and/or international level.

Natural sites are generally rich in nature and culture. They are primarily natural areas often with high levels of biodiversity, which often include human-built areas such as temples or archaeological remains, as well as a wealth of associated intangible values. They can be sources of healing, advice and wisdom, such as Jaagbo sacred grove in Ghana and the focus of pilgrimage, meditation, and contemplation such as Mount Fuji in Japan. Some of them are relics of long gone beliefs, such as Stonehenge in England, while many others are still revered as sacred today.

Some abandoned sites have been re-sanctified with other spiritualities. This is illustrated with the Tikal Mayan archaeological ceremonial centre in Guatemala, abandoned eight hundred years ago and reinstated by locals recently. Buddhist monks currently inhabit the Holy Arran Island in Scotland, which was an earlier Celtic spiritual site and a later abandoned Christian site (Soria, 2007). Archaeological sites in dramatic natural sceneries are recently the focus of reverence made by seekers of new kinds of spirituality, as is the case with the New Age movement in Machu Pichu (Verschuuren, 2010 and Griffin, 2007).

The phenomenon of hinduisation of some parts of the National Park of Snowdonia in Wales illustrates the creation of new sacred sites due to current global migration movements around the world. Besides, many sites are shared by several faiths in a respectful manner and act as a peace oasis in the middle of troublesome lands. Others are important tourist destinations and a source of economic activity and natural resources. Montserrat Mountain in Spain, is a major tourist attraction and receives large quantities of visitors and pilgrims all year round, while other sacred natural sites remain ignored or secretly kept by their custodians (Verschuuren, 2010).

1.2. Sacred Mountains

Mountains, in particular, have a remarkable power to evoke spirituality and many of them have been and are still the focus of worship, pilgrimage and ritual all around the world. In the words of Lama Anagarika Govinda, a Western practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism: *‘The power of such a mountain is so great and yet so subtle, that people are drawn to it from near and far, as by the force of some invisible magnet; and they will undergo untold hardships and privations in their inexplicable urge to approach and to worship the centre of this sacred power’* (Bernbaum, E. 1997, p.xiii).

Their morphology plays a key role: their elevation and shape places them as the most dramatic features of the landscape and gives them a sense of remoteness and awe. The colour of the rock can also have a role to play. This is the case of Croagh Patrick and the quartzite stones that crown its summit, which in Irish Gaelic (*Grianchloch*) translate as ‘stone of the sun’. They are generally seen as the links between heaven and earth: the closest features to the gods’ dwellings and to some of the most powerful forces of nature. Besides, mountains are the sources of springs and rivers, and consequently of life, and can also be sources of powerful earth energy created by underground waters, or volcanoes, as well as sources of healing powers.

They may be associated to gods such as Olympus in Greece, or they might be places of revelation like Moses' Mount Sinai. Other examples are Zion in the Middle East, Kailas in Tibet, T'ai Shan in China, Fuji in Japan, and the San Francisco Peaks in Arizona (Bernbaum, 1997). Mountain pilgrimages are a worldwide phenomenon and the tradition is deeply rooted in history. Churches and megalithic tombs were built on hilltops in many parts of Europe. There are also accounts of numerous encounters with Otherworld beings on mountains and hills in Early Irish literature (Low, 1996). Additionally, some religious architecture evokes mountains such as the 'stupa', Buddhist temple that symbolizes a cosmic mountain, which shelters the remains of Buddha.

1.3. Living Religious Heritage & Organic Sacred Landscapes

Sacred Natural Sites that are still sacred can also be considered Living Religious Heritage, which differentiates itself from other kinds of heritage in its sacredness and inherent 'livingness' and continued used. 'Livingness' involves continued change, evolution and movement (Stovel et al., 2003). This is the case in Montsacro and Croagh Patrick, where in addition to their current sacredness, which involves ongoing pilgrimages and worship activities, there is also presence of residents nearby and activities like farming within the site. Consequently, these sites should be approached as whole landscapes, as 'traditionally peopled' sacred landscapes where humans have dwelled, worshipped and moved across continuously for millennia. This kind of landscapes, which include natural and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, evolved and are preserved in an organic manner, meaning that it is their 'livingness' and the continued activities of the dwellers and worshippers that formed and, in many cases, preserve these landscapes 'organically' throughout history (Quesada-Embid, 2008).

1.4. SNS in Conservation: nature, culture and spirituality

Nature and culture blend in these sites intertwined with the deepest spiritual motivations and associations. Spirituality, in this study refers not only to the different belief systems, indigenous, folk and mainstream religions but also to the experience of transcendence that many people in modern societies enjoy in nature and at these sites in particular without been ascribed to any specific religion (McNeely, et al 2010).

Spirituality is a cultural value quite uniquely associated with sacred natural sites. It has the power to act upon people's attitudes and motivations in the deepest way affecting in turn their behaviour towards the revered element, resulting in subsequent impacts on the physical world like the protection of certain species or natural areas, or even the introduction and protection of built heritage. It mediates between culture and nature creating harmony, which is disturbed when spirituality (the highest form of awareness) is removed.

Numinous or animistic spiritualities, found in folk and indigenous religions, probably demonstrate the strongest links between people and nature and the consequent cultural relationship with sacred sites and/or species creates a strong ethical belief in the protection of the natural environment; their potential benefits for conservation are vast and significant. (Byrne, 2010; Verschuuren, 2010; McNeely, et al., 2010). Indigenous religion can, in many cases, be equivalent to folk religion. It is transmitted from generation to generation, fed by the everyday life and contact with the environment, and by permanent contact with nature, full of spirituality in many of its manifestations (Fernández Conde, 2000).

As a result, long before the concept of protected areas and conservation policies were even thought of, these sites have been protected and organically preserved by different faiths and spiritual systems through long-lasting traditions and customary laws in a

community-based manner. Unofficial and invisible fences, called ‘social fences’ by Verschuuren, (2010), protect these sites. They depend on shared spiritual values that determine the boundaries of the conservation areas through customary laws and sustainable practices.

Many of these sites have already been inadvertently integrated within declared protected areas. But many others remain officially unprotected or even unknown, and are subject to numerous threats and pressures, such as land-use change or overuse, unsustainable development, poverty, mining, unsustainable tourism, commercialisation, looting, secularisation, vandalism other inappropriate activities and neglect (McLeod & Wild, 2008).

These sites have the potential to be important for habitat restoration, ecological corridors and protection buffer zones. They are also rich in living cultural heritage and cultural diversity. There are instances where particular rare species considered sacred live solely in these sites, like the Mona monkey subspecies (*cercopithecus mona*), that exclusively survive in a sacred grove at Tafi Atome in the Volta region (McLeod & Wild, 2008).

The Vanatori-Neamt Nature Park in Moldavia illustrates this richness. It includes the largest concentration of Christian Orthodox monasteries and one of the richest areas for traditional culture in Romania, being focus of a continual number of pilgrims. It is also dwelling of healthy populations of wolves (*canis lupus*) and brown bear (*ursus arctos arctos*), and enjoys a successful introduction programme of the European bison (*Bison bonasus*) (Cataniou, 2007).

It has also been discovered *‘that sacred remains are potentially one of the most powerful drivers of conservation, inspiring feelings of awe, veneration and respect which may be developed into an effective form of nature and culture conservation’*

(Mallarach,. and Papayannis, 2010, p.205). Consequently, there is growing research towards the better understanding of the synergies that take place in these sites between their cultural, natural and spiritual values and their impact on conservation. Understanding of the threats and pressures they are subject is also necessary.

1.5. Conventional methods of conservation

The concept of protected areas, which is less than two centuries old, has a Western scientific, materialistic approach that does not take into consideration traditional knowledge and local culture. This so called ‘conventional conservation’ focuses solely on nature and regards humans and human land use as disruptive and erosive elements. While this is true in the case of unsustainable use, in many cases those humans that have been traditionally linked with particular areas for millennia have managed them in a sustainable manner and are even responsible for their biodiversity.

Recent attention by international conservation organisations to the role of sacred natural sites in the conservation of natural and cultural resources may be placed in the context of the failure of the conventional conservation approach experienced in many protected areas (UNESCO-MAB, 2006). The generalised dichotomy between culture and nature is now proving to be unsustainable, a cause of distress in local communities, and a source of increasing threats to protected areas.

1.6. Recent changes in conservation

It is recognised now that cultural and biological diversity are interdependent and they are both key in strengthening social and ecological systems. Awareness of this problem is resulting in a shift towards a new holistic and community inclusive approach in the international arena for the last twenty years. Tables 1 to 5 in the appendix present a literature review summary since the 1990s until the present time.

The inclusion of ‘Cultural Landscapes’ as a new category of World Heritage Sites by UNESCO in 1992 allowed some sacred natural sites to be listed, such as the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests (Kenya) in 2008, (this listing was the site’s first legal protection), and Sulaiman-Too Sacred Mountain (Kyrgyzstan), site of healing and fertility properties, in 2009.

This was followed by the inclusion of cultural values in IUCN’s definition of Protected Areas (PAs) in 1994, and the addition of two new culture-related categories to the four older PA categories, which were exclusively focused in nature. Cultural values have proven to be not only applicable but also very relevant to PAs. IUCN also recognises a new governance type category: ‘Community Conserved Areas’ (Dudley, et al, 2005).

Similarly, the 2000 European Landscape Convention, the first and only international instrument dedicated to landscapes, recognised the need for protection of community-based governance and the intangible values of landscape, a concept based on human perception of the environment (Council of Europe, 2000).

The realisation of the need for protection of the knowledge, practices and rights of the indigenous and local communities is reflected in the 1992 UNESCO Convention of Biological Diversity, which also calls for research on the relationship between indigenous/local knowledge and practices, linguistic diversity and the biodiversity conservation. This is also reflected in the 2001 UNESCO Declaration of Cultural Diversity and the 2007 UN Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The 2010 IUCN Kiev Statement on the Role of Religious Communities in the Management of World Heritage Properties encourages mutual understanding and collaboration and recognises the role of these communities in shaping and preserving these sites. The traditional rights of the custodians of sacred sites must be safeguarded (Mallarach & Papayannis, 2010).

Focus on the protection and importance of intangible values came with the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage and the subsequent creation of UNESCO's Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in which there is heritage listed related to sacred natural sites.

Furthermore, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) recognised that not only the loss of ecosystems are a threat to our health and wellbeing, but it also can deeply affect certain cultures and knowledge systems that are interlinked with them, both in developing countries and in industrial ones (McLeod, & Wild, 2008). Experience is demonstrating that taking into consideration vernacular knowledge and deep-rooted traditions increases efficiency in nature and culture conservation and support by local communities of protected areas (Mallarach, 2008). This idea is now being considered by both cultural and natural international conservation organisations such as IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM.

1.7. Sacred Natural Sites and Living Religious Heritage in the international conservation agenda.

Following individual case studies and UNESCO sub-regional workshops on the matter during the nineties, sacred natural sites appear in the international conservation agenda for the first time in the 1998 UNESCO International Symposium on 'Natural Sacred Sites: Cultural & Biological Diversity' held in Paris. Its aim was to develop an understanding of links between cultural and biological diversity in these sites. It included a section about sacred mountains and their implication for culture and nature conservation by Edwin Bernbaum, who had previously published a 'Sacred Mountains of the World' in 1997, focusing on their intangible aspects. It was illustrated with

outstanding worldwide famous sacred mountains with a brief mention of Croagh Patrick.

Edwin Bernbaum is also responsible for the Mountain Institute (TMI)'s Sacred Mountains Programme in North America, which is working since 1999 on the inclusion of the spiritual and cultural significance of mountains in interpretive and environmental programs, to promote the protection of sacred sites worldwide, and to understand the role of mountains in indigenous and major world religions through workshops (Bernbaum, 2006). Sacred Mountains were also the focus of the 2001 UNESCO 'Thematic Expert Meeting on Asia-Pacific Sacred Mountains' in Wakayama (Japan) (UNESCO, 2001a).

The 2003 UNESCO MAB International Workshops on 'The importance of Sacred Natural Sites for Biodiversity Conservation' in Kunming and Xishuangbanna (China) involved sites and experts from Africa, Asia, Pacific and Latin America and a large number of similarities and general opportunities as well as threats were identified and mapped. The decision was made to work towards the creation of guidelines for sacred natural sites related to developing countries and indigenous religions. This was completed and published by McLeod and Wild in 2008.

At the 5th World Parks Congress in Durban (South Africa in 2003), sacred natural sites were involved formally for the first time in the Protected Areas agenda. As a result, the IUCN/WCPA Task Force on Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas (CSVPA) was created. After this Congress some members of CSVPA came to the realisation that studies on sacred natural sites had focused on developing countries and indigenous sites and no proper attention was given to industrialised societies and mainstream religious sites (Papayannis & Putney, 2003).

Before the already mentioned 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention, the relationship and impact of religion in cultural heritage conservation was not on the agenda of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and its Advisory Bodies. Consequently, there was a relative lack of guidance and charters and a lack of systematic study. The ICOMOS (1994) Venice International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites does not even distinguish between religious and civil heritage. This turning point resulted in the 2003 ICCROM's Forum in 'Conservation of Living Religious Heritage' in Rome, and the publication of a document of the same name, which became the first systematic study and guidance for this heritage (Stovel, et. al., 2003). ICOMOS's 2010 Advisory and Executive Committee Meetings' Scientific Symposium on 'Social Change' in Dublin (Ireland) addressed the issue of Religious Heritage, which will lead to the future publication of guidelines for religious heritage management.

To conclude, there is growing collaboration among UN agencies, and international conventions and UNESCO's advisory bodies: IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM, in order to find a holistic and interdisciplinary way to approach these sites (Rossler, M. & Schaaf T. 2010).

1.8. Sacred Natural Sites in technologically developed countries

With the increasing secularisation of the developed world, sacred natural sites are thought to have the potential to strengthen moral attitudes towards conservation and collaboration with mainstream religions (Papayannis & Putney, 2003). This led to the creation of the Delos Initiative in 2004, the only international group within the CSVPA that focuses on sacred natural sites in technologically developed countries (Europe, North America, Asia, and Oceania).

Working on case studies since 2006, experiences and knowledge have been shared in three major workshops which lead to subsequent publications: in Montserrat, Spain, (2006) on 'Nature and spirituality', in Ouranoupoulis, Greece (2007) on 'Providing guidance for sacred natural sites in developed countries' and in Aanaar/Inari Finland, (2010) on 'The diversity of sacred natural sites in Europe'. The workshops have found that sacred natural sites in industrialised countries are facing similar threats and challenges, in many cases as a result of indifference and abandonment, especially if there are traditional peoples involved which are ignored by the authorities (Delos Initiative, 2011a; and Delos Initiative, 2011b).

The Delos Initiative is working towards developing guidelines on the management of sacred natural sites in technologically developed countries and on complementary guidance for dealing with the multiple use by different religions at sacred sites. They are also collaborating with projects mostly in Europe at national and regional level, for example Europarc, Eurosite, the Convention of the Carpathian Protected Areas, Mediterranean Ramsar sites and the Romanian Service of Natural Park.

1.9. Christianity, Social Change and Sacred Natural Sites in Ireland and Spain

Both Croagh Patrick and Montsacro are sacred mountains within the Christian religion, more specifically the Roman Catholic one. In common with the majority of the mainstream religions, these sacred sites originated from more animistic folk/pre-mainstream belief systems, known as 'pagan', and were afterwards adopted by Christianity.

During the fourth century AD Christianity was officially adopted as the state religion by the Roman world (including Spain) and in the fifth century AD the Celtic Church was established in Britain and Ireland. However, there is no clear-cut boundary between the end of paganism and the beginning of Christianity in Europe. A consequent 'layering'

and religious syncretism of mixed spiritual systems emerged at these sites, well illustrated by phenomena such as the holy wells, which originated in pre-Christian/Celtic times in Britain and Ireland and are the object of Christian veneration (Green, 1993; McNeely, et al., 2010 and Byrne, 2010).

The New Testament testifies to the tradition of holy mountains and other sacred natural sites. Mountains like Mount Zion, Mount of Olives and Calvary are some of Jesus' favourite places of prayer, and Moses' covenant was received in mount Sinai. Christ also spent forty days and nights in a desert. Physical hardship, pilgrimage, isolation and penance within these sacred sites, are features shared by many mainstream and non-mainstream religions in the world, leading the way to greater spiritual enlightenment (Low, 1996 and Hayman, 2003).

Fears of idolatry, and a shift from animistic pre-Christian views of nature towards a focus on the spiritual nature of the divinity resulted in the centralisation of worship in temples, following the example of the temple in Jerusalem, which was placed over a sacred mountain. In most of Europe, including Spain, there is a general idea that proper Christian worship happens indoors, within sacred structures, and outdoor spirituality is seen as a private or fringe activity. This is the product of the way the early church dealt with earlier nature worship, as well as the platonic influence on Christianity reinforcing a spiritual/material dichotomy (McNeely, et al. 2010).

The way Christianity dealt with pre-Christian shrines and nature worship was either through destruction and extirpation or assimilation and adaptation. The former required bullying and tremendous efforts, leading to a series of failing councils since the fifth century by the Early Christian Churches (see table 6 in appendix) and contributing to the loss of many sacred natural sites. The assimilative approach proved more successful and both Croagh Patrick and Montsacro are examples of the results of this approach.

‘Outdoor spirituality is acceptable in most parts of Ireland’ (Low, 1996, p.3). This is a result of natural sites being a characteristic feature of the early medieval Celtic Church, as well as centuries of subsequent Penal Laws that forbade Irish Catholics from building and using churches or from performing masses and religious rituals.

Saint Patrick, Ireland’s patron saint is reputed to have spread Christianity around the island. St. Patrick’s accounts in his *Confessio* of praying in forests and mountains illustrate Celtic Christian spirituality and its assimilation of pre-Christian worship. Saint Patrick favoured this approach, although he did ban ‘pagan’ sacrifices, which were said to happen in sacred natural sites (Low, 1996). Sacred natural sites continued to be venerated by associations with saints, relics, tombs or miraculous apparitions and many are still a living reality both in Ireland and Spain. In addition, much land has been sanctified through the creation of monasteries where generally good conservation practice has been developed.

Although these sites and their associations have been subject of continuous evolution, there has never been such a high pace of social change as the one that the Western world is currently going through. Since the emergence of modernity, rationalism and science in the seventeenth century, in tune with the nature/culture dichotomy, there is a growing secularization and dismissal of any non-materialistic, un-scientific ways of approaching nature.

Initially, the dismissal of sacred natural sites arose as a consequence of changing attitudes in evolving industrial countries where nature became something to be controlled and tamed. Similarly, the colonised peoples and indigenous groups (and their beliefs) of less industrialised countries were dismissed and viewed as inferior. Some branches of Christianity such as the Protestant and the Roman Catholic churches supported these new modern attitudes. The Protestant church has particularly opposed

the sanctity of nature and abolished many Christian Sacred Natural Sites, with their pilgrimages, hermitages and holy wells, which, on the other hand, are still very significant in the Orthodox and Catholic Churches (Mallarach, and Papayannis, 2010).

Modernity developed in an industrial and technological revolution where nature, seen as detached from humans, was desecrated, boxed, abused and over-exploited, resulting in a global environmental crisis. Additionally, the second half of the twentieth century has come to the realisation that nature cannot be fully controlled and that is capable of firing back in potentially catastrophic ways. Science, on the other hand, is revealing its limitations and is not filling the vacuum that secularisation is creating, leading to a major values crisis (Byrne, 2010).

As a result of the global awareness of the environmental crisis, the Catholic Church and other Christian and mainstream religions are showing increasing concern for environmental issues in recent decades. This concern is demonstrated mainly through statements of faith expressing ethical positions with regard to the faithfuls' responsibility towards the creation of God (see table 7 in appendix) (McNeely, et al., 2010). The Orthodox Church, which has a much more elaborate theology of nature, has been especially active in spreading the word and in leading interfaith initiatives mainly through symposia (Mallarach, and Papayannis, 2010). The Social Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church states that Catholic social teaching calls for '*economic activity to reconcile the needs of economic development with those of environmental protection*' (Martino, 2008).

1.10. Sacred Natural Sites in Spain and Ireland

Some of the members of the already mentioned Delos Initiative are also involved in Silene, a small association based in Spain and created in 2005 dedicated to the research and promotion of spiritual and cultural values specially in nature conservation (Silene,

2010) This organisation is also in collaboration with the Spanish Section of the Europarc Federation, which is currently working towards the guidelines of the integration of cultural, intangible and spiritual values in the planning and management of protected areas, sharing case studies, including Montsacro, and workshops (Calvo Villoria, B. 2010).

This is the first time that this is approached in Spain at a national and regional level, where the conventional approach is in process of change but still in force and generalised. Nevertheless, some interesting work has been undertaken at a sites' level, like the inventory of intangible cultural heritage of the biosphere reserve of Montseny by the UNESCO Centre of Catalonia (2011). This is a project that aims to contribute to the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of this biosphere reserve, through creating inventories of the traditions, customs, knowledge and festivals, helping also towards the creation of guidelines in how to do so.

The Delos Initiative has study many Spanish sacred natural sites included in protected areas as case studies. No case studies have been undertaken so far in Ireland and no major attempts have been made in Ireland at a national level towards the inclusion of intangible values in protected areas. The approach taken is still fully in line with that of conventional conservation, the sites are selected and managed on ecological grounds and it is considered that *'whether or not the cultural or spiritual characteristics of the site impact upon conservation management is quite subjective'* and is generally not taken into consideration (Dave Farrell, pers. comm., 2011)

1.11. Aims and objectives

Although the literature shows that sacred natural sites play an important role in nature and culture conservation, it is only within the last decade that they have been studied and properly acknowledged. Recent studies focused mainly on indigenous sites within

developing countries consequently; there is a need for further studies on sites in developed countries and on those related to mainstream religions. Consequently, acknowledging this as well as the fact that, within Europe, Ireland is one of the few countries that has no cases studies undertaken, a famous Irish sacred mountain, was chosen as a case study for this thesis to be compared to a similar Spanish site.

The case studies selected for this thesis are Montsacro in Asturias (Spain) and Croagh Patrick in Co. Mayo (Ireland). Both were chosen taking into consideration their relevant similarities and differences: They are both mountains that are currently subject of worship and pilgrimage. They have a similar history: they have been sacred for millennia. Archaeological remains, folklore and traditions evidence that they were subject of worship and pilgrimage since pre-Christian times and that this worship was adapted to the Christian religion. They are both related to the Catholic and folk religion. Both countries are also going through similar social changes and development pressures.

The main difference is that these sites have different levels of importance and popularity. Croagh Patrick is a site of great national importance and growing popularity, illustrated by the 10,000 to 30,000 people that join the main pilgrimage day and the 100,000 people that climb it annually. Montsacro, on the other hand, is of regional importance and it suffered a dramatic decline in popularity since the beginning of the twentieth century and now it seems established but still decreasing (in between hundred to three hundred pilgrims on pilgrimage day and a constant but small flow of climbers all year around).

Case studies are an ideal methodology for an in-depth analysis of an individual unit. It was decided to approach them through the comparison method as it helps in the understanding of the processes that take place in these sites through examining their

similarities and differences. Therefore, the thesis' main objective is to produce a comparative study of this two sacred mountains aiming to explore the synergies between their cultural, spiritual and natural values, in order to investigate in what ways these synergies and, more specifically the spiritual and intangible values, affect conservation. In order to do so, this is the procedure that will be followed:

- Spiritual values, natural and cultural values (and their spiritual and intangible values associated) will be identified, as well as the socio-economic values related to them. Special attention is given to those customary laws that, originating in spiritual beliefs, have an impact in conservation.

- The main stakeholders involved will be identified, as well as the types of governance, management and protection of these sites and their values. The ways that spiritual and intangible values reflect in the management and protection of these sites are explored, as well as the level of input participation of the local community and their spiritual traditions. The level of awareness and perception of the sites by its stakeholders and members of the local community and its impact on conservation will be explored. Development and social change pressures will be identified.

- After comparing the analysis of both sites, a S.W.O.T. (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis will be presented, the values' synergies will be discussed and conclusion and recommendations will be provided.

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Montsacro: Description and Location

Table 2.1.1. Montsacro's location details

Latitude	43.259888590933
Longitude	5. 895512254202
Altitude (over sea level)	(BP) 1054,60 m
Coordinates GPS	N43 15 35.60 W5 53 43.84

Montsacro, one of the most emblematic mountains in Asturias, is a free-standing, truncated cone shaped mass that emerges at 1,054.60 meters above the sea level (table 2.1.1.), over the meadows and valleys formed by the surrounding rivers Caudal, Riosa and Morcín. It is situated in the Central Mountain county, the geometrical centre of the Autonomous Community of Asturias, in northwest of Spain (fig. 2.1.1.).



Fig. 2.1.1. Location of Asturias in Northwest Spain. The image on the right highlights the boundaries of the Proposed Sierra del Aramo Protected Landscape (yellow) and Montsacro (red).

It is popularly known as ‘the Magdalene’s peak’ after one of its two Romanesque chapels, dedicated to Mary Magdalene. This limestone mountain dominates the horizon of the municipality of Morcín. Trees and bushes cover its hillside while herbal vegetation and grazing lands can be found in its higher parts. Its dented crown is formed by a circle of peaks that surrounds hollow planes of grazing lands staked out by forested areas of white thorn-trees (Roza Iglesias, 2006) (fig. 2.1.2.).



Fig. 2.1.2. Aerial view of Montsacro from Peñerudes (Morcín) showing part of the Sierra del Aramo in the background.

This area of Spain has oceanic climate, characterised by moderate climate and abundant rainfall. There is a wide panoramic view of the region from its summit: from the northern Cantabrian Sea to the southern *Cordillera Cantábrica* Mountain Range. Fig. 2.1.3. presents a southern view from Montsacro showing La *Foz* in Morcín which means river mouth or narrow pass in a deep valley.

The municipality of Morcín is formed by the parishes of San Esteban de la Foz, San Antonio de Peñerudes, San Juan de Piñera, San Sebastian, San Miguel de Argame and Santa Eulalia (fig. 2.1.4.). Its closest village, Santa Eulalia (or Santolaya) de Morcín, is located only thirteen kilometres from the Asturian capital (Oviedo) to its South West (fig. 2.1.4.). It can actually be seen from Oviedo's highest parts. Morcín has a low population density (around 3,000 inhabitants), although it is still quite high taking into consideration its complicated orography and its rural economy (Rodríguez Muñoz, 1998).



Fig. 2.1.3. Southern view from Montsacro: La Foz de Morcín.

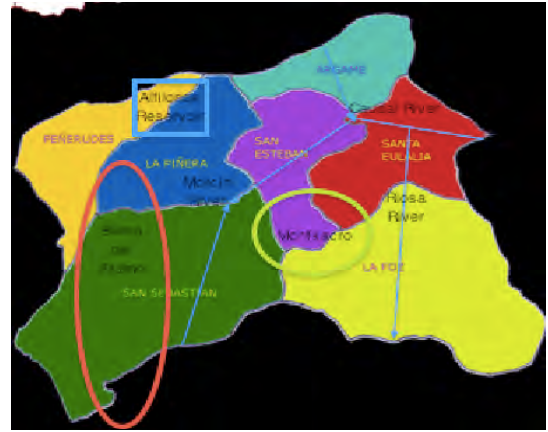


Fig. 2.1.4. Map of the parishes of the municipality of Morcín.

Geologically, it forms part of the Sierra del Aramo mountain range, which, runs along Morcín, Riosa and Quirós municipalities. Located at 20 km to the South west of Oviedo, this mountain range represents the green boundary with metropolitan Asturias (fig. 2.1.5.). It is about 360,000 to 286,000 million years old (Palaeozoic carboniferous period) and its highest peaks are higher than 1.700 meters above sea level. This limy and calcareous range (NW-SE direction) of about twenty kilometres of length and seven kilometres of width originates in the Cantabric mountain chain, limits west with the Trubia river basin and east with the Caudal river basin (Roza Iglesias, 2006).

It suffered the effects of the karst erosion, which shaped its morphology of dolines or sinkholes and ponors, -natural surface openings and holes that may be found in karstic landscapes-, and also gave place to the formation of underground water, small lagoons and pools that provide water to cattle grazing there in the summer time. Additionally, it is the main source of sub-terrain water for the Alfilorios reservoir, which supplies the Oviedo area (fig. 2.1.6.).

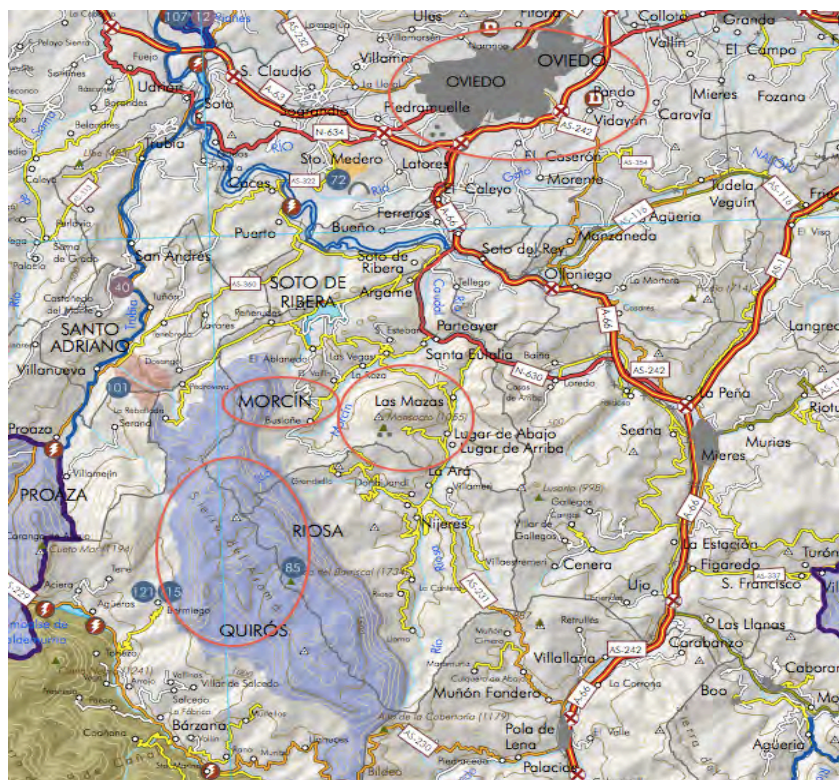


Fig. 2.1.5. Map of the area highlighting Montsacro, Morcín, Oviedo and the Proposed Protected Landscape of Sierra del Aramo's boundaries.



Fig. 2.1.6. View of Montsacro from Peñerudes (Morcín) with the Alfílorio reservoir, grazing lands and whitethorns in the front.

2.2. Montsacro's History

Montsacro has architectonical, archaeological, folkloric and linguistic elements that illustrate its different cultural and historical phases and provide evidence of its continued sacred condition over millennia. These phases were layered over each other, assimilating and eliminating earlier elements. A prehistoric necropolis, consisting of megalithic tumuli, provides evidence of a cult to the ancestors that go back to Neolithic times. Little is known of the kinds of worship that took place in Montsacro in pre-historic times apart from the ancestors and the plausible heliolatry or sun cult evidenced in the continued tradition of harvesting the 'sun-like' holy thistles. A long gone tradition, which took place on Saint James's eve and stopped about a century ago could be related to the pre-Roman Celtic god of thunder Taranus or Taranis. It took place during pilgrimage, when pilgrims used to burn a giant puppet called Tararu, made of wood and branches decorated with flammable materials, while celebrations took place. Tararu was substituted with Saint James (the Boanerges or 'Son of the Thunder' in the Gospels). Eventually the practice became a folkloric celebration, and then died out at the beginning of the twentieth century (Fernández Conde, 2000; Musquera, 2003; Fernández Conde & Santos del Valle, 1987; and Musquera, 2007).

Worship continued in Roman Asturias with the introduction of the mountain and thunder related deity Jupiter. This is evidenced with Asturian-Roman funeral stele found in the mountain, and even with its own name, which comes from the Latin for sacred mountain (*Monte Sacrum*) (Cadrecha y Caparrós, et al. 1984).

It is not until the Middle Ages, after the establishment of Christianity, that Montsacro appears in the historical records for the first time as a place of great religious importance. It became the hiding place of numerous relics of great importance, brought to Spain from Jerusalem after the Persian king invaded the Holy Land in AD604. The

relics were brought first to Toledo and, after the Islamic invasion of this city in the eighth century, they were brought to Montsacro for safety. They resided in Montsacro for about a century before being relocated by the Asturian king Alfonso II el Casto (AD791-842) to the Sacred Chamber of Cathedral of Oviedo, where they are currently located (González, 1958; and Rodríguez Almenar, J.M. 2000).

There are different versions to the story, one states that they were brought from Jerusalem to Spain when the Persian king conquered Jerusalem in AD604. They were carried through Northern Africa to Toledo, capital of the Visigoth kingdom, where they remained until the Arab invasion in the eighth century when the relics were brought to Montsacro. While climbing the mountain with the relics, the bishop Saint Toribio rested in one of the rock formations that can still be found in the path coming from la Llanera, which is still known as 'the bishop's chair'. The other version says that the bishop arrived with the relics by sea straight to the Asturian coast and Montsacro (González, 1958; and Rodríguez Almenar, 2000). Anyhow, these stories resulted in two Romanesque hermitages being built on the summit of Montsacro and a landscape rich in cultural and spiritual associations. There are currently two main routes in Montsacro to access the hermitages.

The first historical Christian record of these relics dates from the eleventh century and it does not mention Montsacro. It is fifty years later when it is mentioned for the first time as an already consolidated tradition by Don Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, famous for being a great propagandist of Saint James' Way (Fernández Conde, & Santos del Valle, 1987; Musquera, 2007).

The importance of the relics is outstanding: they consisted of all sorts of remains associated with Christ himself such as parts of the Cross, and other items associated with Our Lady, Moses, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Mary Magdalene, and other Saints

(De Caso, et al. 1999). Arrieta Gallastegui (1995) published many of the legends related to these relics, some of them recorded in historical documents since the Middle Ages, as well as in oral folklore. The legend of the relics reinforced by the building of the hermitages on the summit was strong enough to Christianise the mountain. Even if the relics were relocated, the sacredness of Montsacro was maintained. The story of the relics has been fixed in folk memory until the present time.

Consequently, Oviedo's Cathedral and its Holy Chamber remain as one of the compulsory stops of the Northern Way of Saint James' Way, one of the most important Christian pilgrimages in Europe since the discovery of the apostle and patron Saint of Spain's grave in Santiago de Compostela in the ninth century. The Northern and Primitive Way are unjustly obviated by most pilgrims these days even if they represent the very origins of this walk, as all the attention is given to the French Way. Fig. 2.2.1. presents a map with some of the most important pilgrimage ways to Santiago de Compostela. Montsacro is located where the Northern Way (*del Norte*) bifurcates in Northern (along the coast) and Primitive Way (*Primitivo*). It also shows part of the *Vía de la Plata* (Silver Way), of which Montsacro is also a part. It is a Roman Causeway of pre-Roman origins that connects the South of Spain with the North of Spain and became another branch of Saint James's way (Musquera, 2007).



Fig. 2.2.1.: Map with the most important pilgrimage ways to Santiago de Compostela.

In the middle ages it was quite common for pilgrims to climb Montsacro after visiting Oviedo's Cathedral. This is not the case today, and relatively few pilgrims climb the mountain (Adela Suárez, pers. comm., 2011). This is not surprising as there is little or no information available about Montsacro for tourists or pilgrims in Oviedo and the tradition is almost lost.

A part of Montsacro's history shrouded in myth that is currently rising in popularity is that related to the knights of the templar. It is the focus of attention and study of some of the interviewees (Natividad Torres and Desiré Rodríguez, pers. comm. 2011) and attracts visitors (writers, journalists, etc) from Asturias and from all over Spain with both historical and/or religious interest. The Templar's presence in the mountain has not been proved yet but there are numerous evidences that indicate it. The presence of hermits in the mountain is recorded in folk memory and in placenames.

Today it is a mountain of worship with two main annual pilgrimage days of regional importance. The number of pilgrims on pilgrimage day, which dramatically decreased since the beginning the twentieth century, remains now stable in between hundred and three hundred each year. There is also a current project of a possible future construction of a cable car, which together with the lack of popularity and awareness.

2.3. Croagh Patrick: Description and Location

Table 2.3.1. Croagh Patrick's location details

Latitude	43.259888590933
Longitude	5. 895512254202
Altitude (over sea level)	(BP) 1054,60 m
Coordinates GPS	N43 15 35.60 W5 53 43.84

Croagh Patrick (in Irish *Cruach Phádraig*: 'Patrick's stack'), considered as Ireland's Holy Mountain, is a freestanding conical-shaped mountain that emerges at 765 meters

above sea level as part of a longer but lower east-west ridge. It is located at the southern part of the U-shaped valley that leads to Clew Bay. It is popularly known as ‘The Reek’ Hiberno-English word related to ‘rick’ meaning haystack, which in Irish is *Cruach*, anglicised as Croagh. It is the third highest mountain in County Mayo, in the West of Ireland. It is located in the barony of Murrisk above the villages of Murrisk and Lecanvey and about 8 km of from Westport town (fig. 2.3.1., 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.)

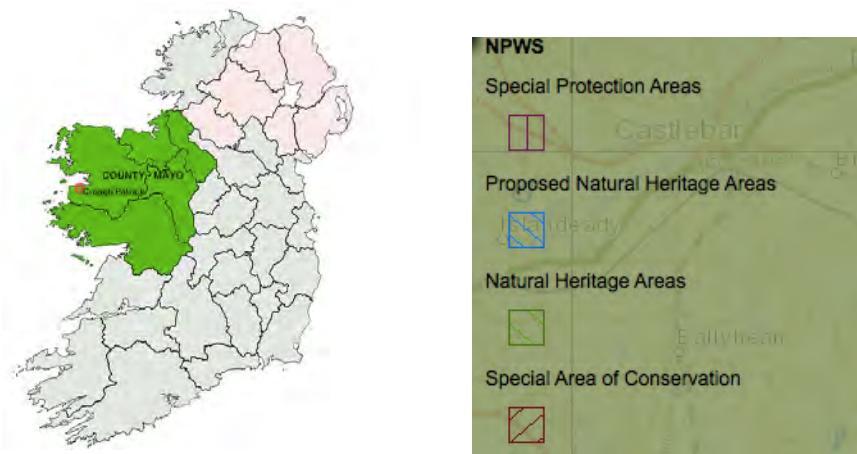


Fig. 2.3.1. Map of Ireland showing Co. Mayo and Croagh Patrick's location.

Fig. 2.3.2. Protected Areas shown in fig. 2.3.3.

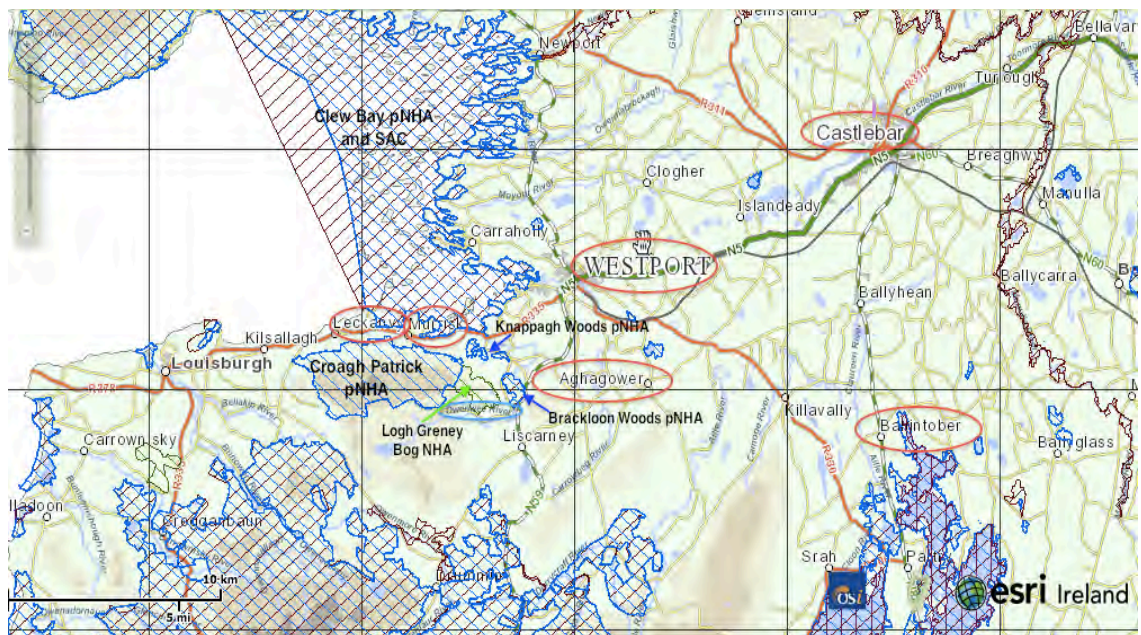


Fig. 2.3.3. Map presenting the different protected areas in the locality. It also highlights important locations for the study (see fig. 2.3.2.).

Its pyramidal morphology is so unique and outstanding against a rather plain horizon, that it constitutes the most identifiable landscape in Ireland (fig. 2.3.4. and 2.3.5.). On its heather and bog-covered slopes landuse is mainly associated with agriculture and sheep grazing and burning of heath.



Fig. 2.3.4. (left) 'Peaceful in the shadow of Croagh Patrick' by Sean Burke. Fig. 2.3.5 (right) Croagh Patrick view from the beginning of pilgrimage path with Saint Patrick's statue (Murrisk).

Croagh Patrick belongs to an area that has a geological history of 750 million years. Its pre-Devonian rocks contain gold confined to quartz veins (Morahan, 2001) (fig. 2.3.7.). Quartzite, which is exposed in the mountain peak and its northern shoulders, is called in Irish Gaelic *Grianchloch* meaning 'sun-stone'. From its schist and quartzite-exposed summit there are spectacular views of the scattered countless islands of Clew Bay out to the Atlantic, which were originally drumlins created with the ice sheets movement during the Ice Age (fig. 2.3.6.).



Fig. 2.3.6. View of Clew Bay from Croagh Patrick's summit.

Fig. 2.3.7. Gold on Quartzite stone found in Lecanvey side of Croagh Patrick.

The rivers that originate in this mountain provide drinking and agricultural use water to the surrounding villages. It has a wide variety of habitats and the combination of important flora and fauna, including some threatened species of plants in Ireland. Other views from its summit include the cliffs of Achill, which can be seen to the north, Nephin Mountain to the northeast and Connemara mountains southwards.

Croagh Patrick is a proposed Natural Heritage Area of national importance. Lough Greney Bog, on its eastern slope, has been designated as a Natural Heritage Area (fig. 2.3.3.), as it is an area of considerable conservation significance supporting a variety of upland habitats including intact blanket bog habitat. This is a globally scarce resource, due to combined impacts of afforestation and overgrazing, mainly found in Ireland and Britain.

2.4. Croagh Patrick's History

Croagh Patrick's folklore, traditions, archaeology and history provide evidence of continued worship over millennia. Archaeological remains, discovered in several excavations by G. Walsh from 1996 to 1998, and surveys by L. Morahan in 2001, in and around the mountain, as well as folk tradition, evidence worship for millennia. Archaeologist Christian Corlett (1996) theorised that this worship possibly dated back to the earliest inhabitants of Ireland although it is not until the Bronze Age that there is enough evidence to state the existence of a ritual landscape of importance with a great number of cosmological stone alignments in and around Croagh Patrick. Corlett (1998) also argued the possibility of the existence of pre-Christian pilgrimage as well as the realization of the gold resources in the area, which could have added an economic importance to the spiritual one.

The importance of this worship deserved the attention of Christianity: *'The symbolism of the mountain may have been reshaped by Christianity however, the intensity and*

importance of that symbolism to the local population may have continued largely unaltered' (Corlett, 1998, p. 22). In Saint Patrick's times the deity of the area was Crom Dubh, a pagan god that lived in Croagh Patrick and was ruler of the elements. The subsequent conflict between both symbolises the conflict between pagan beliefs and Christianity.

Before Saint Patrick fasted there it was known as *Cruachán Aigle*, *Cruachan* being a diminutive of *Cruach* and possibly *Aigle* comes from the Latin *Aquila* (eagle), which may refer to the shape that the mountain ridge has when seen from Westport area as an eagle taking off (fig. 2.4.1.) (Paddy Guthrie, pers. Comm. 2011). The name Croagh Patrick started to substitute the old one from the tenth century onwards (Hughes, 2010).



Fig. 2.4.1.: View of Croagh Patrick from Westport

According to the tradition and historical records, St Patrick, patron Saint of Ireland, fasted the days of lent there for forty days and nights in AD411. Historical records explain how Saint Patrick fought successfully with a series of demons in the form of serpents and black birds, resulting in the traditional belief that from that time onwards there were no more snakes in Ireland. It also resulted in the creation of a sacred landscape around Croagh Patrick, where lakes, sea and land became related to this contest. It is also said that from the Reek he blessed the land of Ireland and he asked to be the judge of all the Irish in the Judgment day (Hughes, 2010).

Tradition says that Saint Patrick followed the *Tóchar Phádraig*, a pre-Christian causeway east of Croagh Patrick, on his way to the mountains. Other theories say that

he climbed from the local village of Murrisk after burying his charioteer who was killed by the local pagan population. Similar conflicting theories arise about Saint Patrick's return from the mountain (Hughes, 2010). The *Tóchar* is thought to be part of a pre-Christian pilgrimage, at least dating back to the Bronze Age, which was Christianised afterwards (Corlett, 1998).

It ceased to be maintained as a public pilgrimage route in the eighteenth or seventeenth century due to the Penal Laws. In the nineteenth century it was also the subject of proscription by the Catholic Church, being considered as a part of superstitious folk faith (Father Frank Fahey, pers. comm., 2011). It reopened in 1988 thanks to the initiative, research, work and mediation of Father Frank Fahey parish priest of Ballintubber Abbey.

Remains since Neolithic times, such as astronomical stone alignments, as well as churches and abbeys all show a landscape in continuous use for religious activities and while the religions may have changed the perceived sacredness has not. Rich folklore and myths inhabit this living sacred landscape that illustrates the phenomenon of substitution of indigenous polytheist beliefs by the Christian religion (Morahan, 2001).

Despite numerous occasions of religious oppression since the seventeenth century, sometimes undertaken by the Anglican elite to the Catholic faith through Penal Laws, and others by the Catholic Church itself against folk faith, pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick remained over the centuries. Continued famines during the nineteenth century, particularly severe in the area, also decimated the number of pilgrims. After a revival that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to a revival of Irish Nationalism and the fact that the mountain became a National Symbol, the numbers of pilgrims increased until the present time, when popularity is rising dramatically.

About ten to thirty thousand pilgrims climb this mountain annually, performing a series of stations in which certain archaeological sites are involved. The main pilgrimage day is 'Reek Sunday', also known as 'Garland or Garlic Sunday' at the end of July. It is a day associated with the pre-Christian festival of *Lughnasa* and it is locally called *Domhnach Chrom Dubh* (The Sunday of Black Crom, a pagan god). Many of the pilgrims climb barefooted or even on their knees, as an act of penance (Hughes, 2010).

The mountain was subject to gold mining threats in the 1980s, foiled due to locals and pilgrims' strong oppositions. It is presently subject to growing numbers of visitants, to increasing secular activities and even possible spiritual tourism commercialisation, this site faces challenges that put pressure on the rich cultural and natural values of one of the icons of Irish spirituality.

2.5. Research theoretical approach

Dealing with concepts like *intangible*, *spirituality* and even *synergy*, we are greatly immersed in a world of perceptions that cannot be quantified easily. If we also take into consideration the limited time and resources given for the development of this thesis, it was concluded that the optimal approach was to choose qualitative research, both in the selection of research methods as well as in the selection of interviewees.

Qualitative research is also known as *Interpretivism* as it is characterised by an interpretive approach, in which data is approached not through hypothesis but through questions, implying more exploratory strategies like observation and fieldwork (Williams, 2000). Although sometimes seen as unscientific or only exploratory, qualitative approaches can actually offer an in-depth understanding of social realities and their dynamic processes. They are studied in their natural environment and giving interpretations focusing on people's perspectives, actions and meanings given to those realities, which helps in achieving new finds and creating new concepts. It is therefore

the optimal approach to find out in what ways people are shaped by their social and cultural systems and, in turn, how they themselves shape their worlds (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, Silverman, 2000, and May, 2002).

Data was collected and interpreted using theory triangulation, involving multiple theoretical schemes to increase its validation. The research process was guided through the lenses of hermeneutics, environmental history, human and cultural geography as well as the phenomenology of religion. This interdisciplinary approach helped in the understanding of links and synergies between the natural, cultural, and spiritual aspects of both sites and their impact in nature and culture conservation.

Hermeneutics is a philosophical method used in coming to understand and give interpretation to any text or phenomenon. It guides data analysis towards an in-depth interpretation and it cannot be detached from the dynamic context from which it originates. Consequently, it induces to take a historical and phenomenological perspective acknowledging its dynamic nature, and the '*interpretability and reinterpretability of tradition*' (Ramberg & Gjesdal, 2005).

Using hermeneutics, phenomena will be interpreted by studying what it means to the individuals involved, through their behaviours and perceptions, and the attitude that social institutions have towards them. Perception is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as '*awareness of something through the senses*' as well as '*the way in which something is regarded, understood or interpreted*'. The main ways to find out this information is through interviews and observation in situ. When interpreting phenomena, as when interpreting documented data, what it is said is as important as what is omitted.

The aim of Human Geography is the study of the holistic understanding, of the uses and relationships of humans with their physical environment, focusing in human activities and experiences but also in records, memories, symbols, attitudes and behaviours

(Nogué i Font, 1985). This understanding can be reached via interpretation of interviews, observations and documented data. It provided the phenomenological methodological framework to understand the experience and activities of people within these sites in the present time. It will help towards the understanding of the socio-economic values and their impacts in both sites.

Within this discipline, Cultural Geography focuses in studying the representation of the geographic realities in accordance with cultural models. Therefore, it helps in the analysis of the cultural and historical conditionings that influence them, providing a historical depth. Nature, in this way, is not treated independently from the representation of the world of its inhabitants, becoming more a sacred landscape, a cultural product, with artistic, aesthetic and existential connotations, an embedded landscapes with historical depth (Berque 1995). Within this discipline built heritage and nature form part of a landscape animated by its inhabitants' intangible values and its historical depth. Therefore, cultural and natural values of these landscapes are presented associated with their cultural intangible associations.

The Environmental History discipline sees nature as a mere setting for human existence, by taking nature as an autonomous actor independent from the human perceptions and the cultural ways of understanding it (Merchant, 1989, and Demeritt, 1994). Contrary to cultural geography, it claims that no landscape is completely cultural as they are all the result of interaction between culture and nature (Demeritt, 1994). This is the main framework used by conservation authorities when dealing with the protection and conservation of natural values and will also be explored.

Cultural geography tends to focus on questions centred on human activities and perceptions, while environmental history sees nature as an independent reality from humans. However, there is a common ground between the two disciplines and this is

key to finding out the links between nature and culture. In actuality, humans and nature are inseparable from each other. Culture, as a human creation, is part of nature and determines the way humans interact with it. (Demeritt, 1994, and Merchant, 1989).

Therefore, by combining both, a new language could be developed, which is '*able to describe nature as both a real actor in human history and as a socially constructed object of these histories*' (Demeritt, 1994, p.170). This combination is more appropriate for this study, which, due to its broad nature, will focus in the relevant data that relates to the relationship between culture and nature, not entering in major detailed studies of each one of them. On the other hand, it is noticeable that within the collected data, those related to the cultural aspects of the sites outnumbered the natural heritage data. This in itself was taken also as an indicative factor of the study.

The Phenomenology of Religion provided the scientific methodology to study religious phenomena. These phenomena are determinable in an objective way by subjective expressions and facts. When applied to this study there is no pretention to discover the philosophical essence of the phenomena but to reach an understanding of religious phenomena through the way it is experienced by its actors (Dhavamony, 1973). It focused mainly in the way that the spiritual perception and experience of these sites can actually have consequences in the conservation and protection of these sites as well as the factors that influence that experience.

Consequently, the integration of different qualitative disciplines that, sharing common grounds, deal with culture, nature and spirituality as dynamic and interrelated processes, situating research interpretation and researcher within its context, was considered the optimal methodology for this thesis. These disciplines will help in the identification of spiritual, cultural, socio-economic, and natural values as well as their synergies, by using the hermeneutics, reaching an understanding of texts and observed phenomena by

examining them in their contexts and by taking into consideration both what it is obviated and what is explicit (fig. 2.5.1.).

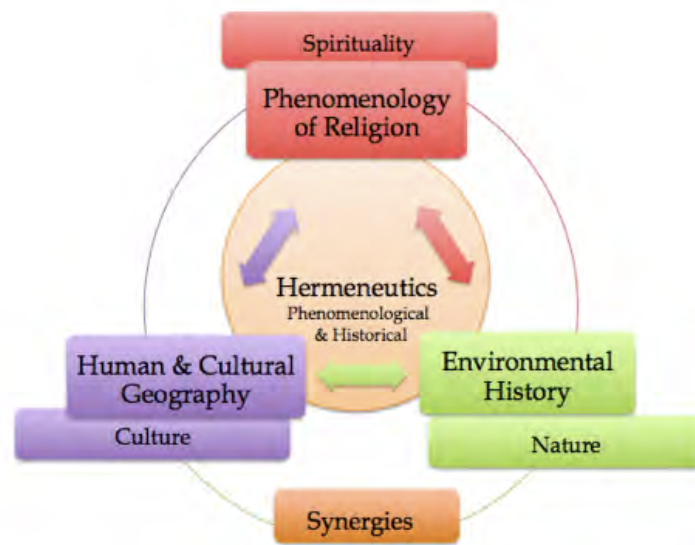


Fig. 2.5.1. Graphic showing the integration of the inter-disciplinary methodologies chosen linked to the objectives of the thesis.

2.6. Research Methods

The research process involved the use of multiple methods to reach a better insight into the subject matter and to facilitate research triangulation and validation by examining where the different data does or does not intersect.

The methods used include the collection of relevant documented data, fieldwork and observation data, as well as the conduction of interviews with key people in both selected sites. Collected data was analysed and interpreted afterwards in order to answer the *a priori* questions included in the thesis objectives.

2.6.1. Interviews

Interviewing is the best method for reaching an in-depth understanding of people's experiences, aspirations, feelings, attitudes, perceptions, cultures and contexts (May, 2002). This technique helps to source key information on issues such as understanding

the spirituality related to the sites, how these sites are experienced by people, as well as how the level of knowledge and awareness in the cultural and/or natural aspects of these sites affects the conservation of those aspects.

The interview spectrum (fig. 2.6.1.1) used progresses from structured interviews to unstructured or even conversations depending on the need for more or less rapport (a relationship of mutual understanding or trust and agreement between people) and rapprochement (establishment of more cordial relations). Due to the nature of the subject matter, the methods most used were unstructured interviews and conversations.

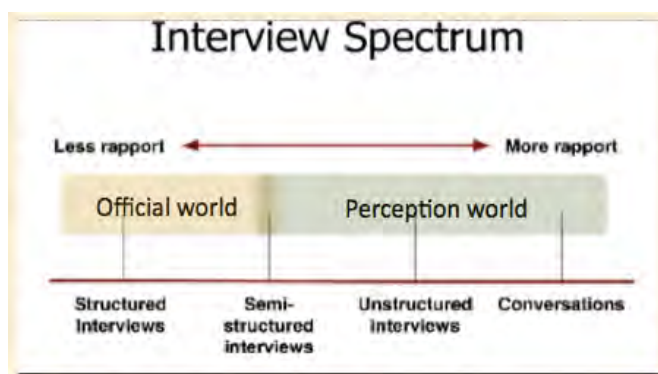


Fig. 2.6.1.1 Graphic showing the interview spectrum used in the research process.

The structured poll was used on very few occasions and particularly when dealing with the 'official world' (governments or councils), mainly via email, with straightforward questions like those about the protection status and its implications, or about how the management system works. This system facilitates the comparability between answers. Those structured questions may also have developed into a semi-structured approach, also used with other stakeholders, where the interview progressed from specific structured questions into more discussion and clarifications, inviting dialogue where the context and perception became more important (May, 2002)

Whenever a higher degree of in-depth understanding was needed, dealing more with the 'perception world', the interview techniques became more unstructured. Unstructured or unfocused interviews have a more open-ended character, and led in many cases to open

conversations. Due to the nature of this study the establishment of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee is crucial as it is necessary to understand perspectives and subjectivities, although at the same time a certain distance is necessary for the objectivity of the results. In some cases, very few or no questions were asked as the interviewee would give so much valuable and key information by themselves, coming from their own enthusiasm and understanding of my aims, that none or only few questions were necessary.

Within the qualitative methodology it is possible to work with small numbers of participants and with small bodies of relevant data or samples. This theoretical sampling involves that certain categories are chosen as relevant for the study and certain individuals within those categories are considered representative of those categories. Additionally, the results of the study could be generalised, or more properly, extrapolated to all members of those categories, as long as they have been purposively sampled and selected (Silverman, 2000).

Consequently, in order to undertake the interviews it was decisive to determine, in the light of the research aims, the key people and the key questions to ask those people. Categories were established in the light of the research objectives and the questionnaire framework. These categories were divided between those belonging to the 'statutory world' (councils, government departments and the church) and the 'non statutory world' where relevant sub-categories for the study were searched for (which in many cases overlap) such as pilgrims, farmers, and community organizations, or custodians of churches. Other stakeholders were included such as those with more pro-active environmentalist concerns, those involved in charity and those involved in alternative spiritual beliefs. Individuals were chosen in the terms of their representativeness, relevance within those categories as well as their availability.

The tables of interviewees (tables 2.6.1.1. to 2.6.1.4.) are organised within those categories of interviewees including location, approximate age, and profession and other information relevant to their relationship with the site. They also included the type of interview undertaken, the kind of data obtained, the date as well as duration of the interview.

Table 2.6.1.1. Table of Montsacro's interviewees (statutory level)		
Interviewees (6)		Interview type, date & length
Morcín Town Councils	Names: Nuria González Fernández, Joaquín Uría San José, Miguel Figueras García Ages: 40s-60s Background: Councillor of Culture and 2 Councillors of other political parties.	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 18-01-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
	Oscar Trabanco Zarpón Age: 40s Background: Council Technician	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured & conversation (face to face) - Data: oral + documents - Date: 13-04-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Asturian Government	Juan Antonio Age: 40s Background: Archaeologist at the Department of Culture & Tourism in Oviedo.	- Type: Structured (face to face) - Data gathered: mainly documents - Date: 12-04-2011 - Interview length: 15 min.
	Efrén Vigón Age: 30s Background: Biologist at the Department of the Environment, Territory Ordination and Infrastructures in Oviedo.	- Type: Structured & semi-structured (face to face & email) - Data: oral, email & documents - Date: 12-04-2011 - Interview length: 15 min.
Religious Responsible	Father Miguel Ángel García Bueno Age: 50s Background: Santa Eulalia Parishioner & custodian- responsible of Montsacro chapels, Santa Eulalia, Morcín	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 21-01-2011 & 11-04-2011 - Interview length: 2 h.

Table 2.6.1.2. Table of Montsacro's interviewees (non statutory level)	
Interviewees (7)	Interview type, date & length
Natividad Torres Lives in Santa Eulalia, Morcín, Age: 50s Background: Chapels custodian, guide, artist, pilgrim.	- Type: Unstructured, conservation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, documents, artwork - Date: 21-01-11 – 26-01-11 & 07-04-11 – 13-04-11 - Interview length: 3 h.
Desiré Rodríguez García Lives in Peñerudes, Morcín, Age: 40s Background: Civil Servant, Pilgrims, Alternative spirituality, interest in history.	- Type: Unstructured, conservation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, documents - Date: 10-04-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Adela Suárez Fernández Lives in Peñerudes, Morcín, Age: 60s (Pilgrim, local farmer)	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 10-04-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Francisco Fernández Fernández Lives in La Carbayosa, Morcín, Age: 60s Background: Retired, Pilgrim, emigrated for years.	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 09-04-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Ernesto Manuel Fernández Fernández Lives in La Llorera, Santa Eulalia, Morcín, Age: 70s Background: Local ex-farmer, pilgrim, ecologist activist	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 25-01-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Mari Flor Tuñón Álvarez Lives in Santa Eulalia, Morcín, Age: 50s Background: Farming, pilgrim.	- Type: Conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 13-04-2011 - Interview length: 10 min.

Table 2.6.1.3. Table of Croagh Patrick's interviewees (statutory level)		
	Interviewees (6)	Interview type, date & length
Mayo Co. Council (Catebar) Town Council	Gerry Walsh Age: 40-50s Background: Archaeologist and owner of Croagh Patrick Visitor Centre in Murrisk.	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 18-01-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
	David Farrell Age: - Bckground: Biologist in Site Designation Unit, in National Parks & Wildlife Service (NPWS), Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.	- Type: Structured and Semi-structured (email) - Data gathered: written + documents - Date: 28-04-2011 – 27-05-2011 - Interview length: -
Irish Government	Eoin McGreal Age: - Background: Mayo Local Conservation Ranger, NPWS (DAHG)	- Type: Structured and Semi-structured (email and phone) - Data gathered: oral-written & documents - Date: 18-05-2011 - Interview length: 15 min.
	Eoin O' Brian Age: 30s Background: Biologist, Site Designation Unit in NPWS (DAHG)	- Type: Semi-structured (phone) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 11-06-2011 - Interview length: 10 min.
Religious Responsible	Father Frank Fahey Age: 60s Background: Ballintubber Abbey & <i>Tóchar Phádraig</i> responsible.	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral and documents - Date: 26 & 27- 04- 2011 - Interview length: 3 h.
	Father Michael McGreil Age: 70s Background: Professor of Sociology in Maynooth University.	- Type: Semi-structured (phone conversation) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 12-06-2011 - Interview length: 10 min.

Table 2.6.1.4. Table of Croagh Patrick's interviewees (non-statutory level)	
Interviewees (7)	Interview type, date & length
Harry Hughes Lives in Westport, Age: 50s Background: Business man and Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee Chairman.	- Type: Conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, documents, contacts - Date: 29 & 30-04-2011 - Interview length: 2 h.
John Grodan Lives in Murrisk, Age: 60s Background: Ex-president of Murrisk Development Association Ltd., Pilgrim.	- Type: Unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, documents and contacts - Date: 01-05-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
Paddy Guthrie Lives in Westport, Age: 40s Background: Pilgrim, poet, interest in history & folklore	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, documents - Date: 03-05-2011 - Interview length: 1 h.
John Gavin Lives in Murrisk, Age: 60s Background: Farmer-landowner in Croagh Patrick and Pilgrim.	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 02-05-2011 - Interview length: 30 min
Tom Rally Lives in Murrisk, Age: 60s Background: Pilgrim, volunteer at Murrisk Development Association, emigrated.	- Type: Semi-structured, unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 02-05-2011 - Interview length: 30 min.
Matt Loughrey Lives in Murrisk, Age: 30s Background: ex-Croagh Patrick guide & 365 day Challenge for Saint Vincent le Paul.	- Type: Unstructured, conversation (face to face) - Data gathered: oral, contacts - Date: 01-05-2011 - Interview length: 30 min.
Padraig Fitzpatrick Lives in Murrisk, Age: 50s Background: Owner of Campbell's pub, at the foot of Croagh Patrick, since last year.	- Type: Unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 01-05-2011 - Interview length: 30 min.
Brid Lives in Lecanvey, Age: 60s Backfround: Lecanvey Parish assistant	- Type: Unstructured (face to face) - Data gathered: oral - Date: 01-05-2011 - Interview length: 10 min.

Not all of these interviews were recoded in a tape and consequently transcribed. Some of them were actually recorded through note taking. This procedure was quicker and more effective in filtering the main information given by the interviewee although considered as less accurate than tape-recording.

Questionnaires were based on the Delos Initiative questionnaire (Delos Initiative, 2008, see appendix). Table 2.6.1.5. presents a summary the main ideas on that questionnaire. It was chosen because its aims correlate with those of the thesis, as mentioned previously in the introduction chapter. This questionnaire was personalised and modified for each individual within each site. Questions were directed to obtain information about the natural, cultural, spiritual and socio-economic values of the sites and the threats they are subject to and their protection and management. In addition, the perception, level of awareness and spiritual and cultural intangible values that locals associate with them were given special attention. In many occasions the interviews were mainly unstructured conversations where no formal questionnaires were followed.

Table 2.6.1.5. Summary of the main information aimed by questionnaires.

Main information aimed:
1. Natural and cultural (tangible and intangible) values identification, protection level, conservation trends, responsible bodies and governance.
2. Intangible and spiritual values associated to these values with especial focus in those that impact in conservation.
3. Awareness and knowledge of these values.
4. Socio-economic activities their impacts and development pressures.
5. Identify threats and opportunities.

Pilot studies were also undertaken in order to check the relevance and suitability of the questions with regard to the information received and how it compared to what was being looked for. Once interviews started, and more data were collected, new and more

concrete questions came up. Therefore, the questionnaires continued to evolve over the course of the research fieldwork. In that way, the more information was been collected the more effective the interviews were and the easier was to find concrete questions to feel the gaps.

Lessons learnt from the pilot studies and first interviews were: the need of having clear objectives, asking single clear questions instead of multiple ones at once, and making interviewees aware of the nature and objectives of the study even if this proved to potentially create prejudices in few of them.

2.6.2. Observation and Fieldwork:

Through observation and fieldwork it is possible for the researcher to get immersed in the sites, the situations and with the people that need to be understood, establishing a many-sided relationship during a certain length of time (May, 2002). With the observation method it is necessary to become part of the environment that is studied. Customs, language, attitudes, and behaviours of people were seen in action, undisturbed by the researcher. The state of the sites and their different elements were also explored *in situ*. It was a continual process of reflection (unfortunately not in the pilgrimage days due to the timing of the project). Data was collected in the form of fieldnotes, product of conversations and observations, and photographs. Table 2.6.2.1. include the fieldtrip dates and some of the aspects involved in the observation and fieldwork of both sites and the dates when they took place.

Table 2.6.2.1. Fieldtrip general information.	
MONT SACRO	CROAGH PATRICK
<u>Two fieldtrips:</u> 1 st : 17.Jan.11 to 26.Jan.11 2 nd : 07.April.11 to 13.April.11	<u>One Fieldtrip:</u> 26.April 11 to 03.May.11
Places visited:	Places visited:
Santa Eulalia de Morcín village	Ballintubber, Murrisk and Westport
Climbed Montsacro through traditional pilgrimage path (guided by Nati Torres)	Completed Pilgrimage walk Thóchar Pháidraig (guided by father Fahey)
Visit to Oviedo's Cathedral and two villages in the environs of Montsacro with Father Miguel Ángel.	Climbed Croagh Patrick through Tochar Paidraigh side, observations of site and people.
Climbed Montsacro through the Viacrucis path (guided by Nati Torres, observation of site status and people)	Climbed Croagh Patrick through traditional path, observation of site and people.

2.6.3. Documented Data Collection:

Documented data was collected during the whole research process (from October 2010 to June 2011) from several sources such as libraries, individuals, official websites and public bodies, and in different formats such as books, digital data, newspapers or cartographic documentation. The documents provided valuable information not only in the fields of historical, cultural and environmental studies, conservation and protection laws and regulations, and cartographic documentation; but also in presenting day activities and controversies related to the site. The literature review had a special value in understanding the history of these sites, how these sites became important, acknowledging the depth of these sacred landscapes, and their embedded values. It also helped in reflecting on contemporary issues.

2.6.4. Data Analysis

Data relevant to each of the objectives of the thesis were analysed and the data between the two sites compared. A comparison and contrast exercise was carried out to examine the natural and cultural values of both sites as well as the spiritual values associated and the socio-economic activities related to them. Additionally, the types of governance, management, protection and conservation trends of those values were examined. All this was examined in order to identify synergies between these values and their impact in conservation as well as to identify threats and opportunities, leading to the establishment of discussions and conclusions.

Fig. 2.6.4.1 shows a graphic summarising the data analysis process. Relevant data was selected in relation to the ability to provide answers to the questionnaire framework. This involved a process of coding where data was conceptualised through raising questions about these categories and their relations. The use of concepts and categories helped in having a common point of reference in order to group the data. Those categories were treated consistently and data was situated and contextualised in order to give some reliability to the study. On the other hand, categories and concepts were understood as being linked to each other and their boundaries as been quiet faded (May, 2002, Silverman, 2000).

The comparison method is the basic scientific method, as differences and similarities between sites provide an insight of under what circumstances differences occur. Through comparison the macro or exogenous factors, that influence the phenomena studied as well as the micro or endogenous factors, which are particular to each social context could be identified and considered.

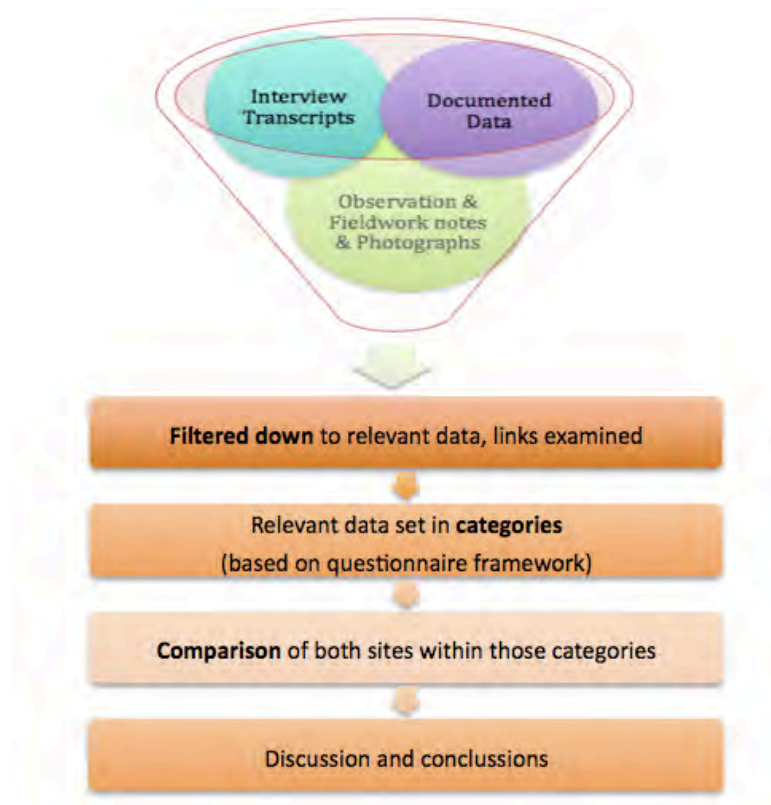


Fig. 2.6.4.1. Graphic summarising data analysis process

Comparison also helped in the extrapolation process, in understanding how societies work and the occurrence of success or failure of particular policies or practices in a given society. Additionally, through extrapolation, it also has the potential to help in predicting the outcomes when similar particular cultural and social contexts come together (May, 2002).

2.6.5. Weaknesses and Reliability

There are a number of weaknesses that were taken into consideration while analysing and presenting the data. The first one is the fact that the data collected is limited to small samples, due to time and accessibility constraints. Nevertheless, although it cannot claim the whole picture, through the qualitative process, including comparison and extrapolation mentioned earlier on, it is possible to come to valuable conclusions that can open doors for future research in the area or parts of it.

In addition, there is more data related to the cultural aspects of these sites than to the natural aspects, making the later a weaker part of the thesis. Anyhow, this in itself is indicative of important factors to be analysed.

There were also certain gaps in the understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee. There were few occasions where there were language barriers because of the use of different accents and dialects. In addition, there was certain occasion where interviewees did not fully understand what was asked from them because of lack of understanding of the objectives of the study. In other occasions, awareness of these objectives prompted some interviewees to be more politically correct, or even to avoid the interview, as it happened with Morcín's Lord Major when asked to talk about his controversial cable car initiative in Montsacro.

Anyhow, although there are obvious weaknesses that could be seen to influence the reliability of the data, many of those weaknesses can be overcome or even become strengths through a good data analysis. Following the hermeneutics methodology already explained, documented data was not interpreted and analysed in a detached manner. Even if scientific methodology needs a general free of bias perspective, subjectivity was used to the advantage of the study.

Data gathered was also treated as having a life of its own, therefore, it was dealt with as cultural stories that provide an insight into the social and cultural context of these sites and how the interviewees, writers or actors see their social identities and these sacred sites within context (Silverman, 2000, & May, 2002).

Consequently, the collected data, despite many of its apparent weaknesses, can provide a great insight into the societies and the individuals that created them and the presence of the information as well as its absence was considered equally important in providing answers to the study (May, 2002).

3. Results analysis (Values Identification)

3.1. Values Identification

The use of the term ‘value’ is applied here to the elements that form part of these sites. Both mountains are approached as ‘landscapes’, the perception of the environment by humans and the product of their interaction with it. The term ‘value’ suggests that *‘people hold certain ‘values’ but also express ‘value’ for certain objects.’* (Stephenson, 2008, p. 129). Consequently, these values are the product of a dynamic social and cultural construction and can only be identified within their context. If values are dynamic, they should include social practice and time depth. Values will be presented using four categories (table 3.1.1.):

Table 3.1.1. Categories used for presentation of values.
1. Natural values and their associated intangible/spiritual values (as existential intrinsic values)
Cultural values are divided in three categories:
2. Tangible values, such as built heritage, and their associated intangible/spiritual values.
3. Intangible values with special focus in spiritual values, because of the sacred of their dimension.
4. Socio-economic values, which interact with both cultural and natural values.

Intangible cultural values, in which spiritual values are included, originate in the way humans perceive nature and determine how they interact with it. Intangible values determine the creation of and interaction with built heritage.

These interactions are illustrated in the way the sites are managed both by official institutions (conventional governance) and by the customary laws and traditions of their inhabitants (traditional governance). These intangible values, products of the interaction with nature, also determine the kinds of socio-economic values that take place in these sites, which, at the same time, are regulated by the kinds of governance that take place

in them. Cultural tangible values, like built heritage, which are located in the natural environment, are the materialisation of intangible values. Fig. 3.1.1. represents how each of these categories of values are embedded in each other. To conclude, the cultural, natural, spiritual and socio-economic domains are interrelated and mutually dependent and this will be taken into consideration when presented.

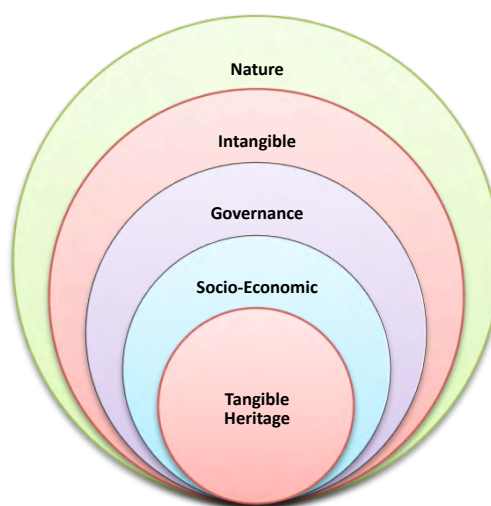


Fig. 3.1.1. Visual representation of how each of these categories of values are embedded in each other.

3.2. Spiritual /Intangible Values in Montsacro

Tradition and archaeological remains point to a pre-Christian origin of the pilgrimage. The first recorded pilgrimage to Montsacro happened in the summer of 1521, (González, 1958). By the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the pilgrimage route was already in process of decay. It is not known what caused the decline but probably a mixture of anticlerical political ideologies, continued conflict, and the war itself could have influenced the situation. At the time, up two hundred people per village would go on the Montsacro pilgrimage, while today, a maximum of three hundred people in total attend the pilgrimage (Francisco Fernández, pers. comm., 2011).

Pilgrimage days currently take place on the 25th of July (Saint James), being the most popular one, and the 15th of August (the Assumption of Our Lady) (table 3.2.1.). The

2011 pilgrimage on the 15th of August was of especial importance: three hundred young people that attended the 2011 Catholic World Youth Day in Madrid joined the pilgrimage that day (fig. 3.2.1.). It was organised by the Archbishopric of Oviedo as a way to promote Montsacro internationally.

Table 3.2.1. Traditional Pilgrimage dates at Montsacro		
Dates of Pilgrimage	Festivity	History
25 th of July	Saint James	Currently the most popular one: 100 to 300 pilgrims (estimated by locals)
15 th of August	Assumption of Our Lady	-Still takes place. -In 2011: 300 people from the World Youth Day (Pope's visit to Madrid) visited Montsacro and had mass there.
2 nd of July	Visitation of Our Lady	Last recorded in the 19 th century. No longer takes place.
22 nd of July	Saint Mary Magdalene	
8 th of September	Nativity of Our Lady	
	Eve of Saint Mathew	



Fig. 3.2.1. International pilgrims from the 2011 Catholic World Youth attending 15th August pilgrimage in Montsacro.

A key concept in pilgrimage is penance. Through physical hardship, pilgrims within the catholic religion, and other religions, can show penance for past evils or to beg God for future good. The long walk to the mountain and the climb can be acts of penance by themselves, especially when these pilgrims are elderly or sick. Additionally, penitents can undertake some acts of self-induced physical hardship and pain. Up to the nineteen fifties and sixties acts such as walking barefoot or on their knees were undertaken by a

number of pilgrims, especially women (Ernesto Manuel Fernández and Adela Suárez, pers. comm., 2011). These acts of penance are hardly seen these days, while the ludic nature of the pilgrimage seems to be increasingly evident.

After the climb, pilgrims attend mass in one of the hermitages and a celebration takes place afterwards (fig. 3.2.2., 3.2.4., 3.2.5. and 3.2.6). For the last decades two local families take care annually of the food and drink stall as well as the music. Pilgrims are generally respectful and carefully take care of their litter with no major problems (Francisco Fernández, Ernesto Manuel Fernández, per. comm. 2011). There are also auctions with regional food products blessed by the priest, popular games and competitions with horses (fig. 3.2.3.). The money collected helps in funding the pilgrimage celebrations (Natividad Torres, pers. comm. 2011).



Fig. 3.2.2. (left) Pilgrim's ascension to the Upper hermitage (Santiago's day 2009).

Fig. 3.2.3. (right) Pilgrims on horses during horse competitions (Santiago's day 2011).



Fig. 3.2.4. Mass in Santiago' hermitage performed by Father Miguel Ángel (Santiago's day 2010)



Fig. 3.2.5. (left) Pilgrimage celebrations in the *mayáu de les capilles* in Montsacro after mass showing the blue holy thistles (Santiago's day 2009). Fig. 3.2.6. (right) Musicians performing during celebrations for Santiago's Pilgrimage (Santiago's day 2009).

Traditionally pilgrims sang songs about the hardship of the pilgrimage, or about bachelor women's prayers to Saint Mary Magdalene to find a future husband during pilgrimage. A great number of songs were related to the holy thistles of curative powers that grow in Montsacro and were harvested by pilgrims during pilgrimage. Other songs talked about the famous relics. These songs have been recorded since the eighteenth century but are not sung by pilgrims any more. Nowadays other regional and popular songs are played and danced to, many of them referring to love and the beauty of nature, especially about birds and water (Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011).

Apart from the decline in popularity that the pilgrimage suffered during the twentieth century due to political unrest and military conflict, the Asturian society has also undergone dramatic social changes in the last decades. This is reflected in the celebrative turn of the pilgrimage and its secularisation, the decrease in number of pilgrims, the decline of the Catholic religion, and the appearance of new kinds of spirituality.

3.3. Spiritual /Intangible Values in Croagh Patrick

It is thought that the practice of Christian pilgrimage and penance started soon after Saint Patrick's visit, although the firsts historical records referring to pilgrimage trace it

back to the ninth century (Hughes, 2010) (Pilgrimage history summarized in table 8 in appendix).

Table 3.3.1. shows Croagh Patrick's present day pilgrimage dates. The most popular pilgrimage route starts from Murrisk village. It is the most difficult ascent, the steepest one, consequently, the one that involves more penance.

Table 3.3.1. Pilgrimage dates in Croagh Patrick.		
Dates of Pilgrimage	Feast	Comments
Last Sunday in July	Reek/Garland/Garlic Sunday	Currently the most popular day nationwide: 10,000 to 30,000 pilgrims (estimated by locals). Origins: <i>Domhach Chrom Dubh</i> (Black Crom Sunday). Reconciles the Christian Sabbath and the pagan Lughnasa (Corlett 1996 & 1998).
Previous Friday	Garland/Garlic Friday	Local importance.
15 th of August	Assumption of Our Lady	Local importance, Popular for Travellers. Pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick and Caher Island Origins: Around beginning of harvest time (Lughnasa), already sacred for pagans (Corlett 1996 & 1998).
17 th of March	Saint Patrick	Plenary indulgence is given to those that pray in the summit for the intentions of the Pope and go on Confession and Holy Communion.
Any time in June, July, August and September		

Most pilgrims climb in the morning although some still prefer to climb at night, as it was the tradition up to the seventies, (fig. 3.3.1.).



Fig. 3.3.1. Croagh Patrick night-time pilgrimage with torches.

Fig. 3.3.2. and 3.3.3. present the eroded pilgrimage way from Murrisk indicating where it meets with the route coming from the *Tóchar*, as well as two of the three stations.



Fig. 3.3.2. (left) and 3.3.3. (right) Pictures indicating the pilgrimage way from Murrisk to Croagh Patrick and some of the station. Legend: 1: Murrisk Abbey, 2: Famine Monument, 3: Saint Patrick's statue, 4: both pilgrimage ways' meeting point 4b: *Tóchar Phádraig* 4a: First Station, 5, 5a and 5b: Second Station, 5e: Boob of the Reek's grave, 6: Third Station, 7: Bertra Beach.

During pilgrimage days, there are several stalls along the path (see Fig.s 3.3.4. and 3.3.5.) that sell hazel walking sticks, religious items and drinks.



Fig. 3.3.4. & 3.3.5. Stalls selling religious items at the foot of Croagh Patrick (pilgrimage day).

Pilgrims follow a series of stations found along the path, in which certain sites and archaeological remains are circumvallated seven times while a set number of prayers are recited (fig. 3.3.6., 3.3.7., 3.3.8. and 3.3.9.).



Fig. 3.3.6. (left) The Reek's First Station. Fig. 3.3.7. (right) Reek's Second Station.



Fig. 3.3.8. (left) Part of the Reek's Third Station (Saint Patrick's Bed) (May 2011).

Fig. 3.3.9. (right) Close-up of offerings present on Saint Patrick's Bed (May 2011).

Penance is also an important part of the pilgrimage, and, even in ordinary days, it is not uncommon to see barefoot pilgrims of all ages (fig. 3.3.11.) *'The tradition is based on the belief that they are walking on sacred ground and as such is a penitential exercise.'* (Hughes, 2010, p. 12). This is a popular phenomenon among Travellers (fig. 3.3.10.). Travellers, known as *lucht suil* in Irish and as *Pavees* within the traveller community, are traditionally nomadic people of ethnic Irish origin. Identified as a very religious community, they have their own pilgrimage day and their own religious folklore related to the mountain.



Fig. 3.3.10. (left) Traveller barefoot (ordinary Sunday 2011).

Fig. 3.3.11. (right) ‘Hurting’ by Eddie Mallin. Pilgrims climbing barefoot on Reek Sunday.

Pilgrimage goes beyond just following the steps of Saint Patrick and other pilgrims for millennia, but it transcends into an *‘individual search for life meaning in which penance and celebration play an important role’*. *‘Facing insecurity and hardship can bring a change of heart and learning values of life, without this there is no real pilgrimage’* (Father Frank Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).

There is a part of the path, where pilgrims coming from the *Tóchar Phádraig* (Patrick’s Causeway), the ancient pilgrimage route from Ballintubber Abbey to Croagh Patrick, meet the pilgrims coming from Murrisk. The last part of the climb is the most dangerous one because of the erosion and the loose quartzite rocks. Stalls selling drinks and food can be found on the summit, where more stations take place nearby the church (fig. 3.3.12.). Mass is celebrated every half an hour from 8 am to 2 pm, with a special mass in the Irish language at 10 am and subsequent mass celebrated by the Archbishop of Tuam, which receives national media attention. In 2008 this mass was broadcasted on television for the first time (Hughes, 2010).



Fig. 3.3.12. ‘Joining in the prayers of the faithful’ by Tom Campbell. Pilgrims nearby the summit’s chapel performing part of the second station circumvallating around Saint Patrick’s Bed.

Descending the mountain is traditionally done on the west side where the third station is performed, although most pilgrims prefer to descend the same way they came up. The social dimension of the pilgrimage is of great importance not only on the mountain but also on Campbell’s public house at the foot of the Reek in Murrisk (Hughes, 2010).

The number of pilgrims on Reek Sunday is currently estimated to range from ten thousand up to thirty thousand and they are of regional, national and even international origins. Numerous examples of religious devotion can be found in the mountain any time of year, such as offerings and memorials. Numbers of people climbing seem to be rising since the economic recession as people are discovering new outdoor activities and ways to enjoy themselves (Father Frank Fahey, pers. comm., 2011). It is the most climbed mountain in Ireland with an annual estimate of over one hundred thousand pilgrims and tourists (Hughes, 2010).

3.4. Perception of the spiritual dimensions of Montsacro.

Table 3.4.1. presents a summary of table 3.4.2. which shows the perceptions of nine interviewees on the spiritual dimensions of the mountain. It shows their age and background and their perception of Montsacro's sacredness.

Table 3.4.1. Summary of the information in Table 3.4.2.

Sample	9 interviewees.
Religious Background	Catholic.
Religion	4 Catholic, 1 Christian, 2 Spiritual, 1 non-religious, 1 agnostic.
Age range	30s to 70s.
Pilgrims	8 pilgrims (since childhood). 1 climber (Efrén Vigón).
Location	8 live in Morcín, 1 in Oviedo.
Backgrounds	1 chapel custodian, 1 council technician, 1 conservationist biologist, 2 current and 1 retired farmer, 1 retired local emigrant for years, 1 civil servant, 1 parish priest.
Is the mountain Sacred?	Yes: 5 (3 Catholic and 2 Spiritual) No: 4 (1 Catholic, 1 Christian, 1 non-religious, 1 agnostic).
If Sacred, why?	- As part of nature (creation of god) and by the presence of the relics (in the past) and the chapels which makes it more holy. - By itself –explains its sacred history and the presence of chapels: Telluric/spiritual energies that made it a place of power where man can transcend.
Are other elements sacred?	- Chapels, images, thistles and yews. - Main focus: chapels. - Especially sacred: the octagonal chapel.
If not sacred, what is special about it?	- Sacred history, traditions and chapels. - Mystical/Magical ail. - Sense of belonging, family bounds, iconic landmark, magnet. - Beauty and peace – linked with spirituality - Non-outstanding landscape or nature – especial and unique because of the chapels.

Table 3.4.2. Perception of the spiritual dimensions of Montsacro.					
Interviewees	Age/ Background	Religion	Is it Sacred?	Other sacred values?	If sacred why? If not sacred, what makes it especial?
Natividad Torres	50s/Chapels custodian, (Santa Eulalia, Morcín)	Spiritual/ Catholic background	Yes.	Chapels (specially octagonal one), thistles.	Telluric energy, place of power. Sacred history for millennia.
Desiré Rodríguez	40s/civil servant, (Pedroveya, Morcín)	Spiritual/ Catholic background	Yes.	Chapels (specially octagonal one). Yews strong link with spirituality	Telluric energy: place of power (where man can transcend). Sacred history.
Francisco Fernández	60s/emigrated to Germany for years (Carbayosa, Morcín)	Catholic	No.	Chapels, images, and thistles. Nature sacred as part of God's creation but not sacred by itself.	Sacred history and traditions. Unique in Asturias because of the chapels (especially octagonal).
Adela Suárez	60s/ farmer (farms in Sierra del Aramo) (Peñerudes, Morcín)	Catholic	Yes.	Chapels, images and thistles (Saint James' and the octagonal chapel specially).	-
Ernesto Manuel Fernández	70s/retired farmer (farmed in Montsacro) (Santa Eulalia)	Catholic	Yes.	Chapels, the images and the thistles. (Special devotion for Saint James)	-
Fr. Miguel Ángel García Bueno	50s/ Santa Eulalia's Parish priest	Catholic priest.	Yes.	Focus in Chapels and images. Blessed the thistles.	Nature is sacred as a creation of God plus sacred history and presence of chapels. Sacredness focus: chapels and images.
Efrén Vigón	30s/Biologist in Asturian Government (Oviedo)	Non-religious/ Catholic background	No	Aesthetic values linked with spiritual values.	Non-outstanding landscape and nature: especial because of chapels, traditions, and history.
Oscar Trabanco Zarpón	40s/Counil Technician (Santa Eulalia, Morcín)	Agnostic Catholic background	No.	-	Very special: Mythological and magical hale: chapels, history, and spirituality. Valued spiritual aspects: beauty, peace, memory bounds, sacred history. Iconic landmark that acts like a magnet. Sense of belonging.
Mary Flor Tuñón Alvarez.	50s/ Farmer (Santa Eulalia)	Christian/ Catholic background	No.	Chapels	Sacred from historical point of view. Part of her life. Family tradition, bounds. Non-outstanding landscape: especial because of chapels, cultural and spiritual traditions. Weather indicator. Sense of belonging.

Following the results presented in both tables we can see that not all those that are 'religious' consider the mountain sacred and even those that are non-religious still mention the spiritual dimension of the mountain. In addition, *'Many visitors and outsiders consider the mountain sacred and they are not all Catholic'* (Natividad Torres, comm. pers. 2011). Two of the Catholic respondents, including the priest, see its sacredness linked to the fact that is part of nature, God's creation, but not by itself, while the other two consider the mountain to be sacred by itself. *'I get a similar feeling to when I am in a church'* (Adela Suárez, pers. comm., 2011).

Two respondents that consider themselves as spiritual state that the mountain's sacredness may have origins in telluric energies created by the underground water currents. Desiré Rodríguez (pers. comm., 2011) gives an interesting view of the potential impact of spirituality in the protection of the site: *'The energy can be amplified for good or for bad. We are energy that interacts with other energy and puts it in movement. The decline and changes in religion, the lack of interest in history and in nature affects the site. If there are many people that worship a place and put their attention in it, even if its in a subconscious level, they will tend to do things that respect and protect the mountain and what it represents. These sites can make us understand that we are abusing of nature, what nature means to us and that we have to go back to the 'asking for permission', and to understand that all cultures have a similar root.'*

The two non-religious and agnostic respondents state that aspects like the beauty and peace of nature are linked with the spiritual experience (fig. 3.4.1.). *'Aesthetic values are indissolubly linked to spiritual values for me. By protecting the aesthetic values that also protects indirectly the spiritual values'* (Efrén Vigón, pers. comm., 2011). Its long sacred history materialised in its chapels gives the mountain a *'mythical and magical hale that makes your imagination flow. It should be promoted taking advantage of that.'*

You don't need to be religious particularly for that.' (Oscar Trabanco, pers. comm., 2011).



Fig. 3.4.1. View from Montsacro's summit with Sierra del Aramo on right hand side.

Additionally, two respondents that do not consider the mountain is sacred highlighted the sense of place and belonging. Mari Flor Tuñón (pers. comm. 2011) feels a strong sense of belonging due to the family and tradition bounds linked to the pilgrimages and the constant presence of the mountain in their lives. She is concerned about the conservation of the mountain and the hermits. It is a constant reference in their lives, even for predicting the weather. *'It is an iconic landmark for us, being born in its hillfoot. It acts like a magnet and does not let us go too far away from it. In that way it is closer to a sense of sacredness from an individual's point of view'* (Oscar Trabanco, pers. comm. 2011).

In regards the sacredness of other natural values the blue thistles and the yews were the only values mentioned as having spiritual properties. The only thistles considered sacred are the blue thistles that grow in Montsacro which are still harvested during pilgrimage and were blessed recently by the priest. *'Yews are very special. Many people still hug the yews in this village as a tradition, they don't know why; it is subconscious, an exchange of energy.'* (Desiré Rodríguez, pers. comm. 2011). For Natividad Torres (pers. comm. 2011) it is important not to change the pilgrimage dates because of the

link with natural phenomena that relates with pre-Christian beliefs linked to seasonal and solar influence in agricultural societies. It would mean a loss of the essence and authenticity of the religious rituals.

All interviewees identify the hermitages as the main focus of attention in the mountain. The octagonal hermitage seems to be subject to most of the fascination because of its uniqueness, and its association with the relics and with the knights of the templar (fig. 3.4.2.). Three of the interviewees that do not consider that Montsacro is a sacred mountain pointed out that what makes Montsacro special are the Romanesque chapels, its millenary history and spiritual associations. If it were not for them, the mountain would be like any other, with no outstanding landscapes or natural elements when compared with other mountains in the region (Mari Flor Tuñón and Efrén Vigón pers. comm. 2011). It is the only mountain in Asturias with two Romanesque chapels one of which is octagonal, but yet it does not get sufficient recognition (Francisco Fernández, Natividad Torres, Desiré Rodríguez and Ernesto Manuel Fernández, pers. comm. 2011).



Fig. 3.4.2. Natividad Torres's painting of Santiago's hermitage. Pilgrim's vision of a sacred landscape, animated with spirits and history.

3.5. Perception of the Spiritual dimensions of Croagh Patrick.

Table 3.5.1. presents a summary of table 3.5.2 which shows the perceptions of nine interviewees on the spiritual dimensions of the mountain. It shows their age and background and their perception of Croagh Patrick's sacredness.

Table 3.5.1. Summary of the information in Table 3.5.2.

Sample	9 interviewees.
Religious Background	Catholic
Religion	7 Catholic, 1 non-very religious, 1 Spiritual.
Age range	30s to 70s.
Pilgrims	8 pilgrims (since childhood). 1 climber (Mat Loughery).
Location	4 live in Murrisk (Mayo), 1 in Lecanvey (Mayo), 1 in Ballintubber (Mayo), 1 in Castlebar (Mayo), 1 in Westport (Mayo), 1 in Dublin.
Backgrounds	2 priests (1 responsible of <i>Tóchar</i> and 1 scholar sociologist), 1 council archaeologist, 1 ex-chairman of community organisation, 2 farmer/landowner, 1 retired local, emigrant for years and volunteer in community organisation, 1 poet, emigrant for years, 1 church caretaker.
Is the mountain Sacred?	Yes: 8 (7 Catholic and 1 not very religious) No: 1 (1 Spiritual).
If Sacred, why?	- Sacred history and pilgrimage for millennia since pre-Christian times. - Links with Saint Patrick- patron Saint of Ireland.
Are other elements sacred?	- Stations, and certain built heritage with Christian and Saint Patrick's associations, churches, cemeteries etc. along <i>Tóchar</i> . - Contemplation of beauty: part of adoration of God. Perception of nature as shaped by God. - Focus of sacredness if the mountain – focus of wider cultural/spiritual landscape.

Table 3.5.2. Perception of the spiritual dimensions of Croagh Patrick.

Interviewees	Age/ Background	Religion	Is it Sacred?	Other sacred values?	If sacred why? If not sacred, what makes it especial?
Fr. Frank Fahey	60s/Ballintubber Abbey priest (Balintubber)	Catholic priest.	Yes.	Sacred landscape including mountain, Tochar and nature.	Specifically, sacred site because sacred history and saint Patrick's links (Ireland's patron saint, National pilgrimage site. Sense of belonging and identity of locals linking with wider human need for transcendence. General sacred perception of nature as shaped by God.
John Grodan	60s/ ex-chairman M. D.A. community association (Murrisk)	Catholic	Yes.	-	Sacred history and links with Saint Patrick. National Monument (non official). Big annual gathering of immigrants. Sense of community and of belonging.
John Gavin	50s/Farmer/ landowner Croagh Patrick (Murrisk)	Catholic	Yes.	-	Sacred history and links with Saint Patrick.
Gerry Walsh	40s/Archaeologist Council, (Castlebar)	Not very Religious / Catholic background	Yes.	-	Archaeological evidence of worship for millennia. Huge community attachment, and sense of belonging.
Mat Loughery	30s/ fundraising, ex tour guide in Croagh Patrick (Murrisk)	Spiritual/ Catholic background	No.	-	Not sacred but unique, especial spiritual site. Magnet: morphology, challenge. Peaceful meeting point: mutual respect and share. Promotes change in mindset. Source of inspiration (photography).
Tom Reilly	60s/emigrant for years, volunteer in M.D.A. (Murrisk)	Catholic	Yes.	-	Sacred because of its millenary sacred history. Cultural and identity symbol. Emigrants/community meeting point. Sceptical about Saint Patrick's stories. Interested in pre-Christian history.
Paddy Guthrie	40s/Poet (Westport) emigrant in England for years (Westport)	Catholic	Yes.	-	Telluric and human spiritual energy left by present and past pilgrims. Identity symbol and sense of belonging: magnet. Site where rites of passage were performed. Sacred history and links with patron Saint of Ireland. Source of inspiration.
Michael McGreal	70s/ priest, sociologists. (Dublin)	Catholic priest	Yes.	-	God's creation, sacred history and links with Saint Patrick. Beauty: part of adoration to God. Symbol of Identity and folk religion (Overcame religious persecution).
Brid	60s/Care-taker at Lecanvey church (Lecanvey)	Catholic	Yes.	-	Holy ground because of pilgrimage for millennia. Never so popular: before only religious now more secular activities.

Following the results presented in both tables we can see that most respondents that consider the mountain sacred base its sacredness on its continued millenary sacred history. *'It has become holy ground because of pilgrims going there for millennia'* (Brid, pers. comm. 2011). Additionally, for Father Frank Fahey, (pers. comm., 2011) the Croagh Patrick phenomenon *'is a local expression of a universal phenomenon seen in the wider context of human necessity of search for transcendence'*. (Fig. 3.5.1.)



Fig. 3.5.1. *'Faith and Hope'* painting by Jimmy Lawlor (local artist).

Paddy Guthrie (fig. 3.5.2.) (pers. comm., 2011) also links its sacredness to the fact that it is a place of huge earthly and human energy: *'we leave our residue of energy there, as our ancestors did. There is a huge spiritual share if you are doing it for spiritual reasons. It breaks you and fixes you at the same time. You can also leave your problems on the mountain. Some people leave objects there and hide them (fig. 3.5.3).'* He always carries a stone from the mountain with him as a talisman. He also knows a man in his sixties from Sligo that walks annually on pilgrimage all the way to and from Croagh Patrick using old roads, which illustrates the strong religious tradition that still exist.



Fig. 3.5.2. (left) Local Poet Paddy Guthery poses with his pilgrim's hazel walking stick.

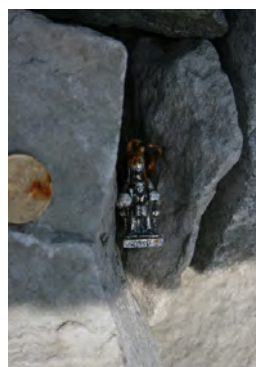


Fig. 3.5.3.(right) Example of offerings hidden between stones in Croagh Patrick (May 2011).

'It is the non-official National Monument of Ireland' (John Grodan, pers. comm. 2011).

There is a general huge community attachment and sense of belonging illustrated by the annual gathering of emigrants during pilgrimage, even in those times when transports were not as available to the general public as they are now. Other important reason for its sacredness is its association with Saint Patrick, the patron Saint of Ireland, (fig. 3.5.4.) which gives the mountain and its pilgrimage great national relevance becoming a symbol of identity.

Even for those sceptical about Saint Patrick's stories, it is still a sacred site and this was emphasised with the pre-Christian archaeological discoveries in the nineties, which have created growing interest on its pre-Christian history and spirituality (Gerry Walsh and Tom Reilly pers. comm. 2011).

Father Michael McGreal (pers. comm., 2011) links the importance of outdoors folk spirituality in Ireland and, in particular the huge bonds that locals have with the mountain, with the fact that the spiritual dimension of Croagh Patrick overcame continued religious persecution along history: *'We are dealing here with a very deep part of religious psyche of the Irish people.'* The mountain is then an icon of Irish folk religion.

In addition to the general Catholic church idea of nature's sacredness as God's creation, he also states the importance of beauty in Croagh Patrick's spirituality: *'The beauty of these places is linked to the awe for creation, is part of the spiritual experience, and lifts the spirit. (...) You can see it in the Holy Scriptures, nature's beauty is part of adoration to God too because God is beauty and love too.'* (Father Michael McGreal, pers. comm., 2011)

Paddy Guthrie has a strong spiritual connection with Croagh Patrick ever since, at the age of twelve, he performed a rite of passage in present decline, which consisted in climbing Croagh Patrick for the first time in the company of somebody spiritually minded. *'It is in everybody's conscience. There are people in the mountain everyday. It always draws you back, like a magnet. When I was in England it was always in my psyche, it is recoded there.'* The importance of memories and sense of belonging is highlighted by several respondents. The mountain is a huge identity symbol (fig. 3.5.5.) illustrated in the motto of the nearby town of Westport: *Aquilae in Umbra* (Latin for 'in the Shadow of the Eagle'), coming from the mountain's pre-Christian name, which is also the name of Mr Guthrie's poetry book. The mountain is also a great source of inspiration for all sorts of artists.



Fig. 3.5.4. (left) Old book of prayers to Saint Patrick for pilgrims used as decoration in the walls of Campbell's pub (at the foot of Croagh Patrick). Fig. 3.5.5. (right) Jimmy Lawlors's painting showing Croagh Patrick and Westport symbolised by its Town Clock.

Mat Loughery has been climbing every day for a year to raise money for a charity organisation called Saint Vincent le Paul. Although he does not consider the mountain to be sacred in the religious sense he does think that is a very special site. Its morphology has a key role in acting as a magnet for people. Outstanding against the horizon, Croagh Patrick's climb involves a great challenge, and it is in human nature to push yourself to discover (Mat Loughery, pers. comm., 2011).

It is also a peaceful meeting point for people of all ages and backgrounds. *'Everybody is equal and good here, you see the best of people here. You talk to people there that you would not talk to in other situations and there is mutual respect between people of different beliefs, Catholics or atheists, sharing the same site. They all escape from the real world; they all get the same feeling that put things in perspective. It is a very positive place that promotes change of mindset'* (Mat Loughery, pers. comm. 2011).

For him, Croagh Patrick can be perceived in four ways: *'with your knees (pain), with your eyes (beautiful view), with your heart (something to remember) and with your head (to learn about history)'* (Mat Loughery, pers. comm. 2011). Although he is not religious he does think that it is a spiritual place and a source of inspiration. He is aware of the growing activities related to the secularisation of the society: *'there is still a massive religious and spiritual aspect but the challenge, charity, sport, escapism and tourism dimensions are getting bigger'* (Mat Loughery, pers. comm., 2011). Anyhow, although it is in process of secularisation *'many people could start as tourists and end up as pilgrims'* (Gerry Walsh, pers. comm., 2011). Therefore, the spiritual aspect seems to be always latent there.

Apart of the stations, churches, and certain built heritage along the pilgrimage route there are no other elements considered as sacred. In Montsacro there are certain natural elements, thistles and yews, still considered as sacred by respondents. In Croagh Patrick

there are no other natural elements considered as sacred apart of the mountain itself. While in Montsacro the focus of attention and sacredness seems to be in the chapels, in Croagh Patrick the focus is on the mountain itself, which is considered sacred as a whole and it is the centre and originator of a wider cultural/spiritual landscape.

3.6. Montsacro's Natural Values: Conservation value and Cultural associations

The Sierra del Aramo range, in which Montsacro is included, is the most important fauna and flora reserve within the central-eastern part of Asturias. It supports a diversity of native species in an acceptable state of conservation thanks to the absence of major environmental impacts and to certain traditional ways of living still alive although in decline. Tables 9 to 12 in the appendix present a sample of Montsacro's natural values, which are shared with the Sierra del Aramo, including their main cultural and spiritual associations and their conservation situation and protection status.

Many of the flora species in Montsacro are protected species. Out of the sample of fifteen species presented in the previously mentioned tables seven are listed as threatened in the Catalogue of Threatened Flora Native Species in Asturias (e.g. holly, (fig. 3.6.1.)), three are listed in the EU Habitats Directive (e.g. Narciso de Asturias (*Narcissus asturiensis*) and Pijara fern (*Woodwardia radicans*)) and six of them appear in the IUCN Red Data List of Threatened Species listed as Least Concern (e.g. Yew (*Taxus Baccata*)) and blue thistle or sea holly (*Eryngium bourgatii*) (fig. 3.6.2.)).

Montsacro and Sierra del Aramo have great wealth of flora with medicinal properties from which older generations enjoy vast knowledge that is dramatically decreasing in younger generations (Adela Suárez and Ernesto Manuel Fernández, pers. comm. 2011). For this very reason, botanists frequently visited and studied these mountains in the nineteenth century. Even today many people from older generations continue to harvest herbs and branches of all sorts of trees and plants, particularly during the pilgrimage

days. Additionally, a large amount of place-names in Montsacro, Aramo and its surrounding areas and villages are related to the native flora (Fernández Conde and Santos del Valle, 1987).



Fig. 3.6.1. (left) Holly's fruits. Fig. 3.6.2. (right) Sea Holly or Magdalene's Thistle.

The importance of fauna species in Montsacro is also quite remarkable. Out of the sample of the fourteenth species highlighted in the previous tables there are approximately twelve species of regional, national, European and international importance. The otter (*Lutra Lutra*) (fig. 3.6.3.) is listed in the IUCN Red List as Nearly Threatened and endemic species such as the Iberian Rock Lizard (*Berolacerta monticola*) and the Piornal Hare (*Lepus castroviejoi*) (fig. 3.6.5.) are listed in the same list as Vulnerable. The Egyptian Vulture (*Neophron pernopterus*), (fig. 3.6.4.) which is classified as Endangered (IUCN Red list) enjoys healthy numbers in Montsacro and Sierra del Aramo.

Wolves (*Canis Lupus Lupus*), (fig. 3.6.6.) which are legally protected from hunting, are also present. However, there are often conflicts with farmers and as a consequence some councils implement a system of compensation for cattle loss caused by wolves (Adela Suárez, pers. comm., 2011), (Mier, C., 2011).



Fig. 3.6.3. (left) Otter in Asturian river.



Fig. 3.6.4. (right) Egyptian Vulture.



Fig. 3.6.5. (left) The Pironal Hare in Sierra del Aramo.



Fig. 3.6.6. (right) Asturian Wolf.

The Western Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus cantabricus*), endangered and protected from habitat alteration in Asturias, is present in Aramo but no longer in Montsacro. Its population is declining dramatically because of habitat fragmentation and proliferation of wild boars. In the sixties it suffered the intensive harvesting of one of its main sources of foods: the holly (fig. 3.6.1.). The holly was used for Christmas decorations, a custom from which it is now protected. The holly is one of many trees that had sacred connotations since pre-roman times, that were Christianised afterwards, and which its spiritual associations only remain today in folklore.

The brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) is rarely observed in Aramo, as it is the eastern limit of its Cordillera Cantábrica range. It is usually not found in Montsacro as it is on the boundary with metropolitan Asturias. Wild boars (*Sus scrofa*), currently constitute the main threat to Montsacro's habitat (fig. 3.6.7. and 3.6.8.). They proliferate in the area and are controlled mainly through hunting and traps, which, unfortunately, also pose a serious threat to brown bears.



Fig. 3.6.7. (left) Wild Boars in Asturias.

Fig. 3.6.8. (right) Destruction of pastures and habitats by wild boars in Montsacro.

There is a wealth of cultural associations related to floral species. Most associations occur in folklore or even mythology rather than in the spirituality of the people, and most of the people would not even be aware of them (Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011). This is the case of whitethorns (*Crataegus monogyna*), (fig. 3.6.10.) the most prolific tree in Montsacro and a sacred tree since pre-Roman times. Its spiritual associations, which traditionally prevented them from felling, no longer remain and its traditional use by locals to flavour coffee led to a major fell in Montsacro area that stopped in the 70s (Francisco Fernández pers. comm. 2011). Along the same lines, ash trees (*Fraxinus excelsior*) (fig. 3.6.9.) located nearby the hermitages, are considered indicators of sacred sites, it was also considered as sacred since pre-Roman times, and it has been traditionally linked with the knights of the Templar (Ávila Granados, 2003). Anyhow, these associations remain in folklore and most locals are no longer aware of them (Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011).



Fig. 3.6.9. (left) Ash tree located nearby Santiago's chapel.

Fig. 3.6.10. (right) Whitethorns in Montsacro.

The yew tree has probably the richest depth of associations linked with its longevity and its fruits poisonous properties. Additionally, yews are currently listed as species of special importance in the Catalogue of Threatened Species of Asturias and are protected from felling without official consent. Yews were one of the sacred trees in the Celtic mythology and were worshipped by pre-Roman populations in the area. The yew's longevity and properties such as its poisoning fruits linked it to the otherworld and the ancestors. Its spiritual connotations were assimilated into the Christian period when churches were built nearby the sacred yews, and it was and still is common practice to plant yews nearby churches.

It is the most sacred and most hugged tree in Asturias still to the present times and it has a special presence in Montsacro. There is a yew growing from the rock with crosses painted nearby and religious offerings used as one of the stations by some pilgrims when climbing the mountain (fig. 3.6.11. and 3.6.12). There is another yew planted close to the hermitages in Montsacro and blessed by the priest during the 2001 pilgrimage (fig. 3.6.13.). This was planted on the initiative of local pilgrims, and its survival following two years of severe drought is considered a miracle (Ernesto Manuel Fernández & Francisco Fernández, pers. comm., 2011).

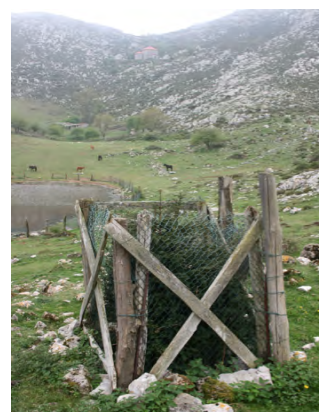


Fig. 3.6.11. (left) Yew that grows from the rock along the pilgrimage path in Montsacro.

Fig. 3.6.12. (middle) close up showing religious paintings in the Yew's rock.

Fig. 3.6.13. (right) Yew planted by pilgrims in 2001 in the cattle shelter area between the chapels. Note Santiago's chapel in the background.

Another interesting example is the *Teixu l'Illesia* ('yew of the church' in Asturian language) in Bermiego, a village to the West of Sierra del Aramo (fig. 3.6.14.). The yew is thought to be older than the church itself (about two thousand years old) and it is thought to be the oldest known yew in Spain and one of the oldest in Europe. It was declared a Natural Monument in 1995 and enjoys protection under Asturian law (Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 2011b). However, it is the spiritual and identity values that the local community associate with the tree that have protected it from any sort of wilful damage. In the past it was the gathering site for neighbourhood assemblies. Today it is still revered, as a tradition passed on from one generation to the next, so much so that emigrants, when sending letters to their beloved ones, not only would ask about their families but also about the yew (Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011).

The same cannot be said of the yew in recently restored Santa Eulalia's parish church (fig. 3.6.15.), which was one of the traditional starting points of the Montsacro pilgrimage before the arrival of cars. The cultural associations and the customary laws that previously protected the yew from damage were forgotten.



Fig. 3.6.14. (left) *Teixu l'Illesia* Yew in Bermiego.



Fig. 3.6.15. (right) Santa Eulalia's parish church with a palm tree substituting the yew.

The centenary tree was used as an advertisement post for many years leading to its destruction over three decades ago. In tune with the loss of cultural connections, a palm tree was planted in its place. The seeds were brought by some of the numerous emigrants that moved to Latin America during times of economic hardship. Not everybody is happy with it but the most of the people either do not care or are not even aware of it (Ernesto Manuel Fernández & Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011).

The blue thistle that grows in the grazing lands of the mountain is uniquely considered sacred in Montsacro, taking also its popular name after the mountain: *el cardo de la Magdalena*, (the thistle of the Magdalene). In the Basque language is called *Eguzquillore* (flower of the sun) evidencing its associations with the sun in pre-Roman Spain probably because of its morphology. Pilgrims traditionally harvest it during pilgrimage days. As pilgrims' numbers are small this harvesting is not a threat for this species.

It is thought to be a source of spiritual healing powers, although no actual medicinal properties are known (Ernesto Manuel Fernández, Adela Suárez and Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011). Local people used to rub thistles against the statue of Our Lady (fig. 3.6.16) located in one of the hermitages, in order to bless them. That stopped two years ago when the priest decided to bless all the thistles in order to protect the new image of Our Lady of Montsacro from damage (Miguel Angel García, pers. comm., 2011). Numerous songs in the folklore associated with Montsacro's pilgrimage relate to this particular thistle, to its sacredness, and its spiritual properties and their harvest by pilgrims (Natividad Torres, pers. comm. 2011; and González, 1958). As a Christianised solar symbol it can also be found in the region carved in numerous altars, churches and even traditional asturian wooden structures for food storage (*hórreos* and *paneras*). (fig. 3.6.17. and 3.6.18.).

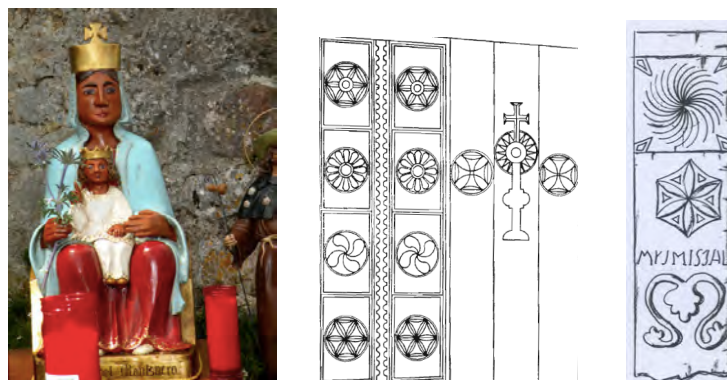


Fig. 3.6.16. (left) Our Lady of Montsacro holding a Holy Thistle. Fig. 3.6.17. (middle) Engravings from local's old granary in La Regura (nearby Montsacro). Fig. 3.6.18. (right) Engravings from Early Medieval doorjamb from Santa Eulalia parish church, Morcín.

3.7. Croagh Patrick's Natural Values: Conservation value and Cultural/Spiritual associations.

From a conservation point of view, Croagh Patrick is important because of its upland habitats, specially the blanket bog. The diversity of habitats includes blanket bog, heath, flushes, brackens, exposed rock and scree, and semi-natural acidic grasslands. Some of them are listed under Annex I of the EU Habitats Directive. There are also numerous protected areas within and nearby Croagh Patrick, some of them of European relevance (table 3.7.1.).

Table 3.7.1. Croagh Patrick's and nearby area's protected habitats

Protected Areas (designation in 1995)	Designated for / EU Habitats Directive (Annex I):
Croagh Patrick pNHA (000483)	Blanket bogs (active) (7130) (Priority)
Lough Greney Bog NHA (002455) (Eastern slopes of Croagh Patrick)	Blanket bogs (active) (7130) (Intact) (Priority)
Brackloon Woods candidate SAC pNHA (000471) (4 km east of Croagh Patrick)	Old sessile oak woods with Ilex and Blechnum in the British Isles (91A0) (Non Priority)
Knappagh Woods pNHA (001520) (3 km north-east of Croagh Patrick)	Insects, rich flora. Calcareous lake, rich orchid Flora, birds, marsh, rich fen.
Clew Bay SAC (000483), pNHA & Site of Geological Interest. (North of Croagh Patrick)	Numerous species (mainly birds) catalogued in EU Habitats & Birds Directive (Annex II), in Irish Red Book and IUCN red list of threatened species.
Caher Island pNHA (001969) (Part of Croagh Patrick pilgrimage, Clew Bay)	Birds

Blanket bog habitat is a globally scarce resource and some of the best-developed and more extensive areas of blanket bog are located in Britain and Ireland. However, only twenty per cent of the original area of blanket bog remains in Ireland (O'Connell, 2002). Consequently, it is a EU priority habitat and Croagh Patrick has been proposed as a Natural Heritage Area. Its Eastern flank, which has a more intact blanket bog, has already been declared as a Natural Heritage Area, following requirements of the European Union (Eoin McGreal, pers. comm., 2011).

This upland habitat is also home to rare and threatened species in Ireland (see table 13 in appendix) such as the Alpine Saw-wort (*Saussurea alpina*) (fig. 3.7.2.), which is recorded in the Irish Red Book as Vulnerable. The Mountain Ronglest butterfly (*Erobia epiphron*) (fig. 3.7.1.) is rarely found below 300m and one of its few records in Ireland was found in Croagh Patrick, although it has not been sighted for over hundred years.

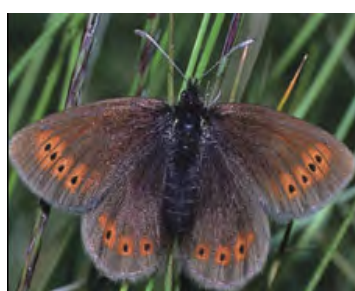


Fig. 3.7.1. (left) Mountain Ronglest butterfly. Fig. 3.7.2. (right) Alpine Saw-wort.

One of the mammal species of international conservation importance found on the mountain is the badger (*Meles meles*) (fig. 3.7.3.). It is listed in the Irish and IUCN Red Data as of Least Concern, and it is legally protected in Ireland. Badgers are permanently found in Brackloon Woods, situated four kilometres from Croagh Patrick. For that reason, and because of its old sessile oak wood habitat (a EU priority habitat), Brackloon Woods has been proposed as a candidate Special Area of Conservation. The Irish hare (*Lepus timidus hibernicus*) (fig. 3.7.4.) an endemic species protected in Ireland and Europe as a gaming species, is also found in the mountain. Although

traditionally a gaming species, it is generally not included in the diets of people in the West of Ireland due to certain taboos that are reminiscence of its sacredness in pre-Christian times (Fahey and Ballintubber Team work, 2006).



Fig. 3.7.3. (left) Irish Badgers.



Fig. 3.7.4. (right) Irish Hare.

Clew Bay's protected area houses numerous species of European conservation relevance such as otters (*Lutra lutra*), Bar-tailed Godwits (*Limosa lapponica*) or Red-breasted Meganser (*Mergus serrator*) (see table 16 in appendix).

Croagh Patrick is the central part of a wider spiritual landscape. Table 15 in the appendix shows the cultural and spiritual associations of the different natural features that form Croagh Patrick's wider 'sacred landscape'. An association that could be highlighted is that related to Lough Na Corra situated to the East of the mountain. While fasting in the mountain, Saint Patrick banished the most terrible demon he encountered on the mountain top. It was the devil's mother with serpent shape known as the Caorthannach, who was throw into Lough NaCorra. The lake was later named after the demon.



Fig. 3.7.5. View of Lough NaCorra from the Easter side of Croagh Patrick.

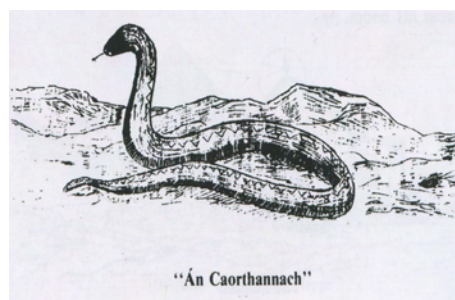


Fig. 3.7.6. Representation in *Tóchar Phádraig* pilgrims's book of the serpent/demon Caorthannach.

Clew Bay and the *Tóchar Phádraig* path are important elements of Croagh Patrick's sacred landscape. The *Tóchar Phádraig* pilgrimage route, of approximately 35.4 km, also includes interesting species and features with rich cultural and spiritual associations summarised in table 16 in the appendix.

The *Tóchar*'s natural history and values and their cultural and spiritual associations have been extensively researched and recorded by Father Frank Fahey from Ballintubber Abbey (Fahey & Ballintubber Team work, 2006). A number of holy wells, many of which are still subject of pilgrimage, and mass rocks, where masses were performed during Penal times, can be found along the way. Most of their names show associations with Saint Patrick.

There is a series of tree species once considered sacred and whose sacredness has weakened dramatically in the last decades remaining mainly in folklore. Some of them had strong cultural associations that traditionally prevented them from felling. This is the case of whitethorns whose traditional links with fairies and their poisonous thorns made them the one of the most sacrosanct trees together with the hawthorn as shown in the Irish twentieth century survey of sacred trees (Tree Council of Ireland, 2011). Felling any of these trees would be considered as carrying terrible consequences and bringing bad luck to the feller. Hazel was also protected from felling in this manner in the past and it was also considered to be a sacred tree and a conductor of spiritual energy. It should be mentioned that walking sticks used by pilgrims to climb Croagh Patrick are made of Hazel wood, even if this tree is not the most prolific around Croagh Patrick (Paddy Guthrie, pers. comm. 2011).

Not only cultural associations protected these species but also helped during the research and the re-discovery of the *Tóchar* led by Father Fahey in the eighties. Blackthorns, which frequently grow along the path as a result of discarded pips eaten by

walking pilgrims, helped in the location of the *Tóchar* in those areas where it was not visible any longer.

3.8. Montsacro's built heritage and its spiritual and intangible associations

Montsacro's historical phases materialised in tangible cultural remains that are summarised in table 17 to 20 in the appendix, which include the values located in mountain and surroundings, general information about them including their protection and conservation state, and their associated intangible and spiritual values. Most sites mentioned are recorded in inventories and consequently protected, and are owned by the State or the Church, with the exception of the ethnographic heritage listed, which is privately owned.

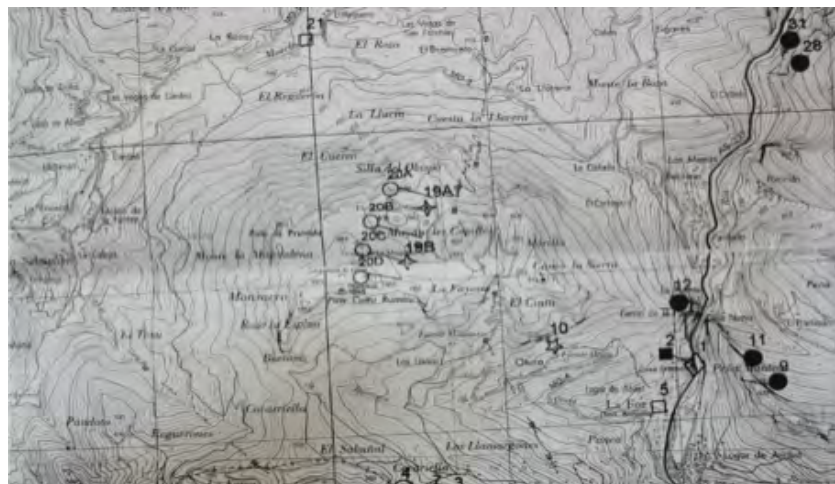


Fig. 3.8.1. Close-up of map showing identified and protected built heritage in Montsacro:
19A/B: Hermitages and 20 A/B/C/D: Tumuli.

The oldest remains found in the mountain are the tumular megalithic necropolises (fig. 3.8.1., 3.8.2. and 3.8.3.), which are dated to Neolithic times and that are linked to the cult of ancestors. Most of them have a hollow-like crater and many of them are difficult to identify, probably as a result of plundering and of collapse of the funerary chamber. Montsacro's Roman past is represented in the tangible form of a funerary stele found in its foothills, now located in a private collection (Álvarez and Benxa, 1981).



Fig. 3.8.2. (left) Two tumuli in Montsacro. Fig. 3.8.3. (right) Tumulus under the lower hermitage.

The tradition says that the upper hermitage (fig. 3.8.4.) was built on top of a dolmen or a funerary chamber where the relics were hidden, which is identified with the location of the so-called Saint Toribio's well (fig. 3.8.5.). Recent emergency excavations undertaken in 1986 in both hermitages, did not find any evidence of it (Fernández Conde, 1986). Saint Toribio is always related to sites where there were dolmens or tumulus before. There is a plausible theory that states that the pre-roman word for mound (*Taurus*) developed in words like *turo* or *torimbo*, possible roots of the name Toribio. The fact that it became a saint could also show its intrinsic sacredness (González 1958 and Alarcón, 1986).



Fig. 3.8.4. (left) Montsacro's Upper hermitage. Fig. 3.8.5. (right) Altar over St. Toribio's well.

The hermitages are located only three hundred meters from each other (fig. 3.8.6. and 3.8.7.), built mainly with local stone, are the main focus of attention and interest in Montsacro. They were built because of the presence of the relics and the pilgrimage linked with its worship. The upper one is the most popular both for locals and scholars,

because of its morphology and associations with the Knights of the Templar, which used this kind of polygonal buildings based on the temple of Jerusalem, where they got their name from. They protected pilgrims along the pilgrimage paths to Jerusalem but also along Saint James's Way (Alarcón, R. 1986). Besides, the presence of the octagonal chapel seems to evidence the real or believed presence of the relics in the mountain in the middle ages.



Fig. 3.8.6. (left) *Mayéu de les Capilles* (Summit's central plain cattle shelter are). View from Lower hermitage showing the Upper hermitage on the upper right. Fig. 3.8.7. (right) Lower Hermitage.

It is a typical octagonal *martiria* structure, traditionally built to house relics (fig. 3.8.8.) (Cadrecha y Caparrós, et al. 1984). It is the only example of octagonal chapel in Asturias and one of the few in Spain, making it a unique piece of architecture. The lower chapel has its own legend too: its building was caused by the apparition of Our Lady up to seven times in that location (Gonzalez, 1958 & Cadrecha y Caparós et al., 1984). Art Historians Cadrecha y Caparrós et al (1984) when analysing this octagonal chapel state that stones do not lie. Many instances have been found in Asturias of folk legends that have later been proved in historical records. As a consequence, Cadrecha y Caparros state that intangible folk associations linked with certain monuments, usually regarded as 'false tales' by scholars, deserve more respect and attention.

After falling into neglect despite a recorded restoration in 1886 (González, 1958), they were restored fully in 1986 with a previous emergency excavation (the only excavation

undertaken so far in the mountain), before been protected by law by been declared Historic Artistic Monuments in 1992, and the upper hermitage was retiled in 2008 (fig. 3.8.10.). Both hermitages were in a previous ruinous state and even the lower one was used as shelter for the cattle (fig. 3.8.9 and 3.8.11.). Cadrecha y Caparrós et al (1984) argue that the neglect and abandonment that the chapels were undergoing before the recent restorations are indicative of the loss of traditional bonds with the site and the lack of sensitivity and appreciation for History.



Fig. 3.8.8. Upper hermitage's building plan. Fig. 3.8.9. Upper hermitage previous to 1986 restoration. Fig. 3.8.10. Close up of Upper hermitage's tile roofing after 1986 restoration and 2008 retiling.

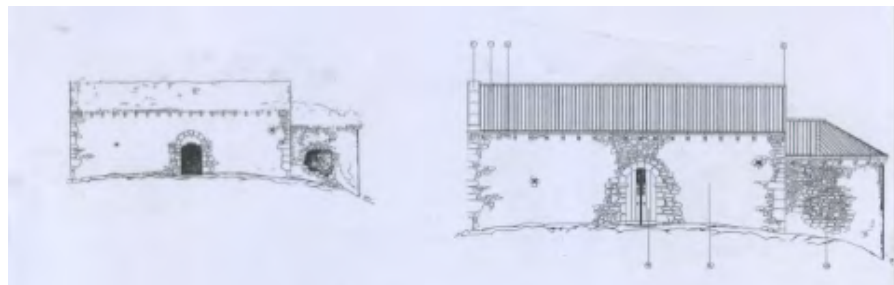


Fig. 3.8.11. Drawings of the situation of the Lower hermitage pre and post-restoration (note the wall opening in the altar previous to restoration as used by cattle for shelter)

These hermitages contain also religious images. The oldest one is a seventeenth century image of Mary Magdalene re-located in the lower hermitage in after its restoration in 1986 (fig. 3.8.12.). During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), it was placed in a neighbour's house for safety. It was stolen in the nineties and it was fortunately found in France, where it was going to be sold in the black antiquities market. The other images found in the hermitages are all modern, such as the most revered ones Saint James and

Our Lady of Montsacro, creations both of Natividad Torres the chapel custodian (fig. 3.8.13.). This is a product of vandalism and destruction during the Civil War due to anti-Catholic/Church ideological movements that followed up in recent times, during the eighties, when somebody shot the old image of Saint James from the window. Not only the images suffered vandalism during the Civil War but also the traditional cattle structures found in Montsacro, which are also in a ruinous state due to the decline in the farming activities (fig. 3.8. 14.).



Fig. 3.8.12. (left) 17th c. Mary Magdalene's statue in lower hermitage. Fig. 3.8.13. (left) Natividad Torres with Our Lady of Montsacro ad Saint James (upper hermitage).

Apart of other more difficult paths, there are three main paths to access the mountain: the traditional pilgrimage one that departs from Santa Eulalia and goes through la Llorera (placename that comes from female laurel tree in Asturian language), and the path that goes from La Foz through Los Llanos. Pilgrims traditionally walked the stone path heading to the upper heritage barefoot (fig. 3.8.15.). The Nazarenos religious group use the Los Llanos path in which they painted stones with religious symbols where they perform stations regularly (Fig. 3.8.16.).



Fig. 3.8.14. (right) Traditional cattle structures in Montsacro nearby the hermitages.

Fig. 3. 8. 15. (middle) Stone path/stairs to Upper hermitage (used by some pilgrims walking barefoot). Fig. 3.8.16. (right) Offerings in one of the Stations used by certain religious groups along Los Llanos path.

There are other examples of built heritage in Montsacro's surroundings related to industrial (mining) and ethnographic heritage. There are also castles and numerous medieval churches, as well as pre-historic sites. Anyhow the only one that would have an obvious link with Montsacro's pilgrimage, as one of the pilgrims' stops before climbing, is Santa Eulalia's Parish Church. It dates back to the ninth century and includes Romanesque and pre-Romanesque styles (fig. 3.6.15.).

Studies of placenames in Montsacro undertaken with the help of the local community in 1987 served to improve the knowledge of certain traditions and legends related to its spiritual dimension, as well as its economic significance. The most extensive kinds of placenames were found to be the descriptive ones, mostly related to the vegetation (Fernández Conde & Santos del Valle, M. 1987).

3.9. Croagh Patrick's Built Heritage and its spiritual and intangible associations.

'As a mountain Croagh Patrick may not represent an archaeological site in the true sense, however, no artificial structure could replicate such a dominant feature in the landscape' (Corlett, 1996, p. 54). Contrary to the Montsacro case, the focus of the spirituality is not on built heritage, but in the mountain itself. Additionally, its unique presence originated a whole spiritual/cultural landscape. On the contrary, this cultural

landscape focused in the sacred mountain seems to have been lost in Montsacro and remains unknown as no excavations and surveys took place to the present day.

Croagh Patrick's sacred landscape is formed by a series of natural values and tangible cultural values with intangible associations. The latter ones are summarised in tables 21 to 23 in appendix. These tables include general information about the sites and intangible associations highlighting instances of customary laws that impact in the preservation of the sites.

Some of the built heritage found in Croagh Patrick is still used to perform stations by circumvallating three or four sites (if Saint Patrick's statue in Murrisk' hillside, erected in 1928 and funded by emigrants in America, is included), while saying a set number of prayers. The tradition may date back to the fifth century after Saint Patrick fasted there, although this remains unknown (Hughes, 2010). It is also argued that it could have a pre-Christian origin. These stations are an expression of the Catholic/folk religious faith, but they also incorporate pre-Christian archaeological sites and pre-Christian rites like the clockwise *deiseal* circuits (Corlett, 1996 and Corlett, 1998). Two of these sites date back to the Bronze Age (fig. 3.9.1. and 3.9.2.). Interaction with the archaeological sites has altered their original appearance, as this is a case when use is prioritised over conservation.



Fig. 3.9.1. (left) Bronze Age cairns Reilig Mhuire (third station). Fig. 3.9.2. (right) Bronze Age cairn Leacht Benáin (Benin's Monument) (first station).

Croagh Patrick is the focus of a wider spiritual and cultural landscape (see fig. 1-4 in appendix). In the Bronze Age archaeological complex of Annagh-Killadangan, in the south east shore of Clew Bay, (fig. 3.9.3. and 3.9.4.) there is a series of standing stones found to be aligned with the sun setting into a notch in the east of Croagh Patrick during the winter solstice. After this was discovered in the eighties, the local community organisation Murrisk Development Association organises annual sights of this phenomenon for locals.



Fig. 3.9.3. (left) Annagh-Killadangan Bronze Age Archaeological Complex. Fig. 3.9.4. (right) Standing stones within Annagh-Killadangan complex aligned towards Croagh Patrick.

The summit has a hilltop rampart that probably enclosed an earlier sacred site in which excavations directed by Walsh in 1995-1996 found an Early Christian Church (fig. 3.9.5.). Together with historical records, these evidence the constant presence of a church in the summit. The present church's central nave was built in 1905 and the lateral wings were subsequently added in the sixties (fig. 3.9.6 and 3.9.7).



Fig. 3.9.5. (left) Computer generated interpretation of Early Christian summit (SW). Fig. 3.9.6. (right) The summit of Croagh Patrick from the East, showing the 1905 Oratory, the Early Christian oratory and Leaba Phádraig.

This initiative was funded mainly by the local community particularly emigrants in America. Its aim was to promote the mountain and its pilgrimage, which was on decline in that moment, as part of the revival of Irish nationalism and the promotion of national symbols. The church has also contemporary religious artefacts that were also donated and funded by the community (Hughes, 2010).

A man made cave-like dwelling (fig. 3.9.8.) and a grave can also be found in the mountain related to a hermit, Bob of the Reek (Robert Binns) that lived seasonally for fifteen years in the mountain during the second half of the nineteenth century and performed the pilgrimage for others (Hughes, 2010). The stories related to this man are casted in folk memory for generations (Paddy Guthrie, pers. comm. 2011).



Fig. 3.9.7. Interior of Oratory in summit. Fig. 3.9.8. Bob of the Reek's man made cave-like dwelling and members of the Croagh Patrick Archaeological Excavation team.

The mountain ridges in Lecanvey and Murrisk still carry scars of lazy beds, which refer to old potato cultivation ridges farmed on foothills in the nineteenth century (fig. 3.9.9. and 3.9.10.) They were built during the times of severe famines in the area, when potato was the basic food of the peasantry of Ireland. Stonewalls built in the same famine contexts can also still be seen fencing the mountain's commonage.



Fig. 3.9.9. (left) Scars of famine lazy beds on Croagh Patrick's foothills.

Fig. 3.9.10. (right) Drawing from *Tóchar's* pilgrim book depicting the famine lazy beds.

Murrisk Abbey is an important site, (fig. 3.9.11. and 3.9.12.) which became the most popular starting point of the pilgrimage since the Augustinians founded it in Gothic style in the fifteenth century.



Fig. 3.9.11. (left) Murrisk Abbey Fig. 3.9.12. (right) Mass in Murrisk Abbey 1999.

The two most recent additions to this landscape date from 2000, both financed with the Millenium Fund and located here thanks to the initiative and efforts of the local community. The National Famine Memorial (fig. 3.9.13. and 3.9.14.), an impressive statue of a Famine ship built in memory of all those that died and emigrated due to the severe famines that Ireland, particularly Mayo, suffered during the nineteenth century. The Millenium Park is a five-acre park that heightens the visual impact of both Croagh Patrick and the Famine Memorial.



Fig. 3.9.13. (left) Famine memorial with Croagh Patrick in the background.

Fig. 3.9.14. (right) Famine memorial close-up.

The *Tóchar Phádraig* is a pilgrimage path of approximately 35.4 km that pre-dates Saint Patrick and runs westwards to the mountain from Ballintubber Abbey. Table 23 in the appendix present a summary of some of the most important sites and monuments

and their spiritual and intangible associations that can be found along the *Tóchar Phádraig* (fig. 3.9.15.).

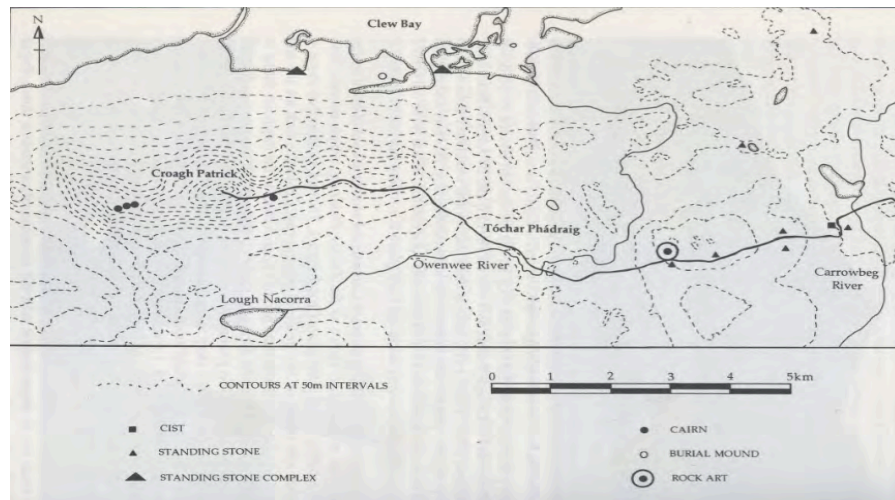


Fig. 3.9.15. Map of *Tóchar Phádraig* highlighting several archaeological remains along the way.

Ballintubber Abbey was founded in the thirteenth century and it is considered as the only church in Ireland founded by an Irish king, with continued religious use by Catholics until the present time, despite religious persecution in the past. Father Fahey, Ballintubber Abbey's parish priest, undertook an outstanding work in the research and re-opening of the *Tóchar* during the eighties (fig. 3.9.16.), as well as in the reconstruction of the abbey and the creation and design of a whole sacred landscape around it (fig. 3.9.17). Both initiatives by Father Fahey were undertaken by the local community and thanks to local government financial support. This abbey is now the starting point of the *Tóchar* and a popular site for spiritual retirements.



Fig. 3.9.16. (left) Section of the original *Tóchar* path nearby Ballintubber Abbey. Fig. 3.9.17. (right) Reconstruction of Early Christian church as part of ritual Landscape designed by Father Frank Fahey in the grounds of Ballintubber Abbey.

The only parts of the physical path protected by the National Monuments Acts are those that appear in the Ordinance Survey. On a popular tradition level, it was considered unlucky in the past to cut across a sacred path. This resulted in the building of walls along the path with non-parallel openings for transversal crossing of the path. This helped in the research and identification of the path. In addition, its sacred condition moved some landowners to save the path from being bulldozed away.

Numerous sites and monuments can be found along the path dating back to pre-historic times, such as the Boheh Stone, a set of rocks with Bronze Age rock art carved which is one of the most highly decorated stones with this art style in Ireland and Britain (fig. 3.9.18.).

From these stones the phenomenon of the rolling sun, discovered in 1987 can be seen: it lines up with the sun setting in Croagh Patrick twice a year (Hughes, 2010), (fig. 3.9.19.). Folklore says that Saint Patrick used it as a mass rock. A mass took place here during the pilgrimage of the Prime Minister and the President of Ireland in 2011 (fig. 3.9.20.).

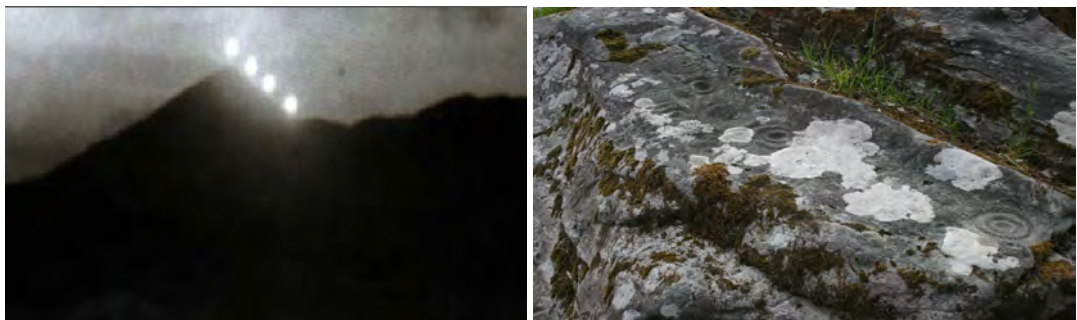


Fig. 3.9.18. (right) Boheh Stone.

Fig. 3.9.19. (left) Phenomenon of the rolling stone viewed from the Boheh Stone.

There are sites along the path that were preserved by traditions acting as customary laws for protection. Some examples are Lankill's mass rock, a Penal times mass altar, which was protected by locals' 'superstitions' from being destroyed by the landlord in the nineteenth century (Fahey and Ballintubber Team work, 2006) (fig. 3.9.21).

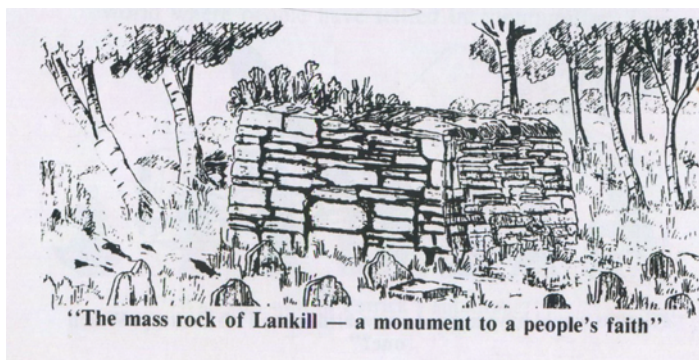


Fig. 3.9.20. (left) Mass celebrated in Boheh stone celebrated during the 2011 *Tóchar* pilgrimage by former Prime Minister and President of Ireland. Fig. 3.9.21. Drawing of Lankill's mass rock from *Tóchar's* pilgrims book.

Croagh Patrick's local's pilgrimage on the fifteenth of August traditionally finishes in Caher Island being for many pilgrims the location of the last of the stations (fig. 3.9.22.). This island's built heritage, consisting on Early Christian ruins of a hermitage and a cross-inscribed slab, has traditionally been protected by customary laws: carrying away any object from the island was considered as potentially punishable by god (Hughes, 2010).

Other example of protective customary laws is Killawalla Church, a more recent church built re-using the stones from an earlier medieval one, following priest's orders. He did not want to accept locals' refusal to relocate these sacred stones the unfortunate priest died within a week of the relocation which was considered a punishment from on high by the locals (Fahey and Ballintubber Team work, 2006). Other sites highlighted are the remains of an early medieval patrician church and round tower in Aghawoner, one of the stops made by Saint Patrick en route to Croagh Patrick (fig. 3.9.23.). There are also numerous villages deserted due to the famine, as well as monastic sites, mills, forts, medieval castles etc.



Fig. 3.9.22. Caher Island's early medieval remains. Fig. 3.9.23. Aghawoner's Patrician medieval church and early Christian tower.

3.10. Impacts of pilgrimage in conservation.

Movement and perception is key in landscape evolution and preservation. The *ambulatory vision* that people get from walking along a path is a continuum perceived in physical and time movement that is crucial in acquiring knowledge in relation to the landscape (Gibson, J. 1986). Walking along paths allows people to connect with the land and acquire knowledge through the physical senses with the memories and stories of the place. It is a process that merges people with the land (Bender, B. 2001).

This movement brings awareness and gives meaning to the landscape and allows for an acknowledgement of the past and the embedded values of the landscape. The process of moving throughout landscapes involves all the senses including the sense of belonging: *'The landscapes in which people dwell can be said to dwell in them'* (Basso and Feld, 1996, p.122). Knowledge acquired through perception of the tread-upon landscape and the acknowledgement of its embedded values leads to a better understanding of its components, conservation status and possible methods of preservation (Hamilton, 2002).

Pilgrimage is a dynamic universal spiritual exercise that strengthens a reflective perception and deep spiritual relationship with nature by which pilgrim and nature merge (García-Varela, 2006 and Quesada-Embid, 2008). This reflective spiritual

perception contrasts with the dispersion and speed that dominates our world. Walking as a pilgrim establishes a consciousness of land's embedded values. Traces made by humans on the landscapes, both physical and intangible, are in turn defining them and acting upon them, as many stories in folklore depict. In addition, pilgrims generally have an especially good attitude towards natural and cultural values, which is generally seen with reverence and respect. Pilgrimage reinforces more respectful and conscious approach.

Sacred sites are inhabited landscapes where the past, which gives depth to the landscape, remains through its persisting impacts on the present, and this is key in place and community identity making. These landscapes are experienced and known by means of movement (Schaaf, 2006 and Harkin, 2000). Paths, walked by pilgrims are a metaphor for the process of thinking and give the opportunity to reach enlightenment. Penance aspect of the pilgrimage involves that pilgrims leave a part of their selves there symbolising their let go of attachments to the ego in order to attain enlightenment for the benefit of others.

Pilgrimage also widens the scope of key influential agents not only to religious leaders but also to all those that deal with human emotions and spirituality. Consequently, due to the special nature of these sites, rather than scientists or conservationists, it is specially spiritual leaders but also musicians, poets and artists the ones that can help in re-canalising human's attitudes towards these sites (Hamilton, 2002). Pilgrimage is the source and means to do so.

Apart of the built and tangible heritage involved in pilgrimage, this phenomenon also includes a series of intangible values like dance, music or community identity and social cohesion. These are not only considered values by themselves subject to protection, but also interact dramatically with the conservation of other cultural and natural values.

These values are also key elements in itself protected by the 2005 Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

During pilgrimages in Croagh Patrick different nationalities, cultures and ideologies exchange knowledge and reaffirm their identities at the same time as they coexist respectfully with others. Music, legends or prayers, remember the past and incorporates it into the present through the pilgrim's performance.

An additional value subject to protection is movement itself, walking over the worn footsteps of countless journeys of passed generations. In turn, British archaeologist Christopher Tilley (1994) argues that pilgrimage and walked paths create and maintain positive linkages and identities. The path, embedded with ancestral values, needs continued care through ritual behaviour, tangible routines and practices, and the more people share the landscape the more important it becomes.

The living traditions maintain also the built structures along the path through organic preservation. The pilgrimage path traditional living landscape is preserved just like it evolved, organically, by means of the traditions and activities of its peoples. In this case, pilgrimage is the main *raison d'être* of many of the activities, traditions and land features along the path (Quesada-Embid, 2008).

Montserrat and Croagh Patrick's case studies sit in two opposite poles in the pilgrimage point of view. On one hand, Montserrat's loss of pilgrims' numbers, spirituality and community attachment led to a loss of interest and in consequence a loss of both intangible and tangible values, both natural and cultural. Anyhow, the small numbers of pilgrims represent no harm to the landscape and its values.

On the other hand, Croagh Patrick's pilgrimage has still a strong spirituality and tradition. This led not only the preservation of the mountain and its surroundings during the nineteen eighties mining threats which will be further discussed in the following

chapters, but also to the discovery and preservation of its cultural and spiritual values and their subsequent promotion. Nevertheless, the popularity and rising unsustainable numbers of pilgrims combined with the increase of secular activities represent a serious threat on the mountain's environment, the spirituality of the site and the pilgrimage itself.

Father Frank Fahey, Ballintubber Abbey's parish priest, already mentioned for being actively involved in the restoration of the Abbey and the creation of its surrounding spiritual landscape, deserves a special mention that will be further explained in the next chapter. In addition to the creation of spiritual activities such as retreats, he also undertook great efforts, on his own initiative, towards the research, re-opening management, running and maintenance of the *Tóchar Phádraigh* in which he involved the local community. It represents an outstanding example of how pilgrimage and religious leaders play a key role in the preservation of the sites and the creation of awareness of all their aspects and values in a holistic manner (Father Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).

4. Results Analysis (Management and Protection)

4.1. Socio-Economic Values in Montsacro, impacts and threats.

Tables 4.1.1. presents the socio-economic activities that take place in Montsacro and their present or possible impacts in the mountain.

Tables 4.1.1. Socio-Economic Values in Montsacro		
Activity	Description	Present Impacts
Farming	Livestock: Horses, cattle, sheep and goats. Kept in the mountain from June to September On decline	Minimum impacts – the numbers of farmers in decline. Pastures have deteriorated and are turning into scrub.
Coal Mining	Less than 10% of the population engaged in mining	Does not affect the mountain environment directly 19 th c. Industrial Heritage of importance
Hunting	Wild game (e.g. wild boar, etc)	Positive impact - Controls the numbers of wild boar.
Fitness/Tourism	Climbers: Constant presence but small numbers. Annual Marathon. Cultural and spiritual tourists from all over Spain (minority).	No major impact: small numbers and respectful visitors. Economic revenue none or very small.
Power Plant	Uses gas since the 90s. Before used coal. Important source of employment.	Since 90s (gas) reduced environmental impact. Negative visual impact from Montsacro.
Power Lines	Built in the 70s- 80s Supplies energy to the power plant. It was the most economic solution (straight line) and locals were not consulted.	Negative landscape impact Disliked by locals Prevented inclusion in proposed protected area.
Pilgrimage	Sierra del Aramo (Alfilorios lake) supplies Oviedo area Montsacro supplies villages around.	No major impact: sustainable numbers and respectful pilgrims. Little or no economic benefit for locals.

Farming activities (fig. 4.1.1. and 4.1.2.) have no great impact, besides the fact that the decline in farming has resulted in the deterioration of the pastures and therefore the landscape. Coal mining does not affect the mountain directly, but the collapse of the

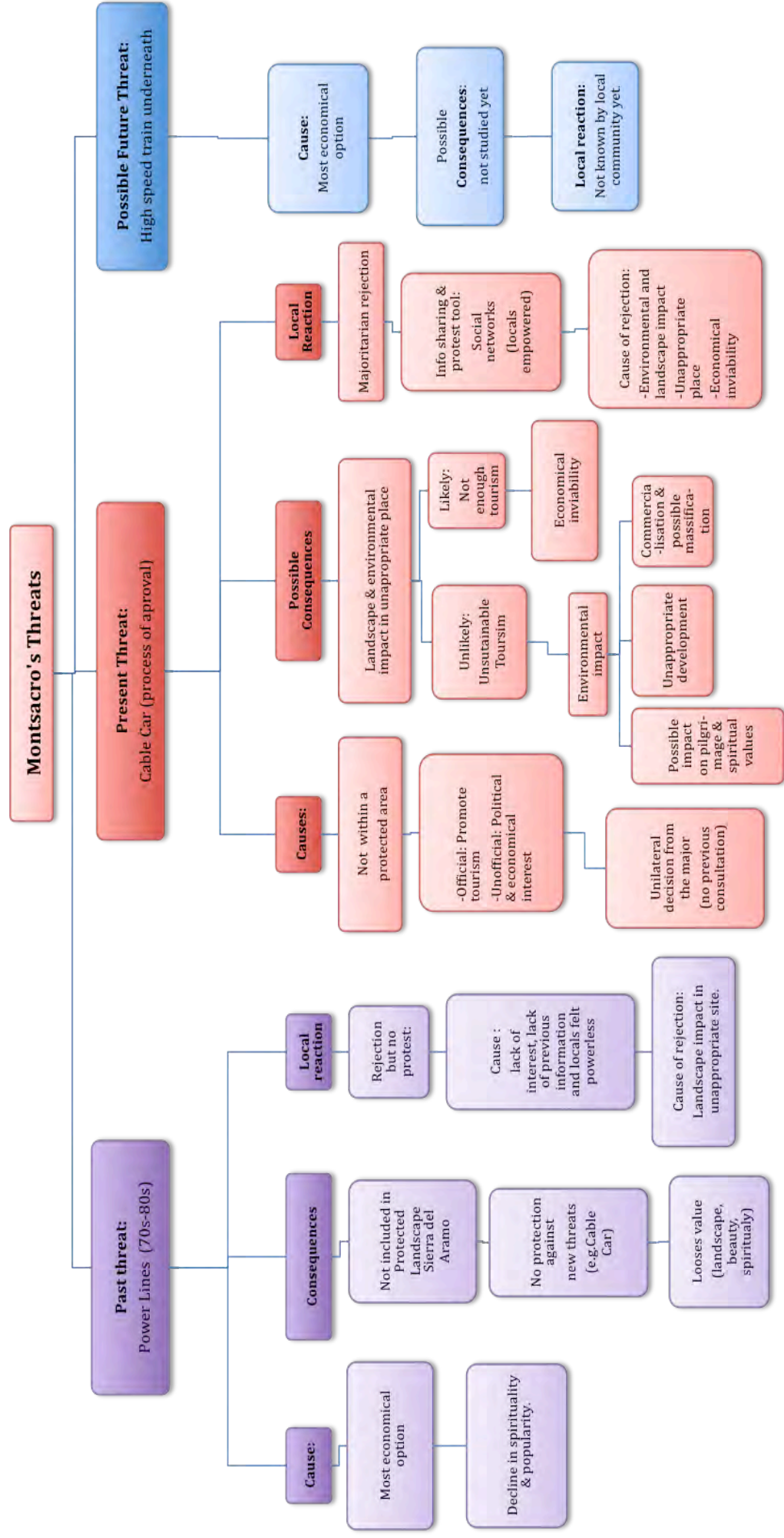
industry resulted in a dramatic loss of jobs that affected dramatically the economy of the area. Hunting is the only way to regulate the main natural threat that Montsacro has: the wild boars plague. The presence of climbers is constant, although in rather small numbers and with no major environmental impact. Any tourism that might take place related to Montsacro has no economic impact in the area (Natividad Torres, pers. comm., 2011).

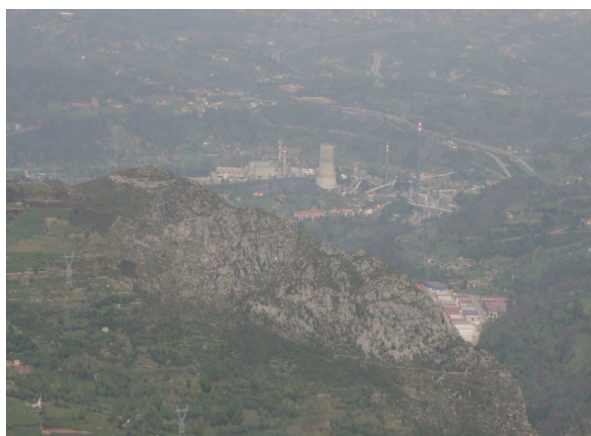


Fig. 4.1.1. (left) Cows in Montsacro's summit. Fig. 4.1.2. (right) Sheep in Montsacro's hillfoot.

Fig. 4.1.3. presents the main threats in Montsacro created by human activity. The power plant that can be seen from Montsacro's summit was a major environmental threat due to the use of coal up to the nineties, when major local community outcry and worries about the environmental impacts, led to change to gas fuel. This improved dramatically the levels of pollution. It also impacts dramatically in the landscape view from Montsacro (fig. 4.1.4.). This inspired a film directed by a member of the local community, José Antonio Quirós -'Ashes from the sky' (*Cenizas del cielo*)- depicting the contraction between the necessity and rejection for development (fig. 4.1.5.).

Fig. 4.1.3. Montsacro's Threats.





4.1.4. (left) Power Plant viewed from Montsacro. Fig. 4.1.5. (right) Film 'Ashes from the Sky'.

The power lines that pass through Montsacro and supply the nearby power plant represent a major negative impact in the landscape. Although the local community largely dislikes them, nothing was done to stop their construction in the seventies (Ernesto Manuel Fernández and Francisco Fernández, pers. comm., 2011). Their presence prevented the inclusion of Montsacro in the Sierra del Aramo protected landscape. Consequently, Montsacro is not part of a protected area and it is subject to possible further development in the future. As fig. 4.1.6. shows the power lines were built too close to the hermitages. This photograph was manipulated by a technician at Morcín Council to create awareness of the visual impact of these power lines.

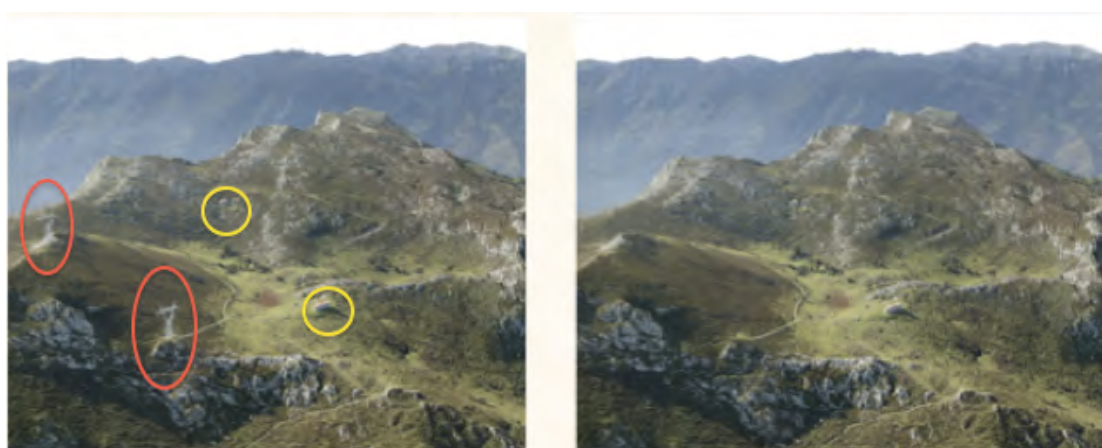


Fig. 4.1.6. Photos showing the power lines' visual impact in Montsacro's hermitages area. The hermitages are highlighted in yellow.

The council recently presented a project that proposed the construction of a cable car up to the summit of Montsacro and also to gain easier access to the hermitages.

Although it is presented as a possible tourism and economy booster, it faces the rejection from a great part of the local community (fig. 4.1.7. and 4.1.8.).



Fig. 4.1.7. (left) Pilgrims protesting during 2011 pilgrimage against the cable car.

Fig. 4.1.8. (right) Facebook page created by the local community to protest against the cable car project.

The state of the paths is good as the flow of pilgrims and visitors is very moderate (fig. 4.1.9. and 4.1.10.). In 2007 the council announced that the dangerous parts would be repaired; signage would be put along the path and a proper parking area would be built, although nothing has been done so far (Miguel Figueras (Morcín Council Councillor), pers. comm., 2011).

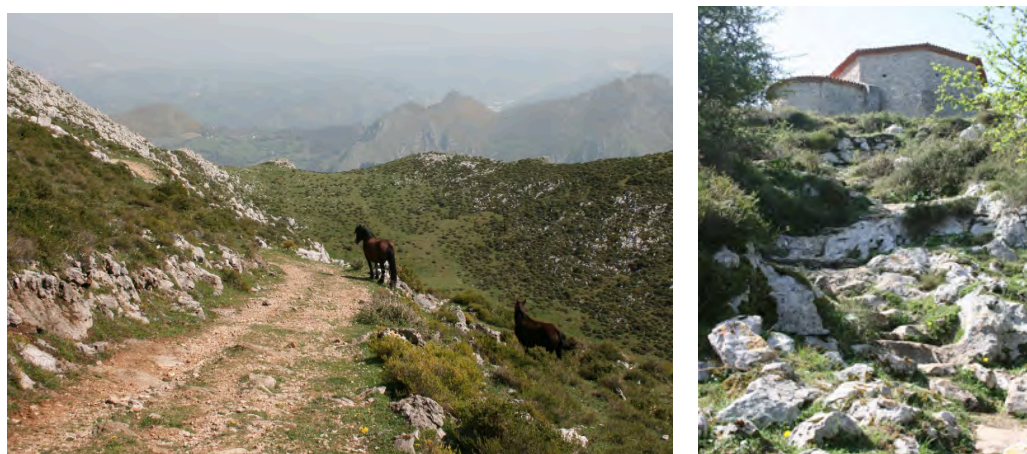


Fig. 4.1.9. (left) Montsacro's Path coming from Los Llanos. Fig. 4.1.10. (right) stone path/stairs to Upper hermitage (used by some pilgrims to walk barefoot).

4.2. Socio-Economic values in Croagh Patrick, impacts and threats.

Table 4.2.1. presents the socio-economic activities linked to Croagh Patrick.

Table 4.2.1. Socio-Economic Values in Croagh Patrick		
Activity	Description	Present Impacts
Farming	Livestock: Sheep Numbers dropped after EU regulations in the 90s	Minimum impacts –decline considered positive for environment. Maintains landscape.
Gold Mining	1980s International Mining Companies explorations. Exploitation stopped by public outcry.	See Fig. 4.2.5.
Turf extraction	Domestic turf cutting by locals up to 40 years ago. Protected area: domestic turf cutting allowed, industrial scale not allowed.	Cut down to the stone in greatest part. Mild impact on bog habitat.
	Surroundings: Industrial large scale: turf clamp bases located nearby mountain.	Dramatic impact bog habitat and landscape
Murrisk Development Association	Local community organisation with a local visitor centre with facilities running on voluntary bases.	-Maintenance and enhancement of Croagh Patrick and surroundings. -Promotes tourism promotion and locals' sense of belonging, awareness and pride. -Collaborates and mediates with Council. -Economic revenue.
Campbell's Pub	Local pub. Last owner was a pro-active custodian of Croagh Patrick. Community & pilgrims Meeting point	-Focal point in the local community- part of the spirit of the place and 'authenticity'. -Source of employment, economic revenue.
Tourism	Annual number: 100,000 & growing popularity -Climbing, fitness, sport competitions, and fundraising -Commercialisation	-Economic benefits and employment -Awareness and popularity -MAIN THREAT: (see fig. 4.2.13.).
Pattern Day	Annual religious/social/commercial event established by the Augustinians in the middle ages. Died out 14 years ago & reopened recently by local initiative (in car park).	-Local Community gathering, sense of belonging, -Economic benefits.
Pilgrimage	-Growing popularity: 10,000 - 30,000 (Nationally and internationally) - <i>Tóchar</i> : small and controlled numbers	-Community gathering, (emigrants, etc.) -Identity, spirituality, sense of belonging. -Great economic benefit for the area. -MAIN THREAT: path erosion (fig. 4.2.13.) -Litter cleaned by local organisation.

Farming, similarly to Montsacro's case is in decline and has a minimum impact on the mountain (fig. 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.). Domestic turf extraction stopped about forty years ago on the mountain (fig. 4.2.4.). However, a number of large industrial turf extraction sites are located in the surrounding environment of Croagh Patrick and are visible from the mountain (fig. 4.2.3.)



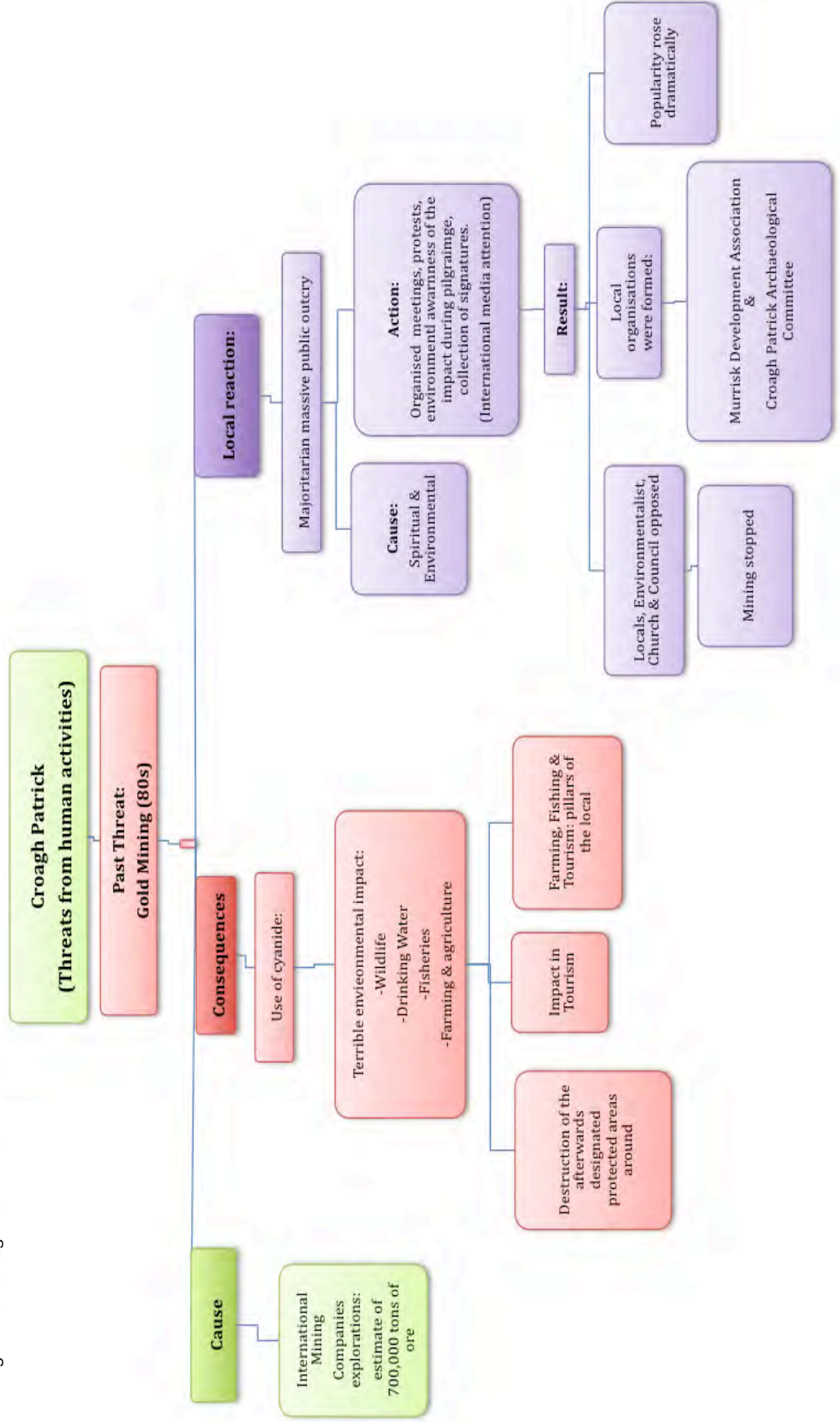
Fig. 4.2.1. (left) Sheep on eastern hillside of Croagh Patrick. Fig. 4.2.2. (right) Sheep in Croagh Patrick's bogland.



Fig. 4.2.3. (left) Industrial scale turf extraction viewed from eastern side of Croagh Patrick. Fig. 4.2.4. (right) Turf in eastern side of Croagh Patrick.

The biggest threat that Croagh Patrick faced in the recent past was the gold mining project that took place in the eighties (fig. 4.2.5.). The use of cyanide by the mining companies would have had a terrible environmental impact on Croagh Patrick and its surrounding environment, poisoning rivers, sea, drinking water, grazing lands and agriculture, resulting in major environmental loss as well as impacting in tourism, farming and fishing, which are key industries in the area.

Fig. 4.2.5. Croagh Patrick Past Threat



The majority of the population opposed strongly and were successful in rejecting this threat from gold mining because of environmental and spiritual concerns. They formed local community associations in order to protect the site (Matt Loughery, pers. comm., 2011; John Grodan, pers. comm., 2011; John Gavin, pers. comm., 2011; Tom Rally, pers. comm., 2011, and Paddy Guthrie, pers. comm., 2011)



Fig. 4.2.6. Local community protests against gold mining in Croagh Patrick in the eighties.

One of the associations that originated from these attempts to save the mountain was the Murrisk Development Association, which continued its work after the mining threats were over and built a local centre located in the foothill of the mountain in Murrisk (fig. 4.2.7.). It provides space for community organisations and initiatives, as well as facilities for visitors such as a coffee shop and a souvenir shop that is ran on a voluntary basis. It is mainly responsible for the maintenance of Croagh Patrick and its surrounding environment. Locals work there on a voluntary basis.

A privately owned visitor centre at the foot of the hill provides further facilities (fig. 4.2.8.). These centres are located in front of a recently built car park from which the local community shares benefits with the council. The car park provides space for the annual Pattern Day, a traditional day of festivities in honour of the patron saint, which originated from the Augustinians during medieval times. The tradition died out about

fourteen years ago but was recently resurrected and promoted by local initiative and today includes a sheep show, food, music, and a community get together.



Fig. 4.2.7. Interior of Murrisk Development Association. Fig. 4.2.8. Croagh Patrick Visitor Centre.

The Public House, Campbells, at the foot of the mountain is a focal point for the community, pilgrims and visitors (fig. 4.2.9.). It also represents an important source of employment and revenue, together with the other numerous Bed & Breakfasts and other forms of hospitality in the area.

Tourism plays a key role in the local economy and Croagh Patrick is the main tourist attraction in the region. Secular activities such as climbing, tourism, sporting competitions and fundraising activities (fig. 4.2.10.) are rising in popularity, with an annual estimate of a 100,000 visitors nationwide and worldwide (fig. 4.2.11).



Fig. 4.2.9. (left) Interior of Campbell's pub: supporting fundraising work in Croagh Patrick.

Fig. 4.2.10. (right) Fundraisers in Croagh Patrick (May 2011)

Fig. 4.2.13. presents Croagh Patrick's main threats, which originate from human activity. Popularity is its main current threat combined with the lack of regulation and

the rise of secular activities. These rising numbers resulted in the increasing erosion of the path (fig. 4.2.12.), which represents currently the main danger for pilgrims and climbers' safety. It also poses a threat for Croagh Patrick's habitat as climbers will soon have to start creating new paths and that would impact dramatically in the mountain's environment and habitat (Eoin O'Brian, pers. comm., 2011).

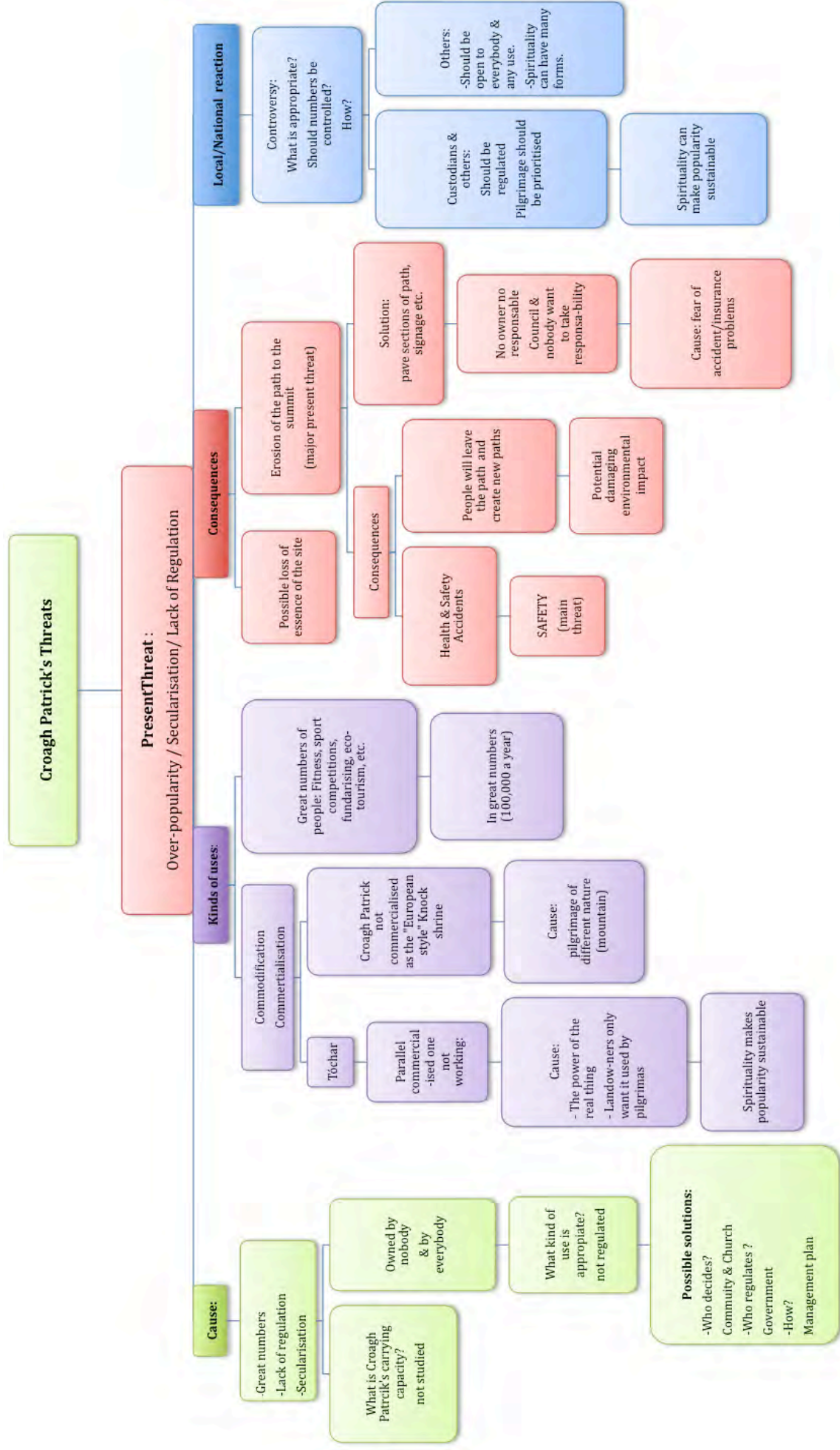


Fig. 4.2.11. Fig. Climbers May 2011. Fig. 4.2.12. Erosion of Croagh Patrick's path.

Croagh Patrick is a commonage and nobody wants to take legal responsibility for it. This is caused by fears of possible future problems such as accidents due to the state of the path. Consequently there are no regulations and aspects such as the mountain's carrying capacity and foot fall have not been studied.

The rise of secular activities also poses a threat on the spiritual essence of the site. Anyhow, the *Tóchar* has suffered from people trying to commercialise the walk, such as the creation of a parallel commercial *Tóchar*, so far unsuccessful as landowners do not want non-pilgrims to go through their lands and mainly due to the fact that it is much preferred to do the real *Tóchar* as a pilgrim. This is an example of how spirituality can make popularity sustainable.

Fig. 4.2.13. Croagh Patrick's Threats



4.3. Montsacro's Designation: National level

A Protected Landscape is a protected area category established in 1991 by the Asturian law 5/1991, following national law 4/1989 (see fig. 5 in appendix). It has special aesthetic, landscape and cultural values. It does not require outstanding natural values and human use and interaction is compatible with conservation (Spain. Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 1994).

The Sierra del Aramo Proposed Protected Landscape Project (1990) states the reason given for the exclusion of Montsacro is: '*...with the goal of rationalising management work.*' (Spain. Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 1990, p.2). It also seems that the power lines put there in the seventies played a role in the exclusion. This is because, once declared as a protected landscape, the integrity of the landscape and the values negatively impacted by the power-lines would have to be restored, most likely by burying the power line underground or varying its route (Efrén Vigón, pers. comm., 2011). These remedial actions were already considered by Oscar Trabanco (2011), technician at Morcín's Town Council and discarded because of the very high economic cost. Although Montsacro is not included in the proposed protected area, its cultural, architectural, historical and religious values are important enough to be included in the proposal under the cultural values that form the criteria for the protection of the mountain range (Spain. Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 1990).

Despite the lack of protection at a national level, Montsacro is mentioned in the 2006 *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Morcín* (Morcín's General Urban Regulation) (Borissova Boneva, et al., 2006), which includes guidelines for the site's management. Established and regulated at a council level, this document classifies Montsacro and the Riosa and Caudal river valleys as a SNU-EP3 'Land protected from urban development of third level protection' (fig. 4.3.1.). This is the lowest kind of protection from urban

development, which is given to areas due to their medium-high landscape quality, high cultural value or/and because of the inclusion of habitats of primary concern or threatened as well as high quality areas for endangered species. The categories SNU-EP1 and SNU-EP2 provide for more substantial protection and refer to protected areas included in PORNA, the Asturian Natural Resources Planning. (Spain. Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 1994), for example Sierra del Aramo, and to reservoirs and public waterways respectively. However, these do not apply to Montsacro.

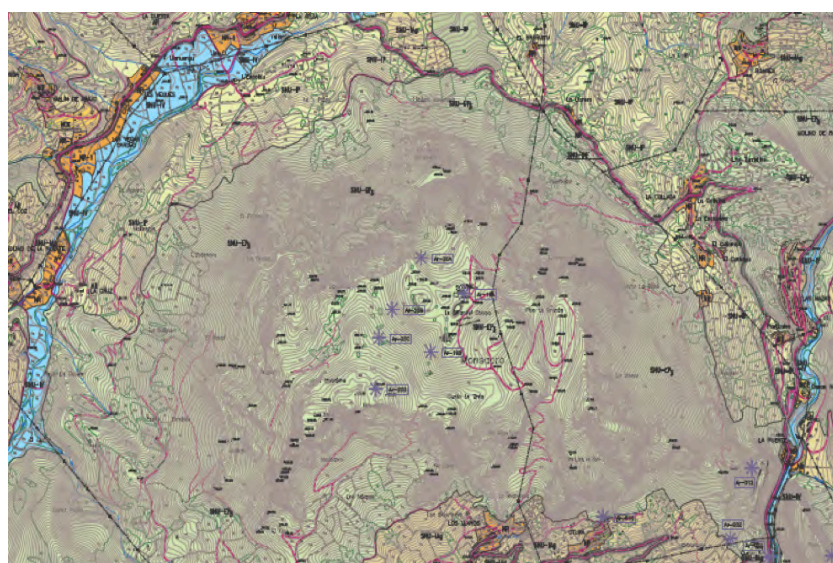


Fig. 4.3.1. Map showing Montsacro's SNU-EP3 protection area boundaries.

4.4. Montsacro's designation: International Level

Montsacro is not included in any international designations. The 2000 European Landscape Convention was signed by Spain in 2000 and ratified in 2007. Its aim is to maintain and enhance the important features of a landscape that have both cultural and natural value while harmonising it with development and other changes brought by human or environmental necessity (COE, 2000). Subsequent work in landscape analysis and inventorying was undertaken by the Asturian government, which included the Sierra del Aramo area including Montsacro, in a wider landscape unit that was catalogued and analysed. No further work has been done in the implementation of the protection of this landscape. This would not provide any protected status but it does

raise awareness among planning authorities of the importance of protecting landscapes when dealing with planning and development (Spain. Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 2011a).

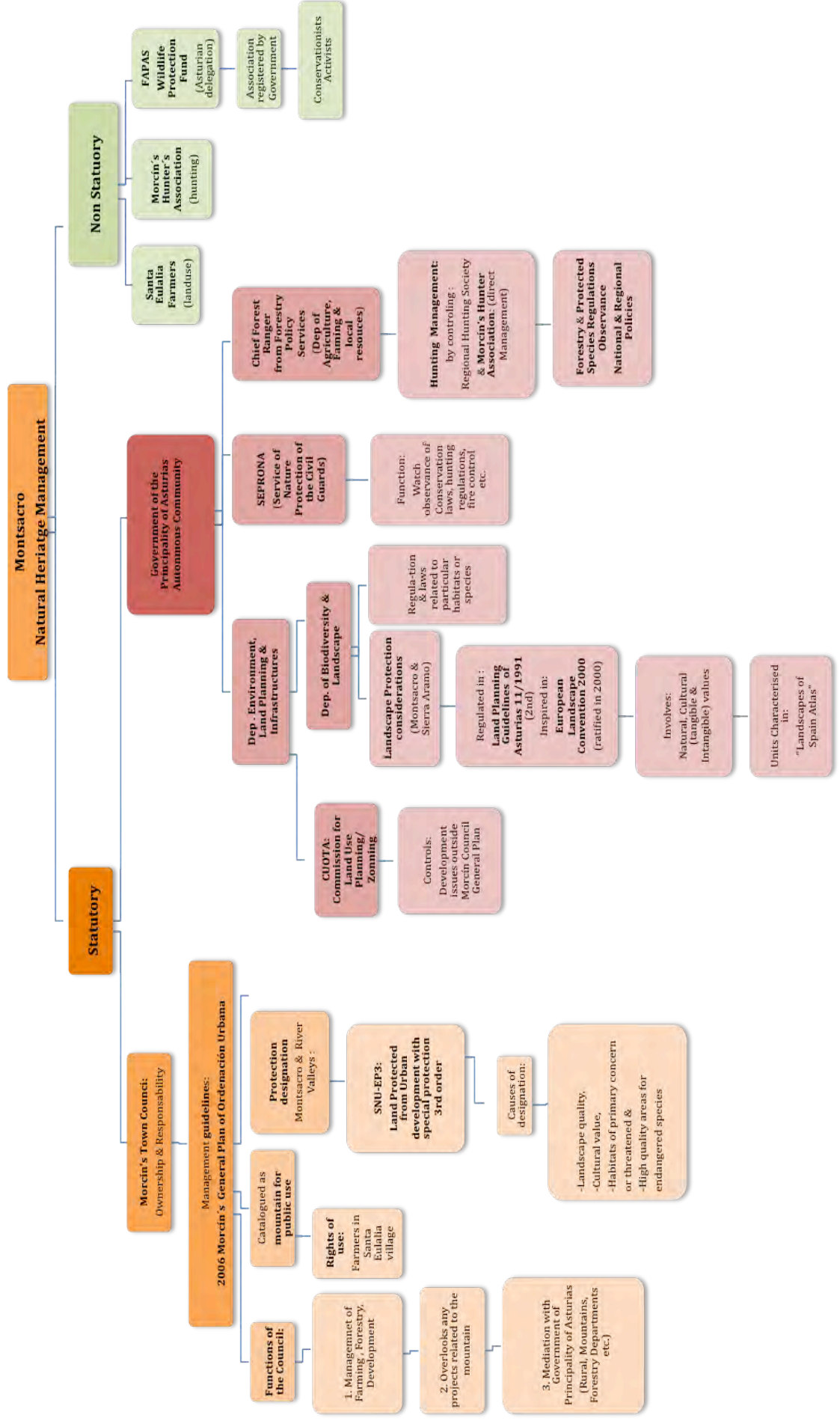
Additionally, Spain signed and ratified the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention in 2006. These intangible values were then included and taken into consideration in the designation and management of protected areas such as the Protected Landscape category.

4.5. Management of Natural Heritage in Montsacro

Figure 4.5.1. presents a diagram of the management structure, responsible bodies and the regulations involved in the protection of the natural values of the site. Morcín's Municipality Council owns Montsacro and it is catalogued as a mountain of public use. Therefore, the council has the responsibility for the management and control of its pastures and activities and it serves as a mediator with the Principality of Asturias' government appropriate departments (Rural, Mountains, Forestry etc), which is the ultimate responsible of Asturian heritage management. Outside that control it has to look over any projects related to the mountain. The guidelines for this management are included in the 2006 *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Morcín* (Borissova et al., 2007).

All responsibility and management falls on statutory bodies. Morcín's farmers are only landusers controlled by the council and even the Morcín's Hunter's association, that manages hunting activities, is controlled by the government. There are certain NGOs such as FAPAS (Wildlife Protection Fund) that work at a national and regional level to protect particular threatened species such as brown bears. None of them would have direct involvement with Montsacro other than the control and protection of these species and their habitats.

Fig. 4.5.1. Montsacro's Natural Heritage Management



4.6. Croagh Patrick' designations: National level

Croagh Patrick is a proposed Natural Heritage Area (pNHA 000483) since 1995. Its eastern slope was formally designated in 2005 as Lough Greney Bog NHA (NHA 002455). This area was solely formally designated because of the pressures from the European Union to protect the blanket bog habitat (Eoin McGrill, and Eoin O'Brian pers. comm. 2011). The NHA category is the lowest level of protected area designation in Ireland and it is designated and protected under Irish law: the Wildlife (Amendment) Act 1976-2000. It is selected on ecological grounds: *'This is an area considered important for the habitats present or which holds species of plants and animals whose habitat needs protection.'* (NPWS, 2009a).

The NHA designation will proceed on a phased basis over the coming years (NPWS, 2011c). It is not known when pNHAs will be designated but it won't happen in the immediate future as they will need to be re-surveyed. Besides, the designation depends on legal issues as well as resources. The current priorities for designation are to meet the requirements of Habitats and Bird Directives (David Farrel, per. comm. 2011)

Clew Bay, coastline to the north of Croagh Patrick, is not only a pNHA and a site of Geological Interest but also a formal SAC (Special Areas of Conservation). *'These are prime wildlife conservation areas in the country, considered to be important on a European as well as Irish level'* (NPWS, 2011b). Section 18 of the European Communities (Natural Habitats) Regulations 1997 also protects adjacent areas, outside SAC boundaries, from development, which in this case would extend to the northern face of Croagh Patrick. Therefore, these areas would also be subject to appropriate assessment, an environmental impact assessment, to evaluate the effects of development projects in the area (CAAS, 2008a, p. 42). Clew Bay protected area has a conservation statement, a precursor to the future conservation plan which describes the site's values,

land use, management issues, conservation objectives and a boundary and indicative habitat map (NPWS, 2001).

The Mayo County Council Development Plan states as council policy the requirement that any planning *application that proposes development within an area designated as cSAC, SPA, NHA or pNHA to be accompanied by an ecological impact assessment (...)* that will be forwarded to the NPWS of the Department of Heritage for comments prior to the making of a decision by the Planning Authority. (CAAS, 2008a, p. 118).

Other protected areas linked to Croagh Patrick include the nearby Brakloon Woods (cSAC), four kilometers off the mountain or Caher Island (pNHA) ten kilometers off the coast, which is considered by many as the last stop of the Croagh Patrick pilgrimage route and it is said to have been visited by St Patrick after fasting on Croagh Patrick. Downpatrick Head, said to be the burial site of Saint Patrick and located approximately 45km north of Croagh Patrick, is a pNHA and a site of geological interest. With regard to *Tóchar Phádraig* there are no protected areas along the path.

4.7. Croagh Patrick's designations: International level

Besides the SAC designation of Clew Bay Croagh Patrick is not included on any international designation. However, Ireland signed and ratified the European Landscape Convention in 2002 and, as a result, the County Council manages this issue. County Mayo's Landscape Appraisal (CAAS, 2008b) provides clear Landscape Characterisation Units as well as the identification of their sensitivities and vulnerable features that should be taken into consideration by development and planning authorities and providing policy responses to development for each area. Consequently, any applications that might potentially damage the integrity of significant landscape values may require an assessment of the project's potential visual and landscape impact (CAAS, 2008a & CAAS, 2008b). It includes intangible values such as noise or history,

and attempts to measure feelings and perceptions. In addition, *‘cross references with appropriate specialist topics such as ecology, archaeology and architectural history are very important’*. (CAAS, 2008b, p. 1).

There are two major landscape units that affect Croagh Patrick’s Policy Area O: ‘Croagh Patrick Association’, identifies its steep slopes and prominent ridge lines, which define probably the most recognizable landscape in Ireland (fig. 4.7.1.) Policy Area J: ‘Clew Bay Glacial Drumlins’, which is catalogued as an area of high scenic value. Descriptions and boundaries are provided as well as the critical landscape factors (fig. 4.7.2.). Any development that has an impact on the features that sustain the character and identity of the site should be assessed with particular attention (fig. 4.7.3.) (CAAS, 2008b).

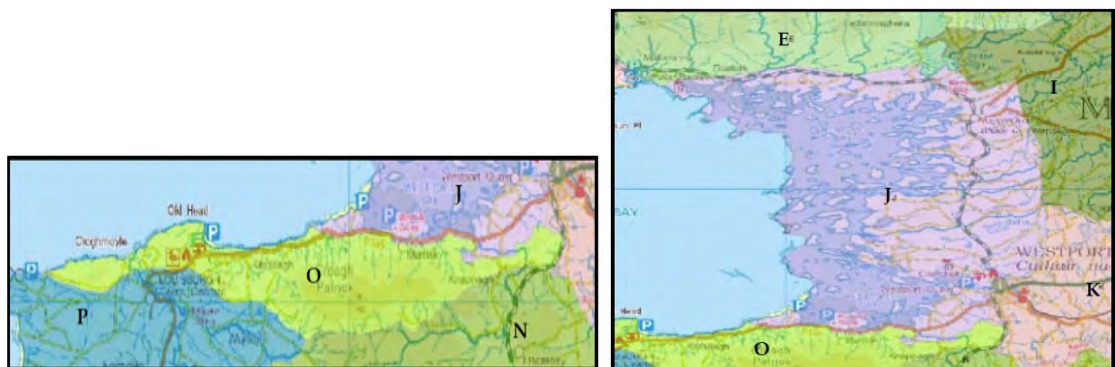


Fig. 4.7.1. Croagh Patrick Association (Area O)

Fig. 4.7.2. Clew Bay Glacial Drumlins (Area J)



Fig. 4.7.3. Vulnerable Features and Areas

Ireland has not ratified the Convention on Intangible Heritage and, consequently there are no protected area categories that include cultural values. All sites are designated on purely ecological grounds. This also affects the cultural heritage, as the cultural heritage categories recognised by Irish law are solely tangible ones. In general it is only on ecological basis that sites are designated by the NPWS and it is considered that *‘whether or not the cultural or spiritual characteristics of the site impact upon conservation management is quite subjective’* (David Farrell, pers. comm., 2011).

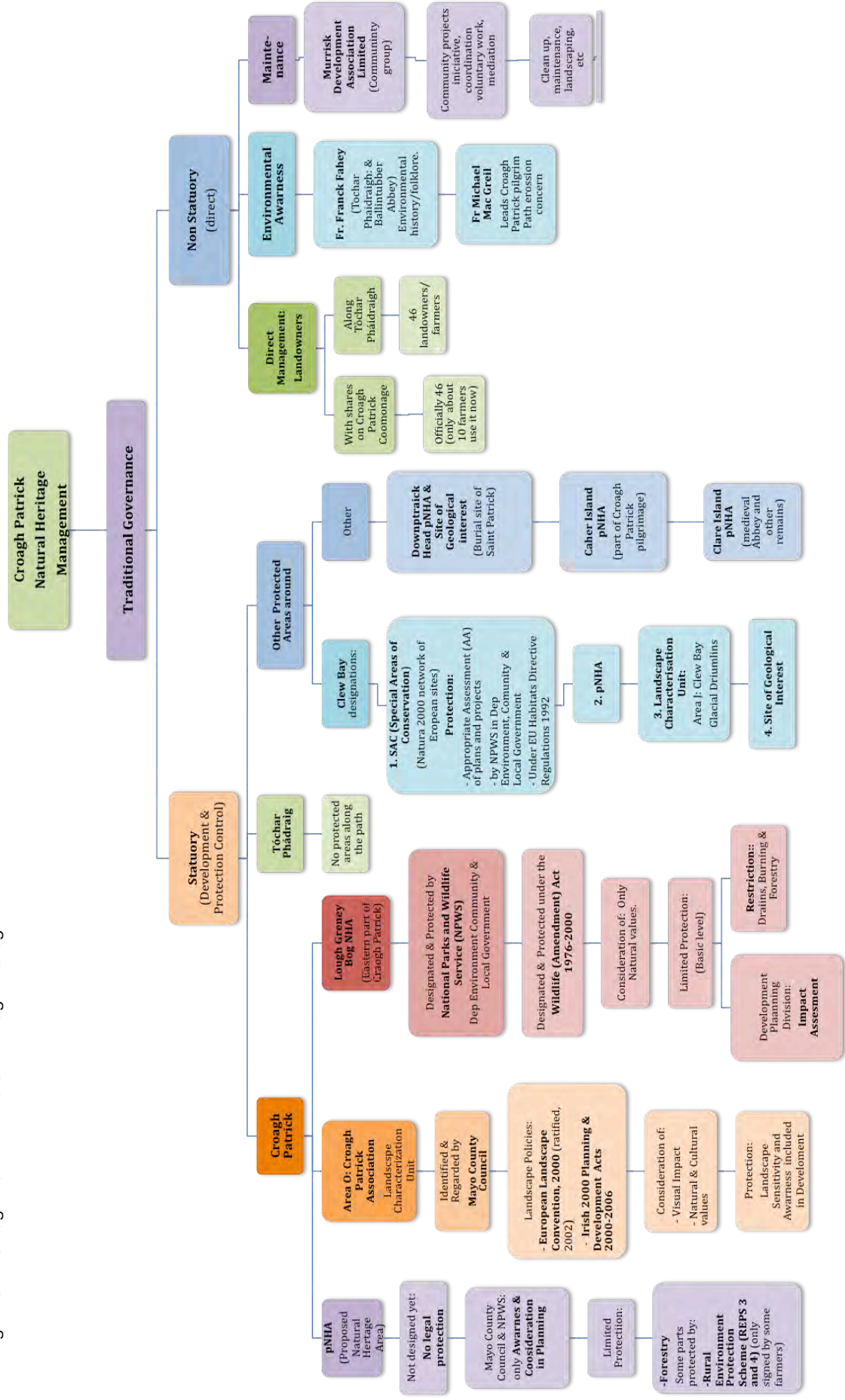
4.8. Management of Natural Heritage in Croagh Patrick

Protected areas in Ireland are managed by the NPWS (National Parks and Wildlife Service) in the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltach. Fig. 4.8.1. presents a flowchart that shows the management of Croagh Patrick.

NHAs are subject to very limited protection, such as restrictions in drainage, burning and forestry due to their potential damage to habitats. NPWS manage the sites through a draft conservation plan with a description of its values, landuse, conflicts and strategies. An Environmental Impact Assessment would be the decision of the Development Planning Division as it is not compulsory (NPWS, 2011c). In reality this protection is of rather weak implementation (Eoin O’Brian, pers. comm. 2011).

The proposed NHA part, does not yet enjoy legal protection. Therefore, landowners or persons with a legal interest in the site do not have to look for consent of NPWS in order to undertake any activities. Although statutory bodies, the local authority and the government, will take into account this proposed status in planning issues when granting permission or licences, there are no specific regulations about pNHA. Consequently, it is difficult to consider this as a preventive protection as it depends on how much consideration planning authorities want to give to this status on each particular project (David Farrell, pers. comm. 2011).

Fig. 4.8.1. Croagh Patrick Natural Heritage Management



4.9. Protection of Montsacro's Cultural Heritage

The summit's hermitages, the four pre-historic tumuli, Santa Eulalia's Parish Church, as well as other churches and some instances of vernacular architecture around the area are included in the Inventory of Asturian Archaeological Heritage (IPAA) and in the Inventory of Architecture Heritage Asturias. This means that they are also included in the wider Asturian Cultural Heritage Inventory and are designated as Real States of Cultural Interest (BIC), cultural heritage of relevant interest within Asturias. They are legally protected by the Spanish Historical Heritage law, 16/1985 (25th of June) and subsequently by the Asturian Cultural Heritage law 1/2001 (6th of March) (Government of Spain, 2001).

This inclusion and designation gives integral protection to cultural monuments by which the totality of the building or site is protected as well as its surroundings that influence its contemplation or its integrity. Only restoration, reparation and rehabilitation are permitted and authorisation is needed by the Department of Culture of the Asturian Government for any works. Included in these inventories are the descriptions, boundaries of protection and regulations.

It also implies that these sites are under State guardianship even if owned by the church such as the hermitages. In addition, and under the already mentioned Spanish Historical Heritage law, the summit's hermitages were declared National Historic-Artistic Monument in 1992. Article five of the Asturian Cultural Heritage law 1/2001 states the need of collaboration between the responsible government authorities and the Catholic Church, as it is owner of a great part of Cultural Asturian Heritage.

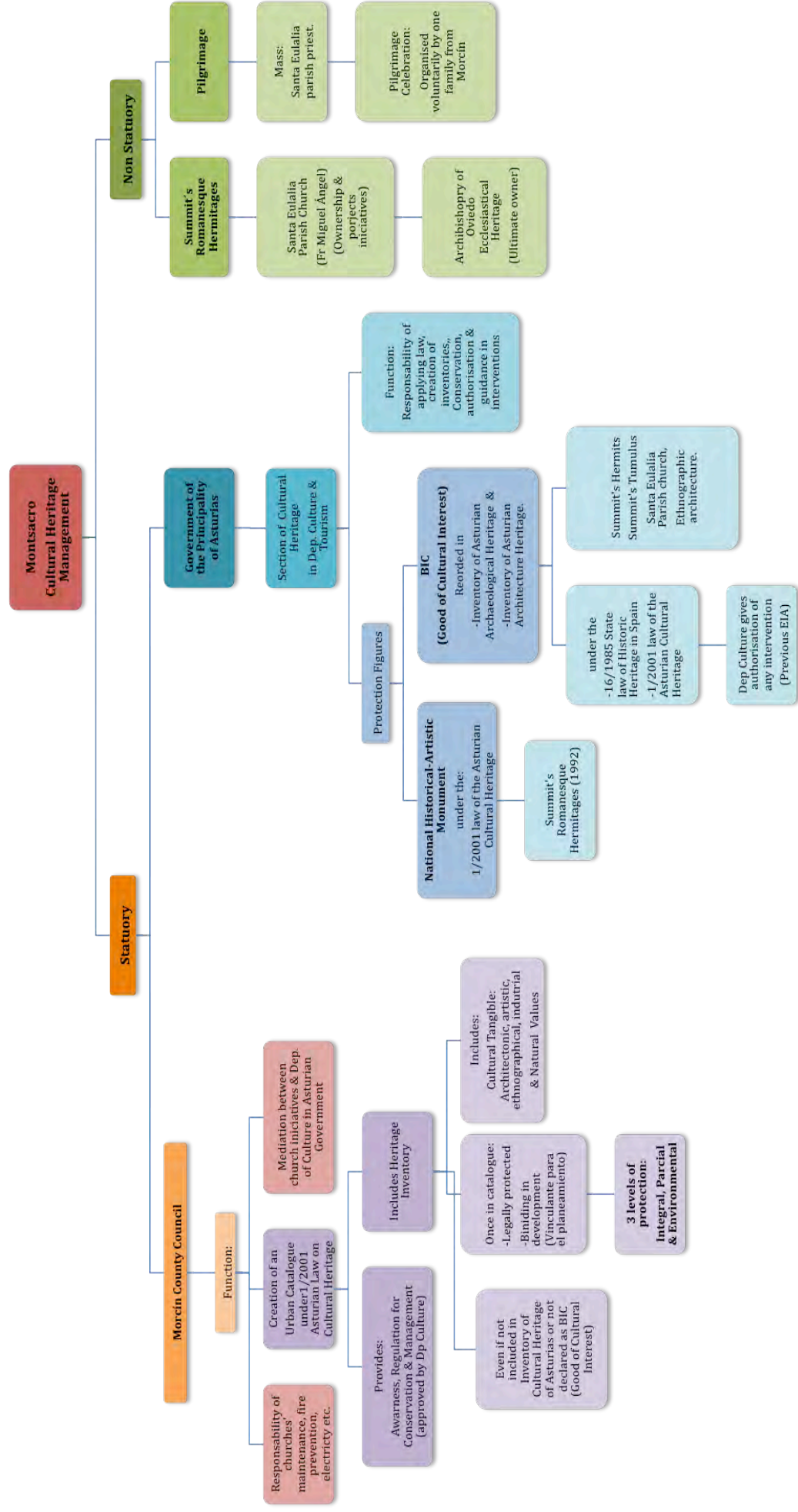
Intangible heritage is preserved and studied in Asturias by the Museum of the Asturian Folk in Gijón, although it is unknown if there are any studies undertaken by this Museum in regards Montsacro.

4.10. Management of cultural heritage in Montsacro

Fig. 4.10.1. presents a summary of Montsacro's Cultural Heritage. The hermitages belong to Santa Eulalia de Morcín's parish church as it was established in 1974 after a dispute over its ownership among the parish churches around Montsacro. The archbishopric of Oviedo's heritage section has the responsibility for the hermitages and their conservation. The church has the initiative to present restoration proposals to the town council, which then authorises the project and sends authorised proposals to the Department in Oviedo for further approval. The town council takes care of the maintenance, fire prevention, electricity among other similar issues, and the Ministry or Department of Culture has the responsibility of applying the laws and taking care of the conservation of the historical, architectonical and archaeological values (Juan Antonio, pers. comm., 2011).

The hermitages were restored in 1986 by the Department of Culture, by church initiative and initiated by the church, financed by the town council and the Ministry of Culture, which produced the guidelines and regulations on how to undertake the restoration. In 2008 only the Santiago hermitage was retiled because of lack of funding (Miguel Ángel García, pers. comm. 2011). The project was funded with contributions from the Council, European funds and a little from the church (from their own heritage funds and collections from mass) and it was done with the supervision of the council.

Fig. 4.10.1. Montsacro's Cultural Heritage Management



Morcín town council created an Urban Catalogue (Borissova, et al., 2007) under the previously mentioned Asturian law (2001). The Urban Catalogue includes a heritage inventory where heritage considered worthy of protection is catalogued under legal protection and should be taken into consideration in any development projects even if those elements are not designated as BIC (Real States of Cultural Interest). Only tangible heritage is included in the catalogue of archaeological (fig. 4.10.2.), industrial, ethnographical or architectonical kind. The catalogue defines the types of possible intervention, the level of protection of each site and acceptable uses. Activities must not impact negatively on environmental harmony. Any projects, installations or activities should pass an evaluation of environmental impact and approval by the Department of Culture, Communication and Tourism in the Asturian Government (Borissova, et al. 2007). If Montsacro's Built heritage had enjoyed this protection in the seventies, the power lines would have never been placed as close to the hermitages, increasing the negative impact in landscape and pilgrimage.

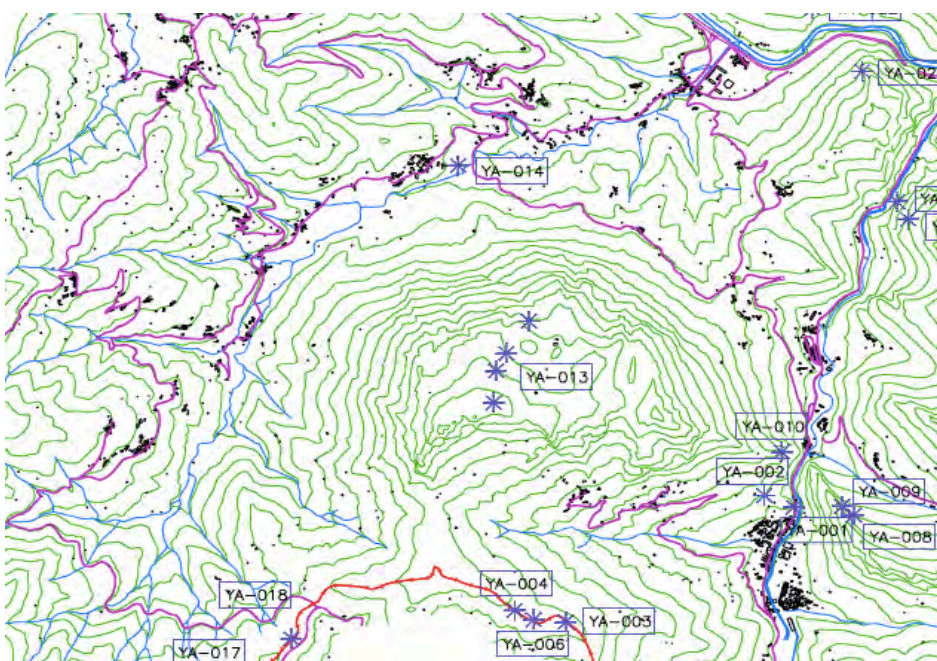


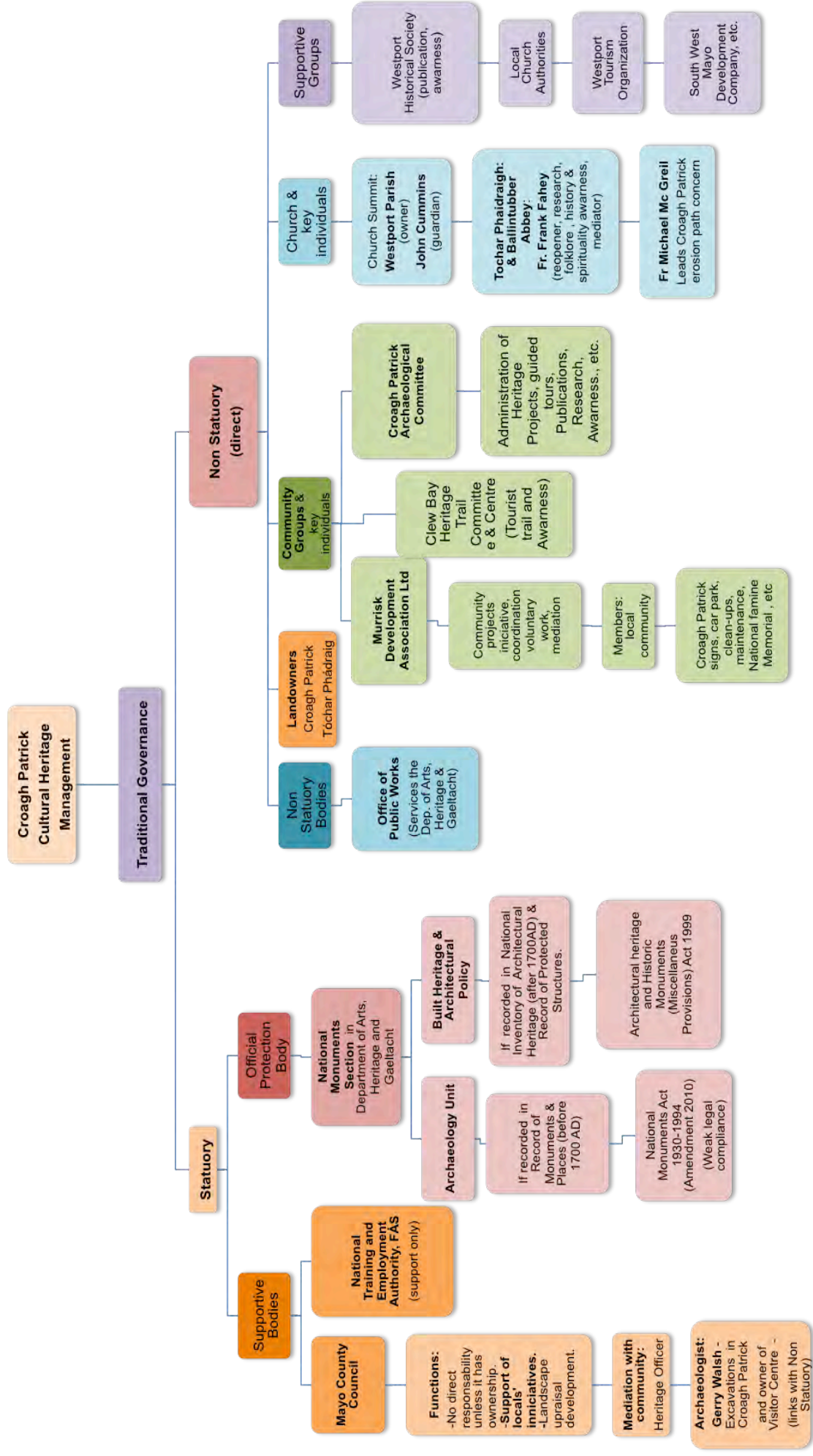
Fig. 4.10.2. Archaeological protected sites in Montsacro.

4.11. Protection of Croagh Patrick's Cultural Heritage

At a statutory level, the protection of the cultural sites related to Croagh Patrick is summarised in fig. 4.11.1. In the case of the archaeological sites, those recorded in the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) for Co. Mayo are protected under Section 12 of the National Monuments (Amendments from 1930 to 1994) Act, 1994, which include all monuments in existence before 1700 A. D. (CAAS, 2008a, & National Monuments and Historic Properties Service, 1996). Built heritage, dating after 1700 AD, is recorded in the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage initiative in the Record of Protected Structures (RPS) are protected under the Architectural Heritage (National Inventory) and Historic Monuments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1999, established after the Council of Europe Article 2 of the 1985 Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, also known as Granada Convention (National Monuments and Historic Properties Service, 1996).

These sites are also legislated for under Section 51 of the Planning and Development Act 2000 (DoAHG, 2011b & CAAS, 2008a & CAAS, 2008b). These laws ensure that *'proposals for development in close proximity to any structure or building listed in the RPS respect the setting and character of the Protected Structure'* in co-operation with the heritage authority (CAAS, 2008a, p. 90). Therefore, planning applications within areas of rich architectural heritage should pass an impact assessment undertaken by conservation architects (CAAS, 2008a). The Planning Application must be accompanied by an archaeological assessment, that states the possible impacts *'...which the relevant development would have on archaeology in the area, including those impacts relating to the context of archaeology in the surrounding landscape'* (CAAS, 2008b, p. 149).

Fig. 4.11.1.1. Croagh Patrick's Cultural Heritage Management.



The *Tóchar Phádraig* is partly marked out in the Ordnance Survey Map, only those parts visible (fig. 4.11.2.). They are identified as zones of archaeological importance and are protected, similarly to the other recorded archaeological sites, by the National Monuments Acts. This ensures that development can only take place at a certain distance from the visible path (Gerry Walsh, pers. comm. 2011).

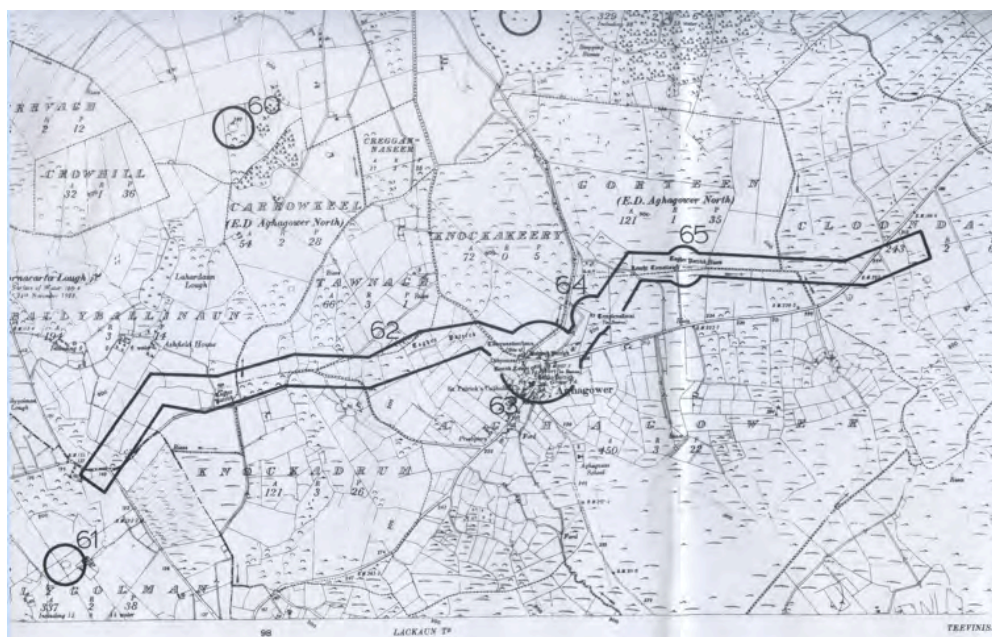


Fig. 4.11.2. Sites and Monuments Record – Archaeological Constraint Map showing some of the protected parts of the *Tóchar* and archaeological protected sites along the way.

Intangible heritage is recorded, studied and preserved by the Folklore department of University College Dublin. They have undertaken great efforts in recording and preserving folklore related to Croagh Patrick (Hughes, 2010).

4.12. Management of Cultural Heritage in Croagh Patrick

The great majority of sites are owned by the State. The church owns the church in the summit and Ballintubber Abbey. This abbey is a National Monument under State guardianship. The National Monuments Services section and the Built Heritage Architectural Policy section in the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht has the

ultimate responsibility for the protection of the archaeological sites the former one, and the architecture the latter one included in the already mentioned inventories.

The majority of the sites are located within private land and the law states that in order to undertake any interventions within or in the proximity of the thirty meters buffer zone from a site on the Record of Monuments and Places, the owner must give a three-month notice to the authorities for approval (National Monuments and Historic Properties Service, 1996).

Gerry Walsh, archaeologist working at Mayo County Council in Castlebar, states that the legal compliance is weak in this case specially when it comes to archaeological sites, as architecture is more visible. There are two main reasons for this, the first one is that once archaeological sites are recoded in the inventories and consequently protected, the main way to communicate this to the landowners is through making the record publically available temporally at in the planning office and the county council. Anyhow, whether all landowners are aware or not that those sites are in their land is not subject to control and therefore it remains unknown. The second reason is that, once it is known by the landowners, it is in their initiative to contact not only the authorities but also to find an archaeologist to undertake the assessment if any works are to be done in the area. To contact every single landowner would be very time and money consuming, practically impossible. Some county councils have archaeological liaison officers that raise awareness among landowners about the monuments they have in their lands, but this is not the case of County Mayo (Gerry Walsh pers. comm., 2011).

County Mayo Council has Heritage Officer, who acts as the mediator to link the local community with the local council and the Department of Heritage in Dublin on any heritage matters. The council also has an appointed archaeologist, Gerry Walsh, which is not common within county councils.

Similarly to the Spanish case, statutory bodies approach cultural values from a rather materialistic viewpoint as only tangible values are taken into account. *Cultural heritage includes physical buildings, structures and objects complete or in part, which have been left on the landscape by previous and indeed current generations* (CAAS, 2008b, p. 32). In this definition of cultural heritage there are no references to intangible values apart of the statement that heritage is a unique resource fundamental in the cultural identity and pride, social cohesion and the quality of life of its citizens.

4.13. Local stakeholder involvement in Montsacro

Significantly, there are no local community organisations and there are no means and space for direct involvement in the management of the site other than official channels and individual appeals to the council. There was a general feeling of disempowerment where it is felt that decisions are taken in a unilateral way by politicians and officials, without consultation (Ernesto Manuel Fernández, pers. comm., 2011). There is also a general feeling that there is no point in complaining as local voices are not listened to, this is a particularly strong feeling among the older generations (sixty to seventy years old) (Ernesto Manuel Fernández, Adela Suárez, pers. comm., 2011).

No local community organisations were found related to Montsacro apart of Morcín's Hunting Association, which is ultimately responsibility of the government authorities of Asturias. There are also other local organisations that are focused in climbing and outdoors activities but that do not have no influence in the management of the site.

4.14. Local stakeholder involvement in Croagh Patrick

Croagh Patrick is a commonage owned by forty six landowners from which only about ten use it as farmers. Despite the theoretical recognition of its NHA and pNHA values by planning authorities there is actually little to no input or control from statutory bodies. John Gavin (pers. comm. 2011), one of the farmers and landowners of Croagh

Patrick, states that they do not have any restrictions at Croagh Patrick. They have no necessity to contact the council in order to undertake any activities as they fully manage the site from a farming point of view.

The only exceptions are in forestry, which is regulated by the NPWS, and those farmers that signed the Rural Environment Protection Schemes (REPS 3 and 4). This is a contract scheme of five years duration which provide rewards to farmers that ensure that farming activities are undertaken in accordance with the protection of the environment. In return farmers do get a subvention which depends on the number of acres they own (NPWS, 2011c & Dúchas, 2002). This scheme is generally perceived by farmers to include too much hassle consequently it was only signed by those that own bigger parcels of land as subventions would be more worthwhile and benefits would overcome the hassle (John Gavin, pers.comm. 2011).

Once the NHA site is proposed, a draft conservation plan is undertaken that is temporaly open for consultation among stakeholders. For the area already designated as a NHA, the onus is on the landowner to provide three months notice for consultation with the NPWS if any changes are going to be undertaken that could affect wildlife.

The Murrisk Development Association *'was established in 1994 as a voluntary community group, to look at ways in which Murrisk Village and its environs could be further developed from an economic, social and cultural viewpoint'* (...) *'in a way that will benefit the entire local community and visitors alike'* (Murrisk Development Association Ltd, 2004, pp. 2 & 3). This association originated after locals organised themselves to fight against the threat of gold mining in the eighties, when the potential of organised people power was realised. The members of this association are made up of members of the Murrisk' local community, who work on a voluntary basis and act as the voice of the community, mediating with the private sector, statutory bodies and the

funding agencies. Some of the voluntary work related to Croagh Patrick and its environs consists of maintenance, litter clean-ups, general landscaping and environmental awareness.

Consequently, real conservation and management comes from the motivations and the everyday activities of locals themselves. The same happens in *Tóchar Phádraig* which goes through areas owned, managed and farmed by forty six farmers that agreed for pilgrims to go through their land in a controlled manner with the mediation of Father Frank Fahey.

The cultural heritage of Croagh Patrick is managed in the bases of the initiative and ‘... *the good will of local societies and individuals working on a voluntary basis, that have genuine interest, that are aware of where the monuments are and that somehow keep an eye on them*’ (Gerry Walsh, pers. comm. 2011). This is mainly done through organisations created by local members like the already mentioned Murrisk Development Association and Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee, as well as through actively involved religious leaders such as Father Fahey from Ballintubber Abbey.

The Murrisk Development Association, in addition to what was presented previously, played a key role in car park duties for the pilgrimage weekend, the maintenance of monuments and graveyards, the organisation of Pattern Day, maintenance of local graveyards, and the running of the Community Centre among other activities. Money is raised through a weekly lotto, and some locals also played a very important sponsorship role through donations of money as well as providing fields for use as car parks during the pilgrimage weekend to Croagh Patrick and the annual Pattern event. The good community work achieved the Beatha Award for Murrisk village (European Green Flag

Award) and the Tidy Towns National Waterside Award in 1999. (Murrisk Development Association Ltd., 2004).

The Association published two development plans in 1997 and in 2004 with previous community consultation through questionnaires. Some of the projects successfully completed and/or ongoing since 1994 are the provision of picnic areas in the village, the production of a village brochure with information about Croagh Patrick, the provision of steps to the statue at foot of Croagh Patrick, the building of a new community centre, the creation of a garden of rest at foot of Croagh Patrick and renovations in Murrisk Abbey. They also revived the annual Pattern Day, the celebration of the Winter Solstice and the tradition of celebrating Mass at Murrisk's Penal Mass Rock (Murrisk Development Association Ltd., 2004).

A great achievement of the initiative and work of this association was placing the National Famine Memorial Ship in Murrisk in 1997. They were also responsible of the creation of the Murrisk Millenium Peace Park in 2000 using the Millenium Fund. The Association acted in conjunction with other local groups such as the Westport Historical Society, which delivers an annual historical journal, *Cathair Na Mart*, dealing frequently with subjects related with Croagh Patrick; the Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee, and local church authorities among other groups.

The Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee was founded in 1994 with the aim of studying the archaeological remains on Croagh Patrick. Excavations in the mountain were undertaken in the summers of 1994 and 1995 directed by the archaeologist Gerry Walsh and supported by Mayo County Council. A full archaeological survey of Croagh Patrick's environs under the direction of Leo Moragan and supported and funded by FÁS (Irish National Training and Employment Authority) Castlebar. The archbishop and parish administrators provided assistance as well as members of the local

community, which worked and contributed financially towards the surveys. The Committee also intends to work with local tourism bodies towards using this heritage to boost the local the local economy (Morahan, 2001).

During the summer months they pay two students to climb the mountain every day and talk to visitors, clean and help in the maintenance of the site. The publication of the surveys, also includes information related to folklore obtained through interviews to locals suggesting the presence of still standing or former monuments. This publication is of great value in education and conservation, it '*...celebrates the spiritual significance and sense of continuity of our own 'Holy Mountain' in a world of change*'. (Morahan, 2001, p. 8) (Morahan, 2001, p. 8).

The Murrisk Development Association, the Croagh Patrick Archaeological Association and other six local community groups created the Clew Bay Heritage Trail, which stretches 35 km, from Westport to Louisburgh, together in 2003. Mayo County Council provided financial support. Its aim is to create awareness, enhance and facilitate accessibility and awareness of the heritage wealth in the area. It was possible thanks to the generosity and support of private landowners, local parishes and public authorities (Murrisk Development Association Ltd., 2004; and Hackett, 2003).

The church at the summit is owned and managed by the Westport Parish and ultimately by the Archdiocese of Tuam. Mass is celebrated by different priests around the parishes of the area. During the pilgrimage weekend locals set stalls with souvenirs, food, drink and religious items. John Cummings, a member of the local community, was appointed guardian of the church in 1968 and he has actively been involved in its maintenance, and restorations (Hughes, 2010).

Gerry Walsh set up under his own private initiative a visitor centre in 1994-95 as he realised that there were not enough facilities for the visitors, '*Ireland's Holy mountain*

has been taken for granted' (Gerry Walsh, pers. comm., 2011). Located on the footprint of an old cottage, it has a gallery with information and images about the archaeological excavations and heritage of the site. It blends in well with the landscape and shows respect for the place.

The reopening of *Tóchar Phádraig* for pilgrims was a product of the initiative, work, research and mediation with all landowners carried out by Father Fahey from Ballintubber Abbey, one of the key custodians of Croagh Patrick and *Tóchar Phádraigh*. It was re-opened in the eighties, with the support of the OPW (Office of Public Works) and the successful mediation with local landowners, who allowed pilgrims to walk through their lands by entrusting Ballintubber Abbey to regulate and guide the pilgrims.

A booklet-guide was produced by the Ballintubber Team Work, composed by members of the local community and led by Father Fahey, under the auspices of FÁS, Castlebar and Galway, the training and employment authority. It also had the sponsorship of Harry Hughes, local businessman, chairman of the Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee) and one of the key custodians of Croagh Patrick.

Extensive research was undertaken and over a hundred individuals were interviewed along the way. In addition to the interviews, in order to discover the location of the path in the non-visible areas the main research tools used were nineteenth century Ordnance Survey Maps, documented data research and observation of visual evidences of the path such the positioning of certain kinds vegetation, walls and monuments along the path.

Signs and information were placed along the way for the use and guidance of pilgrims with the help of the Office of Public Works (Fahey and Ballintubber Team work, 2006).

4.15. Values' Awareness in Montsacro and Croagh Patrick

The level of awareness and an analysis of the interpretation and presentation of the two sites is summarised and contrasted in this chapter using two tables. Table 4.15.1. contrasts the different tools used to create awareness in both sites, and table 4.15.2. compares the level of awareness amongst the local community. Information is based on observation undertaken during field trips, interviews and documentary research.



Fig. 4.15.1. Signage with information about the pilgrimage at the foot of Croagh Patrick in Murrisk.

Fig. 4.15.2. Signage with information of the lower hermitage in Montsacro



Fig. 4.15.3. Signage inviting to pilgrims to keep Croagh Patrick clean.

Fig. 4.15.4. Signage advising climbers to keep to the path.

Table 4.15.1. Awareness Tools		
<u>Tools</u>	<u>Montsacro</u>	<u>Croagh Patrick</u>
Signage	Values: Start of path (directions) and hermitages (fig. 4.15.2.) Respect, Maintenance & Safety: None	Values: Start of path (cultural & religious), (fig. 4.15.1.) Along <i>Tóchar Phádraig</i> , and Clew Bay Archaeological Trail. Respect, Maintenance & Safety: Start and various points along the climb. None about safety (Fig. 4.15.3/4)
Guided Tours	Only if requested (by the chapel's custodian)	Organised by Croagh Patrick Archaeological Committee: students guide, guard and clean (summer). In Clew Bay Archaeological Trail planned for next year.
Community Organisations	None	Major ones: Murrisk Development Association and Croagh Patrick's Archaeological Committee
Visitor Centre	None	Visitor Centre (local initiative) and Murrisk Development Association's local community centre
Education (Local schools)	Older generations: focused in the relics and chapels. Younger generations None or little mention.	Older generations focused in Saint Patrick's stories Younger generations None or little mention.
Publications	Nature: Botany and geology (Sierra del Aramo). (Academic) Culture: History, traditions, place-names (Academic)	Nature: Difficult to find. Culture: Very prolific: traditions, history, folklore, photographs, archaeology, etc (Academic & Popular).
Tourism Promotion	Local level: none (word of mouth) Regional level: none (word of mouth) National & International level: none (only scattered on internet). Enhancement: Focused in the chapels. -Heritage Trails: None -Creation of new monuments: None Informative brochures and publications: Only one for climbers by the Council. Popularity: relative locally & regionally for climbers. Unknown to outsiders.	Local level: well promoted Regional level: little promotion National level: not good, obviated & taken for granted. International level: growing, included in religious tourism tours. Enhancement: improvements and maintenance in monuments and area. -Heritage Trails: Clew Bay Archaeological Trail (fig. 4.15.5.), Croagh Patrick Heritage Trail (parallel to <i>Tóchar</i>). -Creation of New Monuments: Several examples. E.g. National Famine Memorial Informative brochures and publications: Several by local initiative. Complete cultural values information. Popularity: Biggest single tourism attraction in Co. Mayo. 100,000 per year. Growing numbers.
Priests	Focus on chapels. None or little mention to pre-Christian and nature.	Some very much involved: main e.g. Fr Frank Fahey: research, re-opening, promotion, of <i>Táchar</i> . Holistic approach.
Oral Tradition	Very weak. Richer in older generations.	Strong oral tradition even if currently in decline.
Conservation Authorities	Protection status (Aramo) has aesthetic & cultural values grounds. Growing interest in landscape protection since the 90s.	Protection status only under natural values grounds. Growing interest in landscape protection since the 90s.
Council	Support in chapels restoration. Major & Culture Councillor: No major interest. Recent promotion attempt: cable car.	Council supports numerous local's initiatives.

Table 4.15.2. Values' Awareness (local community)			
Values		Montsacro	Croagh Patrick
Cultural Values	Pre-Christian	Built heritage: most people don't know their location or of their existence.	Built heritage: Some still in use as stations. Many unknown up to 10 years ago. Growing interest.
	Christian	Built Heritage: Attention focused in the chapels and the images. Landscape: Wider sacred landscape lost. Intangible: Stronger in older generations. Relics, the pilgrimage & the thistles. Growing interest in Templars.	Built Heritage: Many still in use. Others not in use have signage or/and are in publications. Landscape: Wider sacred landscape still remains. Intangible: Awareness in all generations (stronger in older ones). Focus in Saint Patrick's stories and related traditions.
Natural Values	Natural Values	Values: Great knowledge among farmers and older generations. Cultural Associations: little awareness, except thistles and yews.	Values: Not as much attention. Greater in farmers. Cultural Associations: along <i>Tóchar</i> : wealth of associations recorded (lost or in decline). Focus in mountain itself. Local community promotion of natural values: e.g. Birds sighting area with information. (fig. 4.15.6)
	Protection Status	Most respondents not aware. Reaction: <u>Non-positive</u> among some farmers and locals: Fear of restrictions, theoretical inefficient methods, and lack of consultation. For others <u>positive</u> : protection against development. Species protection: most aware of protection of native flora.	Farmers are aware. Many locals not aware. Reaction: <u>Non-positive</u> among some farmers and some locals (Similar reasons to Montsacro and possible restrictions in pilgrimage. For others <u>positive</u> : protection against mining.
Pilgrimage	Scope	Local level mainly and regional level.	National and to a lesser but growing international level.
	Popularity	Number estimates: 100-250 in pilgrimage day. Stable numbers. Age range: More among older generations. Pilgrimage day: Saint James	Number estimates: 10, 000-30,000 in pilgrimage day and 100,000 per year. Growing numbers. Age range: Older and younger generations. Pilgrimage day: Reek Sunday. For Locals: Garland Friday
	Penance	Almost disappeared, more popular among older generations	Still alive in all generations and especially among the travelling community.
	Paths	Links with Saint James Way are almost lost.	<i>Tóchar Phadraigh</i> reopened. Popular among locals and lesser nationwide.
Human & Community Values	Human & Community	Pilgrimage: Opportunity to reflect upon and experience human values. No promotion of human values them apart of the pilgrimage itself Sense of belonging or attachment through and to the mountain weakened. No local organisations Meeting point for emigrants with the community annually	Pilgrimage: Opportunity to reflect upon and experience human values. Promotion: <i>Tóchar</i> : Constant reflection upon them through signage and guidance. Famine awareness: National Famine Memorial, annual famine walk, charities etc. Local organisations maintain, enhance and promote the site (Sense of pride and attachment) Meeting point for emigrants with the community annually.



Fig. 4.15.5. (left) Signage indicating Clew Bay's Heritage Trail, that Croagh Patrick forms part of. (Created by Croagh Patrick's Archaeological Association). Fig. 4.15.6. (right) Bird watching area (by the Murrisk Development Association) nearby Croagh Patrick.

Valuable information can be highlighted from these tables that are relevant to the study. Croagh Patrick is not only a sacred mountain but it is also the biggest tourist attraction in Co. Mayo, and its popularity is only growing. It also is popular in a national and also on a growing international level. Anyhow, initiatives to place signage, create brochures and publications, and further tourism promotion come from the local community itself through its local organisations. This promotion is undertaken in a respectful manner in balance with its sacred condition and the perception of its sacredness by the local community. Local community initiative, work and funding also led to the creation of numerous publications, research work and archaeological excavations, which resulted in greater awareness and knowledge by the community.

Montsacro is mainly known at a local and regional level. It enjoys a moderate level of popularity, which has been in decline until present. There is now a certain will of promotion in order to attract tourism by local authorities. There is currently no noticeable tourism, with only a small number of climbers that can be seen on a regular basis. It is not seen and not promoted as a tourist attraction. As a result of the low level of popularity and awareness, on the contrary to the Croagh Patrick site, no local

community organisations were established that could work in research, enhancement and on the maintenance of the site.

Additionally, there are very few popular publications related to Montsacro. There are more academic publications, but these are generally only accessed by a limited amount of people. On the contrary, there are countless popular publications dedicated to Croagh Patrick, many of them produced and funded by members of the local community. In addition, academic research including archaeological excavations was undertaken thanks to the local community initiative and funding, which led to consequent publications. Consequently, the local community and general public's level of knowledge and awareness increased, and in turn the popularity of the site rose as well as local community involvement on the site. Not only this involvement leads to preservation measures but it also leads to the fact that the mountain becomes a source of inspiration. This is illustrated by the creation of new monuments in the surroundings, which enhance the site, as well as in the creation of all sorts of works of art at an individual or collective level.

On the other hand popularity represents the main threat that Croagh Patrick is facing as rising numbers pose a threat to both the environment and the spiritual values of the site. Therefore, the spiritual aspect of the mountain should be promoted in order to make this rise in popularity more sustainable. Without a management plan, regulations and access restrictions it is difficult to do so. Anyhow, awareness created through further signage, leaflets, social networks, media, religious leaders etc. is a good starting point. These threats and the sacred nature of the mountain need to be brought to the attention of the various different stakeholders.

4.16. The role of religious leaders

The role of the local priests has proven to be key in local community awareness, regarding the mountain and its sacredness but also in regards its cultural and natural values. Local priests can act as the main communicators to convey the site's values; they can act as mediators with pilgrims, the local community and other stakeholders.

The local priest in Montsacro is mainly focused in the hermitages and its religious images. Consequently, most members of the local community are not aware of the presence of any other built heritage, such as the pre-historic tumuli, unless they have a personal will to undertake further research by themselves. Similarly, there is no mention of any intangible associations of the natural environment other than the deeply rooted traditions linked with holy thistles and yews (Ernesto Manuel Fernández, pers. comm., 2011; Adela Fernández, pers. comm., 2011; Natividad Torres, per. Comm., 2011).

One of the Croagh Patrick's key custodians that deserves a special mention is Father Frank Fahey, Balintubber Abbey's parish priest. He has been involved in the restoration of the Abbey, the creation of its surrounding spiritual landscape, and in the promotion of activities in the Abbey, such as spiritual retreats. He also undertook great efforts, on his own initiative, towards the research, re-opening, management, running and maintenance of the *Tóchar Phádraig*, involving the local community and mediating with landowners.

It was re-opened in the eighties, with the support of the OPW (Office of Public Works) and under the successful agreement with local landowners. Father Fahey has organised periodic guided pilgrimages from Ballintubber Abbey since then and he has never been refused access for the pilgrims to walk through the local people's land. There has been constant dialogue including annual meetings with landowners (Father Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).

The research, undertaken by members of the local community has led to the publication of *‘Tóchar Phádraig: A Pilgrim’s Progress’* in 1989. The introduction of the book reads as follows: *‘As you walk the Tochar whether on foot or in fantasy, you will be going not only on a spiritual pilgrimage, but on a cultural and historical journey down through the ages also. And both experiences, if fully entered into, should bring about that change of heart and insight of mind, which is essential to a pilgrim’s progress. (...) Every tree, every stone, every hill and hollow along the way seemed to cry out with a story. They had been named and given identity by these same human events. (...) perhaps we are born in the best of ages, for we have the history of all the ages unfolded for us along the way. And if we are true pilgrims at heart we will learn much from history.’* (Fahey & Ballyntubber Abbey, 2006, p. iv).

The booklet provides holistic awareness to pilgrims of all the embedded values of the landscape, which they walk through. These include history (fig. 4.16.1.), placenames, linguistic aspects, built heritage (fig. 4.16.2.), folklore, folk religion and pre-Christian spirituality, which are usually ignored by priests.

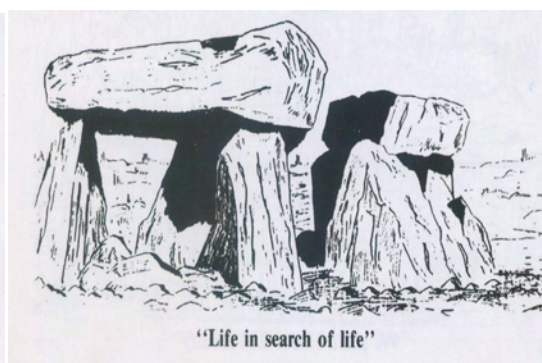
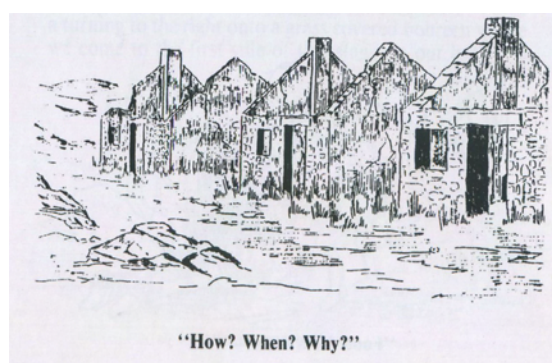


Fig. 4.16.1. *Tóchar* booklet’s illustration: Famine deserted village nearby Tobberrooam.

Fig.

4.16.2. *Tóchar* booklet’s illustration: Prehistoric megalithic tomb nearby Aille river.

In addition, environmental history (fig. 4.16.3.) and natural values and their cultural associations (fig. 4.16.4.) were included, as well as human, community and religious values linked to penance.



Fig. 4.16.3. *Tóchar* booklet's illustration: introduction of magpies in Ireland in the 17th c.

Fig.

4.16.4. *Tóchar* booklet's illustration: cultural and spiritual associations of trees.

Signage was placed along the path for the use and guidance of pilgrims with the help of the Office of Public Works (Fahey and Ballintubber Team work, 2006). Signage presents a part of the information presented in the booklet which invites people to reflect upon human, community and religious values. In addition, knowledgeable members of the local community guide the pilgrimage.



Fig. 4.16.5. Signage with information about a holy well along the *Tóchar*



Fig. 4.16.6. Signage

along the *Tóchar* indicating the directions of Balintubber Abbey and Croagh Patrick.



Fig. 4.16.7. Signage related to human, spiritual and community values along the *Tóchar*.

Fig. 4.16.8. Signage related to famine ridges located in the horizon.

The retreat room in Ballintubber Abbey, which is the starting point of the pilgrimage, has a series of models designed by Father Fahey and created by members of the local community. They form part of a reflection project that *'traces man's search for meaning, truth and hope through 300,000 years symbolised by the ancient pilgrim path *Tóchar*'* (Central model in Ballintubber Abbey's retreat room, by Father Fahey). Maps of the world present the history of human movement in parallel with the history of the *Tóchar*, placing this pilgrimage in the context of world history and making it part of a universal phenomenon.



Fig. 4.16.9. Ballintubber Abbey retreat room.



Fig. 4.16.10. Model in retreat room presenting the origins of human kind in parallel with the pre-history of Croagh Patrick.

With movement comes awareness. These models provide space for reflection upon past spiritualities and the other great religions of the world, which are also included in the search for the meaning of life with equal respect. Religious conflicts and repression, the church's colonisation of spirituality, as well as colonial and warlike movement are also included. Religious repression and even lack of support by the Catholic Church is also mirrored in the parallel history of the *Tóchar*. The development of history and these spiritual changes are also reflected in the built heritage and spirituality of the *Tóchar*.

The last model covers the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Father Fahey speculated about what that future model of contemporary history will present: the growing secularisation of the world, and of religious fundamentalism, the environmental crisis, the failure of science in giving the ultimate answers to the meaning of life, and the failure of the church in communicating with the growing secularised community. Globalisation, development and commercialisation would be central. It could also be highlighted the fact that the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic of Ireland undertook the pilgrimage in March 2011 in the context of a

serious economic crisis after the economic boom where commercialisation was at the forefront of Irish society (Father Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).

‘The church does not talk the right language. The thousands of years of search for meaning that these models show are this search is in our genes. The church must speak the language that is in our genes. So we should begin with nature, by creating awareness of the spring, the sun... instead of keep ignoring, boxing and exploiting it, which is proving to be unsustainable. Nature is becoming more and more in people important in people’s lives. Many people come here, they do not know what they are looking for, but they find peace. The Celtic Tiger did not work and people are back to searching again and to find other ways to enjoy themselves’ (Father Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).

The central model in the room (fig. 4.16.11.) presents the history of the planet as a twenty-four hour day, in which man appeared twenty-three seconds before midnight. This is an opportunity to reflect upon spirituality, the history of the earth and the role that man is playing in it. When comparing to the long time that God took to create the world, it is taking man an extremely short period of time to destroy it (Father Fahey, pers. comm., 2011).



Fig. 4.16.11. Central model in Ballintubber Abbey's retreat room.

4.17. Religious crisis and social change.

There is a general decline in spiritual values and loss of cultural associations related to folklore and religion that has accelerated in the last generations, in the developed western world, which is illustrated in the secularisation that is taking place in both case studies.

However the current environmental, economical and values crisis that these countries are going through, as well as the failure of science to give answers to transcendental questions, is also leading to a turning point and the appearance of new ways to find transcendence and to interact with nature.

Consequently, these social changes have two faces that can have negative but also positive impacts on both sites as table 4.17.1. shows.

Table 4.17.1.: Comparison of the sites Social Changes in last decades		
Social Changes	Positive	Negative
Secularisation	<p>M.: Increasing interest in history and built heritage. Increasing fitness activities.</p> <p>C.P.: Increasing interest in history, archaeology, pre-Christian spirituality, built heritage and in recording intangible values and folklore. Increasing tourism (main economic revenue) and secular activities.</p>	<p>M.: less penance, more celebrative, use of cars, loss of intangible values & interest, and loss of religious built heritage, inappropriate development.</p> <p>C.P.: path & environmental erosion, commercialisation, destruction or damage of sites' values, threat to spirituality.</p>
Environmental Crisis	<p>M. & C.P.: Increasing importance and respect of landscape values, for protected species and for environmental conservation and maintenance.</p> <p>Appearance of new kinds of spirituality closer to nature.</p>	<p>M. & C.P.: Detachment from nature, loss of practical traditional knowledge within local community and conservationist. Loss of intangible values.</p>
New Social Networks	<p>M.: Empowers local community to oppose authorities decisions. Constant access to information and info sharing.</p> <p>C.P.: Provides quick constant access to information and info sharing.</p>	<p>M & C.P.: If there is lack of context and understanding instant information can lead to manipulation of the community or even taking misinformed decisions.</p>
New Transport Systems	<p>M. & C.P.: Improved accessibility of pilgrims and visitors nationwide.</p> <p>Re-opening of <i>Tóchar Phádraig</i> recuperates relationship with landscape, awareness and connexions with the wider area and built heritage.</p>	<p>C.P.: No car access</p> <p>M.: Use of cars by pilgrims impacts negatively the environment and the spiritual values of the site, the essence of pilgrimage, the relationship of the person with the landscape & awareness of the site's values.</p>

5. Discussion and Recommendations

5.1. Summary, Conclusions and S.W.O.T. analysis

Both mountains have natural values of relative importance. Due to their difficult access, mountains generally enjoy of a higher level of environmental protection from human development and activity. When compared with other natural sites around the region with a higher level of protection, conservation and aesthetical values, Montsacro cannot be considered as a site of outstanding natural and aesthetical value in a regional and, consequently national level.

However, Montsacro is unique and remarkable in the sense that it is the only mountain in Asturias with two Romanesque hermitages, one of which is the only octagonal example in the region. It is also subject of a continued pilgrimage and worship for millennia that has its roots in pre-Christian times. Older generations of the local community have great regard for the natural resources that the mountain offers. The summer grazing lands and the medicinal plants represented the main sources of subsistence and well-being in the area. Additionally, both Montsacro/Sierra del Aramo and Croagh Patrick represent the main sources of water supply in the area.

It is difficult to assess how the sacredness of Montsacro helped towards the protection of the sample of species analysed. There are no remarkable examples of species' protection due to the sacred condition of the mountain. The exceptions are the planting and protection of yews through customary laws due to their cultural/spiritual associations. However, cultural/spiritual associations related to the mountain itself and the species within are either weak, they remain in folklore, or have been lost.

In the case of Montsacro the loss of spiritual values has also led to the negligence of the built heritage, which has gained great importance and attention in recent times being

restored and reinvigorating the pilgrimage in return. The hermitages are now the main focus of attention and if it was not for them it is possible that the spiritual associations and activities in the mountain would have been lost. Nevertheless, its pre-Christian heritage remains ignored and is under threat of being lost.

Croagh Patrick has natural values of relative importance when compared to other sites in Ireland. The Eastern part of Croagh Patrick enjoys the lowest kind of protected status of national relevance (Natural Heritage Area) in Ireland while the rest has only a proposed status. Its importance from a natural values perspective resides in its blanket bog habitat, which is considered a priority within the European Habitats Directive. In addition, there are other protected areas in the immediate surroundings of national importance and some of European relevance such as Clew Bay.

However, cultural/spiritual values are of outstanding importance. From an aesthetic point of view, it is the most recognisable landscape in Ireland, the mountain's morphology is unique. The views seen from its summit are considered remarkable. The mountain is regarded as Ireland's non-official National Monument, and the most important and popular pilgrimage site in Ireland, which has pre-Christian roots, and which enjoys growing international relevance. Related to the patron Saint of Ireland, it is the most important sacred site and it is an important part of the history and the formation of identity and sense of belonging of the community in a local, national level and even international level if emigrant communities are included.

It is also difficult in this case to tell how the spiritual and cultural associations linked with the species or the sacredness of Croagh Patrick and its wider landscape impacted on the conservation of the individual species. However, Croagh Patrick is a clear and remarkable example of protection and preservation of the mountain and its surrounding environment through the spiritual and intangible values associated by its local

community. This is illustrated in the successful local community protests against the gold mining projects during the eighties, which protected the mountain and its surroundings and led to the designation of the mountain and some of its surrounding environment as protected areas, some of them of international importance. This event also led to the formation of community organizations that work for the preservation and promotion of the site. Strong intangible associations in Croagh Patrick led local community's initiatives, not only to enhance but also to create a newly built heritage.

Croagh Patrick's presence is the focus of a wider cultural landscape that goes back to pre-Christian times in which a great amount of built heritage and intangible values can be found. Built heritage within the mountain is still used by pilgrims as stations. It is therefore an example of living heritage where use is of key importance but also it is also preserved; this is also the case with the hermitages in Montsacro.

The research and reopening of the *Tóchar* and the surveys and archaeological excavations undertaken in the area and its surroundings have put Croagh Patrick back in context with its associated cultural landscape. This is not the case with Montsacro, which has lost links with its wider landscape and the cultural heritage within it. This also illustrates the importance of pilgrimage and the role it plays in developing awareness, maintaining intangible and landscape links and in the ultimate preservation of the sites.

In both sites pilgrimage and religious rituals coexists with socio-economic activities such as farming, tourism or hunting. Activities such as tourism and fitness related activities are growing due to the increasing secularisation that is taking place in both sites' communities, as well as the growing popularity of Croagh Patrick. Tourism is the main economic revenue for Croagh Patrick's local community, and the mountain is the

most important tourist attraction in the region with increasing numbers not only on the days of pilgrimage but also during the rest of the year.

In consequence, Croagh Patrick and its surroundings have been more developed as a tourist attraction thanks to local community initiative. This led to the maintenance and enhancement of the area, as well as the creation of heritage trails and new monuments, while respecting the spirituality of the site. However, popularity and the growing numbers of visitors represent the main threat that Croagh Patrick is facing currently, which is resulting in the erosion of the path posing a risk to the mountain's environment, the safety of visitors, the spiritual essence of the site and its pilgrimage.

Montserrat's main threat lies in the loss of spiritual and intangible values as well as the lack of community, sense of attachment and belonging. As a consequence of this situation built heritage was lost or suffered negligence, and power lines were built in the seventies without local community opposition jeopardising the future inclusion of the site in a protected area. The lack of protection has left the mountain open to new threats such as the potential construction of a cable car, which unwanted by a large part of the local community, and is a potential threat for the environment, for the spiritual aspect of the site and even for the local economy.

Awareness is decisive for preservation to take place. Spirituality, pilgrimage and sense of belonging create a higher level of awareness and attachment. These case studies illustrate how this relationship impacts on the preservation of the site, as shown in fig. 5.1.1.

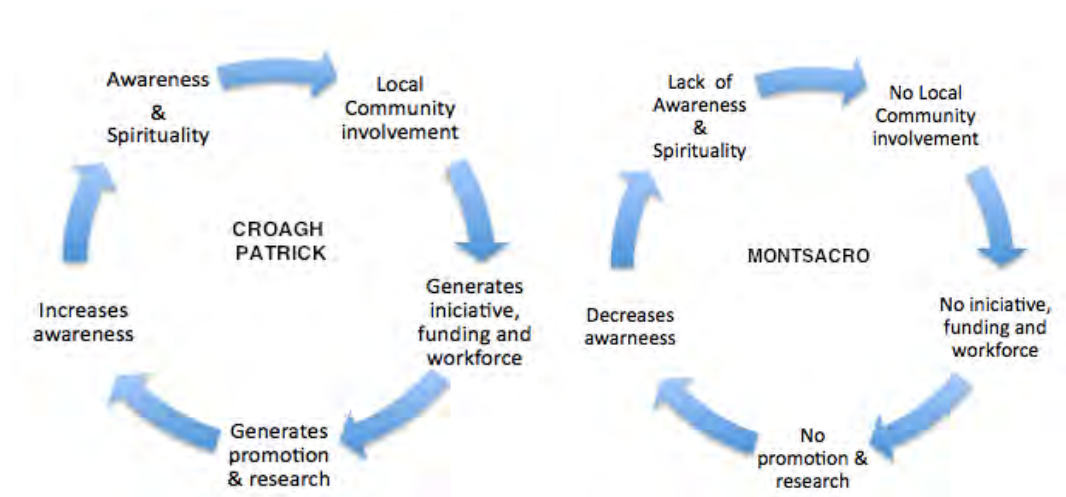


Fig. 5.1.1. Comparison of the local community awareness circle in both sites

The most appreciated cultural associations of these mountains are the spiritual and religious associations, the beauty and peace experienced there which is also linked with spirituality, as well as passion for its history, which is a strong motivation among some members of the community and visitors. In Montsacro built heritage is probably the most important aspect while Croagh Patrick's morphology and its spiritual associations and pilgrimage make it unique. The ancestry/family connections and traditions, as well as the sense of identity, community and belonging are also highly valued as well as the fact that it is a source of inspiration for all sorts of artists, especially in Croagh Patrick. All these aspects are huge motivators for initiative that led to research, maintenance, preservation and enhancement of the sites. This is illustrated in the work carried out under Croagh Patrick's local community initiative. In addition, the increasing secularised activities such as those related to tourism and fitness are becoming extremely popular in Croagh Patrick and are practiced in a sustainable manner in Montsacro. Tourism is the main economic revenue for Croagh Patrick's local community, and as such it is also a strong motivator for the mentioned initiatives.

Table 5.1.1. presents a comparison of the types of governance and ownership in both sites. Montsacro, owned by the village council, is managed in a conventional manner with a strong focus in policies and regulations established in a top down manner and

where the local community has no input and no sense of ownership. On the other hand, Croagh Patrick is a remarkable example of traditional governance, where key members of the local community, religious leaders and community organisations are the main actors in all aspects of its management.

As a consequence, regulations and policies have quite a strong presence and compliance in Montsacro, even if there is no protection status for Montsacro. There is also a very weak compliance in Croagh Patrick, even if it's a partly proposed and partly designated protected area. While Montsacro's protected species are well known and respected among the local community thanks to the authorities' propaganda and fines, there is no real control from the authorities over the activities that take place in Croagh Patrick that could potentially harm the environment.

Nevertheless, the lack of community attachment and sense of ownership, as well as the loss of spiritual associations led to the building of the power lines in Montsacro that jeopardised the inclusion of the mountain in a protected area. This left an open door for further potential threats such as unsustainable development taken by authorities that prioritise their economic or political interest.

Table 5.1.1.: Comparison of the sites Governance:		
Areas	Montsacro	Croagh Patrick
Governance	Conventional Management (Statutory)	Traditional (Community-based)
Ownership mountain	Morcín's Municipality Council	Commonage Owned by 46 farmers <i>Tóchar</i> : 46 Private Landowners
Ownership built heritage	Church, Government & Private (all under State Guardianship)	Church, Government & Private (all under State Guardianship)
Funding	Statutory (Asturian Government, Council) and Church	Statutory (Council), Church and Local Community mainly.
Natural Resources	Ownership & Regulations: Council. Used by Farmers	Owned & Managed by the Farmers/Owners
Policy & Law	<u>Natural Heritage</u> : Not included in Protected Area. Regulated by Council. Protected species: Asturian Government (strong compliance) <u>Built Heritage</u> : Owned by Church & Government. Regulated by Asturian Government.	<u>Natural Heritage</u> : Protected area pNHA and eastern part NHA. Regulated by Irish Government. (Very weak compliance) <u>Built Heritage</u> : Regulated by Irish Government. Very weak compliance.
Planning and management	Sierra del Aramo: PORNA Montsacro: Council's Urban Management Plan	No Management Plan
Local Community Implication in Management	None. Little or no space for consultation and initiative.	Strong. Management based in local initiative and work
Community Initiative & Motivation	Low	High
Knowledge and Awareness	Low	High
Site action	Statutory and Church -Examples: Restorations -Exception: Creation and restoration of religious statues by members of local community	Local Community and Church (with Statutory support) Mining protests, creation of new monuments & heritage trails, research, promotion, maintenance

On the contrary, Croagh Patrick's local community's strong spiritual associations, sense of attachment and responsibility over the mountain are so strong that no regulations were needed to protect the mountain from potential devastating threats such as gold mining. Not only the site was protected leading to future designation of protected areas but also community organisations were created that have been promoting, maintaining, researching and enhancing the site since then. It is probably the only site in Ireland that will be protected from such threats without the need of protection designations and regulations.

The role of key custodians in the preservation and management of the site is crucial. Custodians are both individuals such as religious leaders or members of the local community as well as community organisations. They also act as mediators with the authorities that supported and provided funding for initiatives on numerous occasions.

Father Fahey's research, re-opening, promotion and management of the *Tóchar* pilgrimage path represent an outstanding illustration of the importance and potential of a religious leader's work. It is an example of a holistic approach to this site and its pilgrimage in which all aspects, whether tangible, intangible, cultural and natural are taken into consideration in order to create awareness and respect among pilgrims. It is also being used as a means to reflect upon spiritual values.

Awareness about the proposed protected status of Sierra del Aramo and the exclusion of Montsacro from it is not generalised among the interviewees. The proposed and designated protected status in Croagh Patrick is obviated in signage, publications and information brochures related to the mountain. Members of the local farming community in both sites oppose this protected status because of fears of possible restrictions to their activities. They also fear the theoretical inefficient methods, which are traditionally used by conventional conservation management as they are usually

detached from the reality of the traditional practices, and decisions are taken without consultation with local community representatives. Even some of the church members have objected because of fears that pose possible restrictions to the pilgrimage and its spiritual activities. This outlines the lack of current communication between authorities and local communities. On the other hand, for other members of the local community it is seen as a positive way to protect the site against future inappropriate development.

However, this also illustrates the general lack of awareness and understanding that exists among the local community in relation to what are the implications in designating protected areas in both sites. Nevertheless, there is a process of change in the conservation world in regards this matter with growing consideration towards cultural, intangible values and local communities. This process seems more advanced in Spain as Ireland does not even enjoy protected area categories that take into account cultural values of any sort.

Croagh Patrick faces threats due to the very fact that it is owned by ‘many and nobody’, that the statutory protection is rather weak, and that there is no management plan. Although most members of the local community are concerned about the situation there are also discordant voices that do not understand the potential threats of rising numbers and secularised activities and fear possible restrictions of use. Montsacro’s main threat is the loss of spiritual values and sense attachment experienced by its community, together with the fact that it is not included in a protected area. Due to that reason it could face further unsustainable development.

These threats link with the rapid social changes that both countries are suffering. These social changes present both positive and negative aspects that can have an impact on these sites. Even if secularisation is resulting in the loss of spiritual values and the consequent reverence for and attachment to the sites, there is an increasing interest in

other aspects of the sites that act as strong motivational factors for preservation and research. History, pre-Christian history, spirituality and folklore all seem to stir up passion among some members of the local community and visitors. The rise of 'eco', cultural and even spiritual tourism represent an important source of revenue and well-being as long as it is sustainable. The recent appearance of new spiritualities that are closer to nature as a reaction to the environmental crisis might also have interesting impacts in the conservation of sites in the future.

In the last few decades there has also been an increase in the importance of cultural built heritage that has translated in the recent restorations, their inclusion in inventories and their consequent official protection. Additionally, the introduction and the importance of the concept of landscape and its preservation have changed the sensibility of both authorities and local communities on this matter.

The appearance of new social networks has opened a new door for sharing and access to real-time information, empowering local communities, especially in the case of Montsacro where there is no community input.

The following tables 5.1.3. and 5.1.4. present the result's analysis discussion as a S.W.O.T analysis, comparing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to both sites.

Table 5.1.3. S.W.O.T. analysis (I)	
Strengths and Opportunities	Weaknesses and Threats
Pilgrimage: increases spiritual/cultural bounds with site, knowledge and awareness.	Pilgrimage: Increasing numbers and secularisation of pilgrimage poses threat on site.
Conservation value: Examples of customary laws that protected species and built heritage. Sacredness protected Croagh Patrick and surroundings from destruction allowing future designation of protected areas, some of international importance.	Conservation value: Little visible links between sacredness and conservation of species. Difficult to tell links. No outstanding natural values in mountains.
Cultural changes: Increasing awareness of the need for preservation of built heritage, landscape and environment. New spiritualities closer to nature. Increasing interest in history, pre-Christian spirituality and archaeology led to further research and awareness in C.P. Use of social networks empowers community by sharing information real-time.	Cultural changes: Secularisation, increase in secular activities, loss of sacred values and customary laws with conservation function. Transmission of traditional knowledge is decreasing or disappearing.
Tourism: Important economic benefits in Croagh Patrick, necessary. Creates awareness. Eco and cultural tourism.	Tourism: No economic benefits in Montsacro. Certain projects of tourism promotion can destroy environment, landscape, spiritual values etc. (e.g. cable car). Unsustainable numbers impacts on its integrity.
Spiritual associations of natural/cultural values: Customary values protected yews in Montsacro, churches and mass rocks in Croagh Patrick.	Spiritual associations of natural/cultural values: Cultural associations threatened some species: e.g. hollies and Western Capercaillies in Montsacro. Loss of associations and awareness led to loss of yews and pre-Christian built heritage and to construction of power lines: led to lack of protection designation (Montsacro)
Spirituality and development: opposition to mining led to further designation of protection areas.	Spirituality and development: Loss of spirituality and attachment led to building of power-lines leading to no inclusion in protected area and further potential development
Intrinsic value of sacredness: Customary laws, reverence and preservation. Spirituality: higher level of awareness and attachment. Highly attractive for visitors: something out of the ordinary can be experience (tourism).	Intrinsic value of sacredness: damaged by the rise of visitor numbers, secularity and secular activities, lack of awareness and loss of cultural values and bounds. In the past destruction of heritage due to antichurch, fundamentalist intolerant ideas.

Table 5.1.4. S.W.O.T. analysis (II)		
Strengths and Opportunities		Weaknesses and Threats
<p>Conventional Management: Easier to establish and ensure compliance to regulations for protection. Awareness and respect for protected species in Montsacro by local community.</p>		<p>Conventional Management: No sense of ownership by local community, disempowerment, detachment from site. Ignorance of intangible and spiritual values and of local community leads to loss of values and possible conflict. Sometimes economic interests can be prioritised (e.g. power-lines and cable car in Montsacro).</p>
<p>Traditional Governance: Local community sense of ownership, responsibility, attachment proving initiatives, funding, workforce etc. Takes into consideration all aspects including intangible and spirituality. (e.g. Croagh Patrick)</p>		<p>Traditional Governance: In some cases authorities and regulations are needed in order to fully protect the site (e.g. path erosion in Croagh Patrick, weak compliance to authority regulations)</p>
<p>Ownership: Statutory ownership establishes easier compliance to regulations. Local community ownership leads to sense of responsibility and empowerment in both management and protection of the site.</p>		<p>Ownership: As Croagh Patrick is commonage in the case of important threats such as the eroded path nobody wants to take official responsibility.</p>
<p>Protection designation: Official preconservation, legal protection and regulations are put in place through management plan if takes into consideration local community and intangible/cultural values. It can strengthen protection by officially recognising the sites being protected by legislation and policy. Critically important when cultural values change. Important because of the speed of cultural and social change.</p> <p>In Sierra del Aramo protected area Montsacro's cultural values are taken into consideration.</p>		<p>Protection designation: In Croagh Patrick very weak compliance. Consideration solely over natural values, ignores cultural ones in the sacred mountain of Ireland!. No awareness of protection status by community and visitors. No management plan, no clear regulation. E.g. no control of non-industrial turf extraction or other possible unsustainable activities. If future stronger compliance: Fears of loss of sovereignty by local community and restrictions in economic and religious activities.</p>
<p>Role of religious leaders: key role values' awareness, research, preservation and promotion. Father Fahey: outstanding example of holistic approach.</p>		<p>Role of religious leaders: If fails to communicate certain values can lead to lack of awareness and even loss of heritage (e.g. Montsacro's tumuli).</p>
<p>Traditional ecological knowledge: Opportunity to study about medicinal plants and other cultural associations.</p>		<p>Traditional ecological knowledge: Increasing loss in both sites. Detachment of new generations from nature.</p>

5.2. Summarising the Synergies

A graphic representing the synergies that take place on these sites, which is based on the analysis results, is presented in fig. 5.2.1. This graphic shows the interrelation of all spiritual/intangible, cultural (tangible), natural and socio-economic values as seen in these sites. When these interrelations are sustainable it can lead to the holistic conservation of ‘living’ protected areas, the holistic preservation of ‘living’ cultural landscapes and built heritage; community well-being, sense of identity and fulfilment of need for transcendence. It can also lead to sustainable use of natural resources, the creation of sustainable development and tourism, and of necessary revenue that impacts on the well being of the community and increases the amount of resources to protect these sites.

As we are dealing with two sacred natural sites, spirituality and cultural values play a key role in harmonising the synergies of both sites, as seen in the results analysis. Fig. 5.2.2. presents the impact that the growth or the decrease of spiritual and cultural associations has in the preservation of the sites.

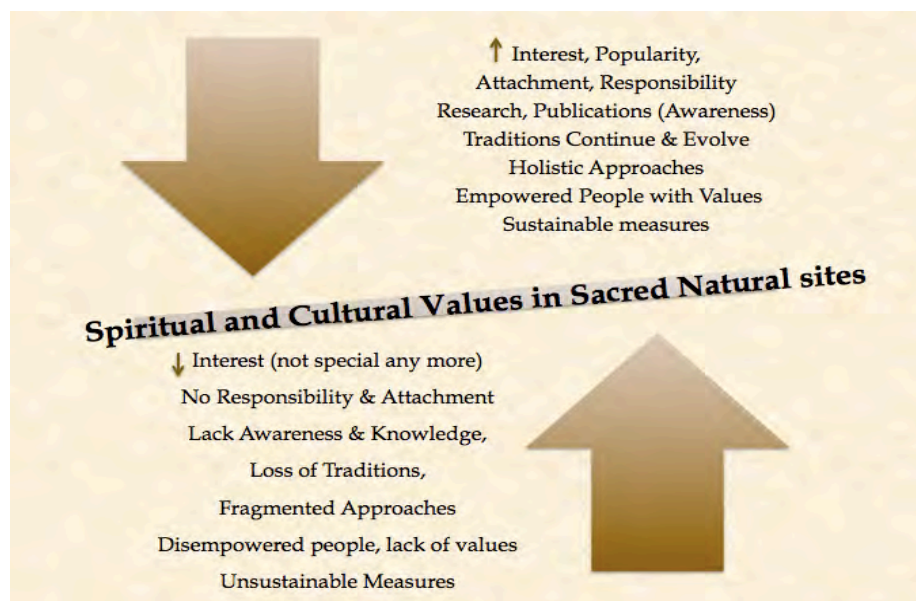
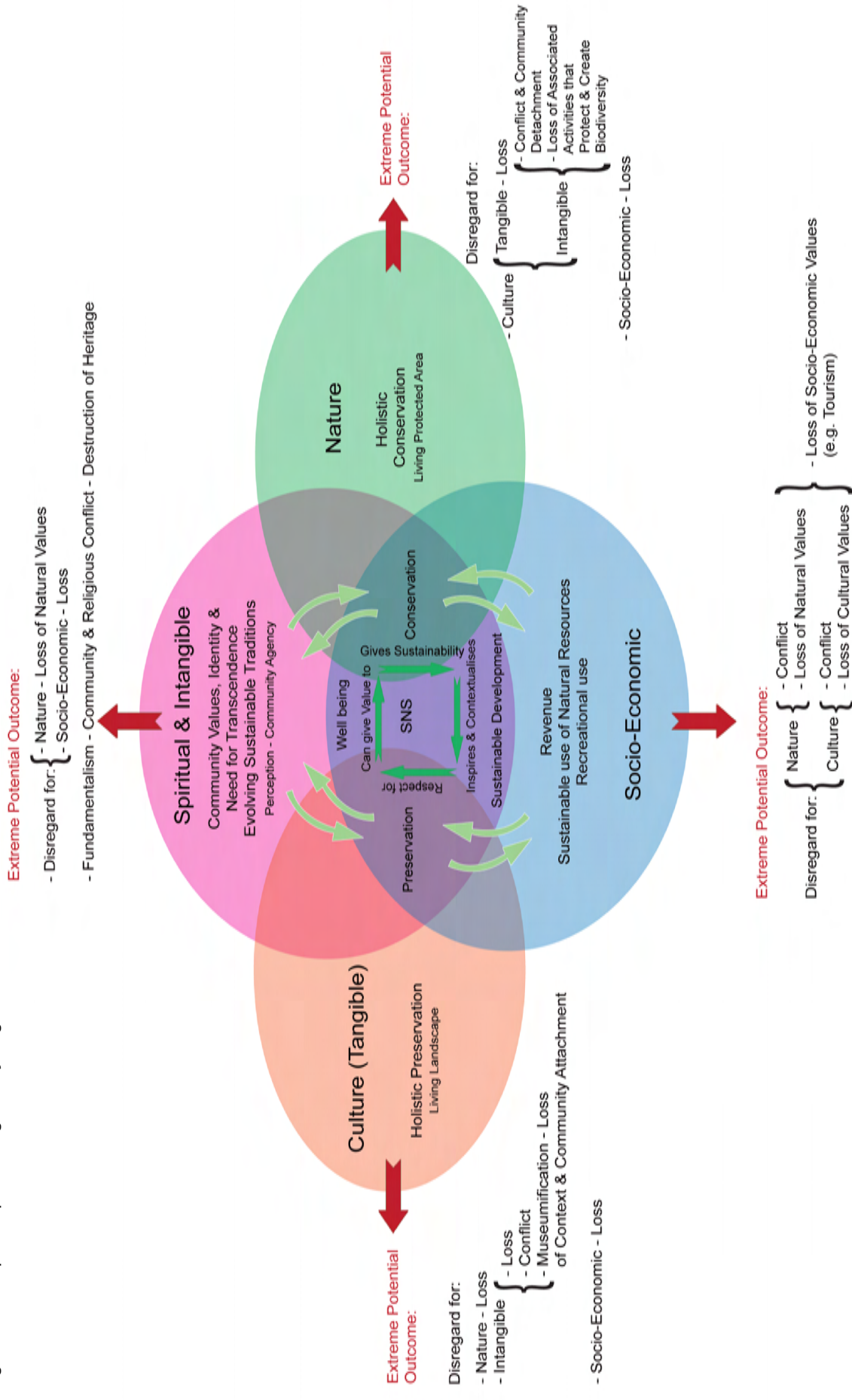


Fig. 5.2.2. Impact of the growth or decrease of spiritual and cultural values in these sites.

Table synergies

Extreme Potential Outcome:



Numerous examples illustrating these synergies can be found in the results analysis. The strong spiritual and cultural associations in Croagh Patrick led to a community agency. Examples are the rejection of the gold-mining project as well as the existence of customary laws that prevented the destruction of built heritage. These spiritual values give a sense of identity and belonging and fulfil the need of transcendence, which help towards the well being of the community. Spirituality has the potential to give sustainability to the socio-economic values, as long as these socio-economic activities are respectful with the spiritual and intangible values. In addition, nature provides context and inspiration to culture. In turn, cultural heritage can increase the value of the natural areas where it is located, and even built heritage can maintain the spirituality alive on the mountain, as it is the case with Montsacro.

On the other hand, the graphic presents the possible extreme outcomes that can happen if these positive synergies do not take place. Several examples can be found in the results analysis from both sites that illustrate these extreme potential outcomes. In regards intangible/spiritual values these extreme potential outcomes are illustrated in the destruction of built heritage and religious statues during the Spanish Civil War by antichurch movements. Another example is the repression of the folk Catholic religious expressions of faith, such as the *Tóchar* pilgrimage, during Penal Laws and even by the Catholic Church itself. The loss of spiritual associations linked with Santa Eulalia Parish Church's old yew resulted in the destruction of this millenary tree. The loss of the spiritual associated values that protected the *Tóchar* led to the loss of built heritage and of parts of the remaining path.

In turn, the loss of built and natural heritage can also lead to decrease not only in the spiritual value of the site but also in its value as a tourist attraction. Both decreases can impact dramatically on the well being of the community. On the other hand if only socio-economic activities are taken in to consideration and disregard for cultural and

natural heritage takes place, possible damage to heritage can have an impact in turn to tourism related revenue.

Neglect for cultural and socio-economic values within nature conservation lead to the failure of the conventional conservation system that has been proven unsustainable. In both sites, there are no restrictions to these cultural, spiritual and socio-economic activities, although there are fears of possible restriction if future designations take place, which create negative attitudes towards possible official protection status.

5.3. Recommendations and Conclusion

After analysing the results of the data collected the following recommendations could be given:

- (a) Invite local community organisations, Mayo County Council and the NPWS to come together in order to undertake studies about the carrying capacity, the present numbers of visitors, the situation of the activities undertaken in Croagh Patrick and their impact in the erosion of the path, the surrounding environment and the spiritual and cultural values of the site. Mediation and support from the authorities is needed, in order to create an awareness campaign that highlights the problem. That would make both the local and the national community understand the seriousness of the problem and its full implications. Legal advice could be sought in order to find a solution to ownership and the liability problem of insurance in the case of serious safety issues. This is a difficult problem due to the potential consequences if any serious accidents were to happen in the future. Studies of other sites with similar problems should be undertaken as it could assist in finding a similar solution. Subsequently, the creation of regulations, and a management plan could be put in place that could regulate the activities and numbers visiting the site. This is not an easy task, and the local community following the previous studies

and with the support of the authorities should undertake it. Its main custodians, chairmen of the local community organisations and other key stakeholders should represent the local community. These regulations should try to find a balance between the protection of pilgrimage and spiritual activities combined with tourism, as it is crucial for the local economy. This should be discussed by the community with the support of the authorities and established by the authorities. Regulations could be written in a management plan that could be constantly revised, updated and improved. After finding a solution to the ownership and liability problem, and after studies of the carrying capacity and damages to the mountain were carried out, the path could be restored and signage in regards safety could be placed along the path. Again, in this case other mountains in the world could be studied where paths with similar problems have been repaired.

(b) Invite the NPWS to create new categories of protection, following the IUCN guidelines, that take into consideration cultural and spiritual values, and which could be applied to Croagh Patrick. Further guidelines and regulations could be produced in conjunction with the local communities in the form of a management plan where local communities and spiritual and intangible values play a central role. It would be helpful to analyse other management plans of other similar sites.

(c) Invite Morcín's Council and the Asturian government to gain an understanding of the importance of awareness starting with the local community, and the key role that these communities play in the management of the site, as seen in the Croagh Patrick case study. An awareness campaign should focus first in the local community before any outside tourism is to be attracted. The general ignorance and lack of interest and attachment experienced within the local community should be tackled first. The creation of attractive booklets, brochures, workshops and activities organised for local schools and local community organisations could be a

first step. Authorities should also encourage work towards the research and promotion of the site's values engaging with local universities, schools and tourism bodies. Authorities could also provide the framework for local communities to organise themselves eventually and even the creation of artistic events related to the mountain such as photography or painting competitions and exhibitions related to the mountain.

(d) Invite all stakeholders to understand the key role of religious leaders as mediators, custodians, promoters and educators of the pilgrims and the local community. They also own a great part of the cultural built heritage. Most of Catholic Church leaders remain detached from folk, pre-Christian, natural and environmental issues. The example of Father Fahey, shows the potential religious leaders' role in conservation by taking a more holistic view of the site and great research, promotion and maintenance work. Conservation authorities and religious leaders could work side by side in creating awareness among the religious leaders on these issues.

(e) Invite local authorities to understand the positive and negative impacts of social change, which should be taken into consideration both in present management and regulations as well as in future management plans. Even if secularisation is probably the main threat that these sites are facing, there are also other aspects that could potentially help in the conservation of these sites. Examples are the recent growing importance of built heritage and landscape values, not only among authorities but also among local communities, and the empowerment that social networks give local communities and the capacity of accessing and sharing information between authorities and local communities. Also the appearance of new spiritualities such as eco-spirituality and the rise of eco, cultural and spiritual tourism needs to be taken into consideration as a source for the community well-

being when these activities are sustainable and respectful with the essence of the site. The rising passion for history and pre-Christian spiritualities among the local communities is also an important motivator for preservation, research and promotion. Those responsible for the management of the site should understand should have an understanding of the sacred nature of the site that should always be respected and should lie at the centre of all activities and regulations. They should also understand its inherent livingness as well as the constant rapid social and cultural changes that take place in these sites. Responsible bodies should try to find ways to maximise the positive aspects of social change and minimise the negative ones understanding also both the permanence and the mutability of belief systems.

(f) Invite local authorities to understand the importance that the sense of ownership and empowerment of local communities have over the agency, the initiative and the ultimate preservation of the sites as shown in Croagh Patrick's case. Management cannot be top-down, it needs to be inclusive, integrated with qualitative understanding. Crucial aspects are the recognition of tolerance for belief systems, the constant consultation with representatives and the balancing of needs for conservation, economic revenue and sacredness.

(g) Invite managing bodies to find ways to manage the rising numbers of visitors. Visitors are likely to disrespect certain values out of ignorance or lack of concern. Pilgrimages, when they happen in large numbers, can also be unsustainable. Awareness campaigns are of great importance using signage, brochures, the work of religious leaders, etc. It is important that the fact that it is a sacred site remains clear at all times for tourists and visitors promoting tolerance and respect.

(h) Invite religious leaders to understand their key role in the research, preservation and promotion of the site in a holistic manner as seen in the case of Croagh Patrick.

More than the messages that the Church itself sends to the Catholic community it is the work of the individual religious leader that has great potential positive impact on the site.

(i) Increasing recognition of these kind of sites is needed both by communities and by conservation authorities, through the creation of inventories by the state and/or regional governments, inclusion in protected areas' management plans and by given further protection. A network of protected areas could be established at regional, national, european or even international level, that could help in sharing experiences.

(j) Invite State conservation authorities to understand the importance of sacred sites and the need to work cooperatively with faith organisations. This seems to be more established within the cultural heritage than within the natural heritage domains in both sites. In Croagh Patrick conservation authorities do not even consider the cultural heritage in designation or management.

(k) Further studies of sacred mountains and sacred natural sites in developed countries are also needed. Further research is essential to understand the influence of the official and folk Catholic religion, pilgrimage and spirituality in conservation. Also the influence of the protected status in the spiritual and religious values of the site should be studied further.

In conclusion, while these mountains share a similar history and millenary pilgrimages they are also going through similar challenges. However, they are on opposite poles when it comes to the levels of sacredness, awareness and popularity. Croagh Patrick illustrates the power of the spiritual associations and local community attachment and agency in preservation. However unsustainable popularity represents its main threat. Montsacro is closer to illustrating the threats that these sites can go through due to the

loss of spiritual associations and community attachment, leading to negligence and abandonment.

The comparison of the differences and the similarities of both sites helped in the understanding of the community attachment and awareness of the sites towards their protection, in which spiritual and cultural values play a key role. This study has proven that in order to properly protect these sites statutory bodies and regulations are also necessary. This is the case with Croagh Patrick, where local community involvement is not enough by itself to fully protect it in the absence of regulations, authorities and clear ownership. Within these sites conservation authorities should be working in conjunction with local communities, religious leaders and other key stakeholders. Decisions should be taken taking into consideration by all stakeholders developing effective and trusting partnerships.

This study has proven that religious leaders can play a remarkable role in the preservation of these sites and in creating awareness, that spirituality and pilgrimage are an effective tool for preservation and conservation, but support by authorities is also needed.

To conclude, there is much to learn from these millenary sites that can teach us lesson for future action. In the words of Father Frank Fahey: *'... So perhaps we are born in the best of all ages unfolded for us along the way. And if we are true pilgrims at heart, we will learn much from history. For when we walk with respect and humility on the footprints of the past, we will travel more wisely on the pathways of the future.'* (Fahey and Balintubber Team Work, 2006, p.v)

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